Riots — 1921.

THE STORY OF TULSA, OKLA. AS TOLD BY ONE WHO KNOWS

TULSA THEN—TULSA NO

Kansas City Sun

Leaving Tulsa as I did on M 1921, to be [illegible] of m[illegible]

[illegible]Western [illegible] June 2nd [illegible]d me away fr[illegible] [illegible]ulsa on the dates of the riot, May 31 and aurn, June 5th.

But the Tulsa that I left and the Tulsa that I found on my return.

I left Tulsa throbbing with life and high hopes, people who were happy, people who in the main were prosperous, a wide awake, alert, active forwardlooking folk. Some who had come in the early day when it aried men's souls, and now were resting and beginning to enjoy the fruits of their years of toil. People who were singing the praises of Tulsa, prosperous.

No man, be he millionaire or pauper, had more pride in Tulsa than her upstanding, forwardlooking colored looking citizens. None clamored harder against the overbearing police system and the evils of the unredworld.

Ten months in Tulsa· ten active constructive months of human hopes and aspirations; ten months of a vision of a better day and then on platform and in press the phrase "The Dawn of a New Day" was in actual use. This in Tulsa colored.

Tulsa's colored citizens settled in the north end of the city, seperating themselves at right angies to the Tulsa white.

Standpipe hill jutted out into the colored section like the state of Florida extends into the ocean. Tnis hill is owned by a white man. From it one can get a fine panoramic view of Tulsa and the surrounding country The white people would not buy it and the colored could not, aithough they lived on three sides of it.

The good people of color were building magnificent church structures. One, Mt Zion Baptist, had merged into completion at a cost of $85,000—hard earned and frugally kept. It was a consolation to the old members who had labored many years and now, in a home comfortable, were ready to worship God and patiently serve until He called them home.

Paradise Baptist church was a cozy brick building situated on the north side of standpipe hill, while Mt. Zion was on the south side of it. The members of this church were building on the pay-as-you-go plan. It was completed with the exception of interior furnishings. The Methodist Episcopal church and Afrisan Methodist Episcopal churches had their first story completed and money in the bank for the superstructure.

There were four well equipped drug stores, many grocery stores; Elliott & Hooker, men's and women's furnishing store carried as high a grade of goods as any in thecity; two fine hotels accomodated the traveling public; Welcome grocery was a model, modern barber shops and two shoe shops with uptodate machinery. Dreamland theatre catered to the pleasure and entertainment of the people. The physicians were equiping themselves with all the modern apparatus required to alleviate human suffering. Young men as dentists had invested heavily in preparing to take care of the distressed in their line. Women had invested in beapty parlors and dressmaking establishments. Cafes were prepared to feed satisfactorily the many patrons. In fact the people were so industrious and put in so much time at work that they did not prepare their food at home but patronized the cafes. Four upholstered jitney busses carried the people from their homes to their work. An undertaking establishment equipped with caskets ranging from $50 to $1000, all for the accomodation of the colored people. A $10,000 limousine for the accomodation of the bereaved families was the latest addition.

The Tulsa colored people in every sense of the word were building a modern up-to-date business city.

They were constantly handicapped as to public utilities, which were managed and controlled by the white man. They constantly prayed him to extend and furnish the sáme. Procrastination, political pramisese and hope deferred was the final result. The colored section of Tulsa was insufficiently lighted. And if evil did hold sway and the bad Negro did exist he had the coved of aneglected city darkness in which to ply his evil F5$yhoeRisF,yHta zitisayeysugt..4Oa thade. They have cried "Let there be light" and there was no light. The kerosene lamp, the tallow dip or darkness prevailed in their city. In Tulsa white night had been turned into day.

The unsanitary condition, the surface tub-toilets, the stanch there from increased the wonder that the health of the community was as gaad as it was.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

The colored man of Tulsa built his home not upon sand, but upon an exceedingly great faith, for when fire does break out all he can do is to stand by and see all his earthly possessions go down in ashes. Water protection was insufficient.

In spite of all the physical and mental handicaps he has wrought well, and through a part of his city lies in ashes, the carpenter's hammer is heard and new lumber in the form of a house flares up in every direction. The Tulsa attitude of the black man is to build and rebuild.

The Young Men's Christian Association was the latest addition to civic betterment . This is an inspiring shapter in the city's history.

Conscious of the nuwholesome moral trend of the life of the young people, a few active wide awake, progressive citizens, on their own initiative and the friendly counsel and co-operation of that fine Christian gentleman, Mr. C. E. Buckner, general secretary of the Tulsa "Y" set about the organization of the Huston Branch Y. M. C. A.

They raised their own budget of $3,012 for the first year's work. The central association stood ready to furnish $1,000 of it, but the board of managers led on by that prince of [illegible], Mr. S. D. Hooker, raised the full amount themselves. The membership was more than 500 men and boys.

In like manner they raised the budget for the next year's work notwithstanding the tightness of thetimes they increased the budget to $5,207 and had the pleasure on Tuesday evening before the Tuesday of the riot, of rejoicing over the fact that the entire amount had been pledged.

Shortly before that a community institute was held. For the first time in the history of the University Division, consisting of seven white men and, women, experts in their line, carried on a three-day session in the colored community of Tulsa. They touched and stimulated the church school, civic and home life of the people in a most encouraging manner it gave our people a new hold on the cheering possibilities of life. The workers were pleasantly informed as to the inner life and cravings of the colored people The latted did not know that white people could be so kind, helpful and interested in their personal problems. The institute cost $1,000. The people thonght it worth many times the cost.

These are some of the new evidences of the attitude of mind develouing in Tulsa's colored citizens.

Just another fact showing the desire for civic improvements, wholesome ideals, and better things for Tulsa.

Just a week before the riot, the board of managers of Hunton Branch Y. M. C. A., together with the mayor and city commissioners invited President King of the Republic of Liberia to be Tulsa's guest. President King accepted.

This would have heartened the colored citizens of Oklahoma to make more of their opportunities. The $1,000 cost to the colored citizens of Tulsa for this visit of President King and his party was delivered.

The houses of Tulsa's colored citizens ranged from the temporary floorless box house to modern equipped ones of the latest and best interior and exterior furnishings.

This, in brief, and in brief only, for much can be said of the high hopes and aims of the colored citizens of Tulsa. This is the Tulsa that I left on the night of the 26th of May 1921

And the Tulsa that I found on my return the 4th of June. What a contrast!

Tulsa had turned a page to run paralled with the Huns and Goths—vandals of Europe or the Indians in Custers last charge.

An awkward colored boy steps on the toe of a white elevator girl—she stops him—a retort discourteous on his part—arrested on the charge of assault and battery—newspaper omits "and battery"—public thinks rape—threatening groups of whites gather about pail—colored men fearing the usual happening, gather to prevent a lyuching—a careless, reckless shot—and the restraints of civilization are thrown aside and men became brutish beasts.

The boy ought to have apoligized. The girl ought to have recognized the accident. The paper ought to have garbled the story with false emphasis. White men ought not to have gathered about the jail. They should be willing to let the law have the right of way. The colored men ought to have trusted those whose sworn dpty it was to protect the prisoner.

A cordon of police could have surrounded the first groups, white and black. But these are sad words "It might have been." But nothing that happened can pustify the driving of twelve thonsand innocent sleeping colored people, clad in their night clothes, out into the streets, marched to convention hall and elswhere, then loot, rob and steal the hard, laborious earnings of a struggling people, handicapped at best.

I have worked ten months with these people. I have rad a deep sympathy for them in their struggle against great odds.

Loot—they backed auto trucks up to the vacated (by force) Negro homes and loaded everything movable and of value. One colored woman went to eleven different white homes and in each recovered portions of her household goods.

Rob—Every bit of money found on their persons was taken. Masonic rings were removed from their fingers, watches and chains from their persons. In fast everythng of a material nature, etc., prepartory to the cruel initation which has not yet ended was taken from them. And so in their uenniless, destitute condition they were coralled, first one place and then another.

Thanks to the bood people who took them into their homes, fed and clothed them, housed them until the rruel police order compelled even the white people to give up and send to the fair grounds those whom they had befriended. Kind offers were thwarted by the police regulation.

With homes looted, homes and stores burned to ashes, with the sick, aged and enfeebled carried out or left to perish in the flames; mothers giving birth to children in the open, herded, coralled and guarded like prisoners of war, and before the smoke of a thousand homes had blown away the trembling, homeless learn that the city fathers have passed an ordinance "making it forever impossible for them in this destitute condition to go back and rebuild on their own home place.

While their hearts are bleeding, their homes and all the relics that make the memory of life's past sustaining with shocking realization that their families are broken and scattered and fearing that they may be slain by the cruel bullet of the mob, with trembly, weak, tired, hungry and hungerless bodies, compelled to be in the stalls of the fair grounds under heavy guard, cruel guard of home-guards—guards who greet them with harsh orders and vulgar language—while suffering all this and more the mayor and commissioners, the Real Estate Exchange, the Welfare Board are like those who crucified Christ, casting lots for the Negro's hard-earned land.

Ah! if they would only stop and think how long it required those poor struggling people to own that little portion of earth!

Yet by every method known and being discovered by the combined trained minds of the best legal talent that the city and state affords, not one loop hole is being left through which or by means of which the colored citizens can ever again rebuild on his own land.

We appeal to the conscience and good judgement of the American people, where is the line seperating the

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(FROM OVER)

lower element that cleard th way and th higher element that sat at noon luncheon under the cool of the electric fans and carefully and judiciously planned that this "never again pould be a Negro section".

And immediately proceeds to publish without the owner's consent or offering a cent.

"Wanted. Wholesale Hauses in Tulsa."

"New Welfare Committee in active campaign to Better City."

"Through the reconstruction committee appointed by the mayor and city commissioners Tuesday (June 14). Tulsa extends awelcoming hand to wholesale houses and industrial plants are to be located on the trackage property in Little Africa swept by fire and which is now within the city fire limits restricted to the erection of fire-resisting buildings." "The committee also expressed a sentiment in favor of using a part of the burned area for a union station whenever such a project by the railroads entering Tulsa."—Tulsa World, June 15, 1921.

Think of it! A union station where the races of men pass throngh, built upon the blood stained soil of the Negroes' property. Mhat an approach to Tulsa! What a gateway to the "Magic City of the Great Southwest." A symbol of greed and blood.

And added to that anguish of soul comes quick and fast the police regulation that all Negroes to have the freedom of Tulsa's streets must wear a green tag stating age, residence, name, and name of employer, who must be white. Men who did business for themselves had to find a white man to sign their cards. If not employed, a red card must be worn. This reads: "If the bearer is on the streets after 7 o'clock he will be arrested and taken to the fairground" —By some called the "bull-pen."

The guards are placed at all roads eutering the colored section. Men, women, boys and girls are held up by these guards, many of whom are rough, rude and discourteous.

Every step from the sudden awakening by the firing of guns and the buzzing of aeroplanes to the present moment evidences in increasing humiliation. Those who were privileged to return to their homes found theiir contents gone or mutilated. Everything from a shoe, a piano, to an automobile was found in the homes of white folks

I left a happy, hopeful, progressive people; I found a crushed, humiliated, discouraged humanity. I felt a praying people; I found them wondering if God is just: I left a Young Men's Christian Association with bright and protaising prospects just ready to jump into a $150,000 building campaign. I found a budget destroyed, resources consumed a board of managers in despair.

Tulsa has destroped the homes, taken the lives and maimed the bodies of the best friends the white man has in America; yea, the world.

There is no man in the world that has stod by anod will stand by the white man like the Negro.

There is no justification for the wholesale destruction of property and resources of the thousands of innocent, law abiding, home building Negroes. We do not condone the wrong deeds of the bad Negro. We deplore his existence. We pray the co-operative influences of all people to help reform or restrain him as his co-partners in white. We find i difficult to reach him. They clash Yop and we are thrown into a whirlpool of human rage. We who emerge with bloody bruised bodies, and the savings and buildings of a life-time smouldering in ashes must face each other and realize how trival and avoidable the cause and how deplorable and lasting the results.

Is the spirit of America dead? Shall the color of a man's skin be the symbol for adverse sentiment.

Mine is a Christian program. Am thoroughly convinced that an active wide-awake Christianity will cure this human ill.

There comes times in a Christian program when it becomes necessary to "drive out the money changers" and land grafters.

Unhappily Tulsa has worked into that stage.

Tulst is not all bad. There are good citizens in Tulsa. They, as much as any, deplore the plot that will not out.

We need a nearer approach to the principles and teachings of the Golden Rule. The hammer and claw, pistol and gun, create hate. And hate hurries us on to destruction.

There is no place in a Chrictian program for hate.

Let's make America safe for her own citizens and courteous to others.

G. A. GREGG.

Executive Secretary Hunton Branch, Young Men's Christian Association.

## TULSA'S CAUSE A WORTHY ONE

Tomorrow is what will be called Tulsa Relief Day. It is the time when all Negro churches, organizations and individuals throughout the country will be asked to contribute to the relief of the victims of the race riot which occurred at Tulsa, Oklahoma, May 31 and June 1. The colored citizens of that mob-stricken city have sent out a most appealing call for the aid of the thousands of Negroes who lost their all in the bloody conflict of race prejudice and race hatred. They ask for money, they ask for clothing, in fact, they ask for assistance of any kind whatsoever.

Their's is a most pathetic appeal and should sink deep into the hearts of Negroes everywhere. Along with this appeal they are sending out a pamphlet which tells in a most vivid manner of the dreaded fears in which Tulsa's colored population lived for more than forty-eight hours, of the veritable hell which reigned there for two full days; it tells of the wanton murders which were visited upon a score or more Negroes who were shot down like so many dogs; it tells of the destructive fires started by the fiendish white mobs in which the possessions of twelve thousand Negroes were entirely wiped out, in which their homes, their churches and other buildings were razed to the ground by the devouring flames; and it tells of the efforts which this terrorized people is now making to recover as best they can from this period of terror and persecution.

A large proportion of the colored population of Tulsa is sorely in need of immediate outside help. They must have it now, and it behooves those of us who can to give whatever aid we can. Tulsa's cause is our cause, and we must lend her a helping hand.

The appeal which these stricken people are sending out is here given

"The colored citizens of Tulsa, Oklahoma, through their relief committee, respectfully ask that Sunday, July 24th, 1921, will be set aside in all churches throughout the United States, as Tulsa Relief Day, and that the pastors and officers of their churches will ask the prayers of every member of their respective congregations for the thousands of victims of the cruel mob that looted and burned the homes and business places, churches, schools, the people possessed, and to this day have tried to take the land for other purposes and remove the colored people to a remote field of eighty acres of land wholly outside the city limits and to which a good title cannot be had.

"Our people are living in tents loaned to them by the Red Cross, many of which have only dirt floors and no bedding save government cots. Cooking utensils are very much needed. Should winter catch us in this shape there will be great suffering.

"We respectfully suggest that on this day pastors and laymen will make talks along the line of better racial understanding that will make such things as race wars impossible, and that each church will take an offering to help relieve these people, who are suffering through no fault of their own.

"This appeal is to every church, lodge, club, commercial club and every other organization of the race and to organizations of other races who will help.

"Send all money and other articles to: S. D. Hooker chairman Colored Citizens Relief Committee corner Exeter and Eastern streets, Tulsa, Oklahoma.

## BRING PRESSUE ON CONGRESS

Every colored man and woman in the United States who wants to see barbaric crime of mob murder wiped out in the United States should, as soon as it is announced that the Dyer Anti-lynching Bill is reported out and is before Congress, telegraph at once to his or her representative asking

Chicago Defender
Rec'd 7/23/21

WITH the charred embers of Tulsa not yet cold, with thousands homeless and hungry, with a city wrapped in smouldering anger and hatred of a race conflict which shocked and horrified a world, the morning papers of Chicago, under the plea of giving the public news, seized upon the action of an ignorant beach attendant who had become so frightened by the result of his own thoughtlessness that he called the police to play up a race riot which did not exist except in the minds of a few cowardly public servants. Brought to task for their blindness and stupidity, the excuse of these papers was "news."

It was news which supposedly led the Tulsa papers to report the hysterics of an ignorant girl as an assault and light the match which was Tulsa's excuse for a holiday of riot and bloodshed. Chicago has had her lesson about the untold harm and misery, not to speak of disgrace, which some fool reporter can bring about. We ought to have taken that lesson to heart, but evidently some people have forgotten it already.

The truth of the riot story is that an officious and overzealous beach attendant tried to segregate some of our folks at 38th street according to his own particular notions, in an effort to cater to the desires of some of the white bathers who patronized that particular beach. When his action met with the protest it deserved he hurriedly sought the help and alliance of the police. In an interview with his superior officer the question was asked as to why our folks were frequenting the beach in such numbers when they had not been using it heretofore. Strange how some white folks become confused and muddled when they find us in public places which are open to every decent, well behaved citizen. Why, indeed? This gentleman who seemed disposed to do the right thing when he was shown the way felt a little grieved and piqued at us because we had upset his order of things by attempting to use public facilities which were most convenient and accessible to us, although he must have known, because it was his duty to know, the character of the population in the vicinity of this particular beach. Some white folks don't know because they are not interested, some because they wish to remain ignorant. But we must not shirk the job of educating them, for it is only through the education of indifferent and ignorant folk that we can get our case presented. It will take time. It will take tact. It will take patience and some sacrifice from more of us than seem disposed to tackle the job today, but it is undoubtedly one of the surest ways of pushing the day of better understanding and mutual respect and helpful co-operation.

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Riots – 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# Tulsa a Foe to Civilization and Society --Menace to Order

The Atlanta Independent 10/29/21

(Associated Negro Press.)

A copy of an open letter written by Robert T. Kerlin to the Rev. E. D. Mouzon, bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has come into our hands. In it, Mr. Kerlin, with startling aptness, applies to Tulsa, scene of race hatred and riot. certain Bible texts, denouncing wicked cities of ancient times, from which the bishop and his colleagues are wont to preach. Mr. Kerlin was recently dismissed from his position as professor of English in the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, Va., because he wrote an open letter to Governor McRae, of Arkansas, pleading for justice toward the six Negroes who were sentenced to death in connection with the Elaine race riots in 1919. Mr. Kerlin's letter, in part, follows:

"Dear Sir: From the day of your city's carnival of carnage I have been a careful peruser, day by day, of the Tulsa Tribune, in order to keep informed of the steps your citizens and city officers might take, if any, to repair—though God knows they are irreparable—the ravages and outrages, burnings and murders, they committed and permitted May 31-June 1, the year of Christ, nineteen hundred and twenty-one. Shortly after the unhappy but inevitable occurrence I read an editorial in the Tribune entitled, 'A True Friend of Tulsa.' That true friend was yourself and you were greatly lauded. And what evoked this eloquence of praise? I eagerly sought to learn and discovered that it was mainly, as it seemed, because you so unerringly placed the blame for the riot upon the Negroes.

"I recalled that the wolf devoured the lamb because the poor lamb, though standing down stream, was befouling the water where the wolf was drinking. Not one word had you to say, so far as the Tribune reported, in behalf of justice, to say nothing of mercy, to those poor Negroes, who, yet surviving the pogrom, were crowded into the fair grounds, homeless, destitute, hungry, suffering from wounds and bruises, exposure and terror. Of the 10,000 Negroes that were in Tulsa, thousands must have been innocent of rioting, whoever started it, yet all alike were involved in the sweeping ruin, mobbed, burned out of house and home, shot up, and finally herded into your stockades, later to be released—green-labeled. What, my dear bishop, have you ever had to say on this matchless infamy?

"I doubt not that according to your custom you have at some time in your career held King Leopold up to reprobation, and that you have been eloquent on the theme of Hunnish deviltries in Belgium and Turkish massacres in Armenia. Doubtless frequently, according to form, you have edified your congregation with vivid word pictures of the wicked doings of the ancient Jews, and of Ninevah and Tyre, and of the retribution that overtook them, not forgetting to adorn your discourse with: 'Lest we forget! Lest we forget!' Perhaps, too, you even alluded to Sodom in the land of Gomorrah — but I doubt that. It would have been getting too close to Tulsa. Your "proud Tulsa" would have made Sodom, had they been contemporaries, go out of business because of shame at being eclipsed in its special line. Your choc-joints, your dives and dens of disreputables, your loud dance halls, where whites and blacks mixed and mingled—talk of "social equality"—talk of miscegnation! Good bishop, forget Sodom! Criminals of every description had made 'proud Tulsa' their refuge. Why? They were sure of police protection and partnership. Gamblers, bootleggers, bandits, high-jackers—white, because your papers do not say Negroes—made your 'Little Africa,' alias 'nigger town,' a veritable annex of hell This is all according to your friend the Tribune. And the reports of your farcical attempts at house-cleaning—ending in whitewashing—which reports provide me with this reeking vocabulary. Did you, true friend of Tulsa, ever, prior to hell's outburst in your streets, raise your voice against your city's wickedness? The Tribune does not accuse.

"Am I defending and excusing the 'niggers?' Misunderstand me not. Your misunderstanding would be wilful. Still, I do not believe, nor does anybody else, I fancy, that that Negro youth made an assault upon that woman, reported to be of more than doubtful reputation.

"A worse arrangement of you is yet to be made. Your chicaning city officials have been trying with all the cunning that intellect devoid of conscience inherited and has developed from jungle ancestors, to establish an ordinance to exclude the Negroes from the district out of which they were burnt and prevent their rebuilding in the ash heaps and ruins of their former homes (thus revealing the true motive of the riot and the white mob's devastating fury), that 'this exceedingly desirable district,' might be available for a new railway station and for factories and skyscrapers. Did you, good bishop, true friend of Tulsa, protest against this bloody Arabian land-grabbing?

"Recently you attended a world's conference of Methodists in London over which an American Negro presided. Would you do the same in Tulsa? The trouble with you Tulsans is that you think 'nigger' regardless of the individual's condition in life, culture or character. You know that you called your 'Little Africa' also 'niggertown.' Riots are going to occur where such thinking and nicknaming prevail.

"Negroes all over America are contributing of their toilsome earnings and savings to help their race people of Tulsa build themselves shacks against the winter's cold. Good bishop, how does that appeal to you? True friend of Tulsa, take thought. Forget Sodom. Let is rest under its shroud of brimstone rained from Heaven. Think on Tulsa. Preach on Tulsa. Tulsa the proud, Tulsa the putrid. Tulsa!

"Yours faithfully,

"ROBERT T. KERLIN."

# TULSANS SUFFERING, ASK RELIEF

Chicago Defender

## Riot Victims Face Winter Without Home, Food or Clothing; City Refuses to Help

11/5/21

Tulsa, Okla., Nov. 4.—The First National Bank of Boley has been made the depository for funds sent by people throughout the country to relieve victims of the Tulsa riot. This announcement was made shortly after members of the East End relief board, of which O. W. Gurley is president, and officials of the bank held conference.

### Face Suffering

The condition of the sufferers at Tulsa has reached such a grave state that immediate action was necessary. Hundreds of people who once owned their homes and were in a measure independent face the winter without home, food, fuel and clothing. Officials of the city have given little aid, declaring that they are not interested in "welfare work," and have no funds for such use.

This decision on their part came when it was learned that members of our Race would not sell their property to white real estate dealers, who for many years have attempted to get the burned area for manufacturing interests. Numerous court battles have taken place since the riot due to the fact that certain interests, backed by the city administration, asked for a "fire zone law." This law, if put into effect, would have made rebuilding impossible and forced the citizens to sell valuable holdings for whatever amount offered.

### Relief Board Acts

The East End relief board, through its attorneys, Elisah Scott and E. I. Saddler, defeated the city's petition in court on two occasions. With the assistance of the outside world the board was able to finance the case, at the same time give relief to sufferers. However, the whites have taken advantage of every opportunity to deplete the funds in the board's treasury in order to force them to surrender their rights.

Since the dismissal of the case of Dick Rowland, whose reported attack on a girl proved only a scheme to start the riot, city officials view the situation with alarm. They contend that case purports to establish the fact that whites started the riot, and the city is responsible for the damage.

The funds to relieve the sufferers are almost exhausted. Recently a house was built for Mrs. Callie Rodgers, who is 79 years old. She has an invalid daughter and an insane daughter. When the looters and burners came during the riot, finding her helpless, she was carried out. She watched them set fire to her home. There are many cases like Mrs. Rodgers' that need immediate attention. Unless citizens throughout the country aid the relief board by sending contributions to the First National Bank at Boley, Okla., the condition of the riot victims will be beyond description.

# SECRET ORDER GOES TO AID OF STRICKEN TULSA

## American Woodmen Send Representative to Hear the Story of Sufferers

Chicago Defender 11/26/21

Tulsa, Okla., Nov. 25.—The American Woodmen, with headquarters at Denver, Colo., is the first secret organization to actually offer its financial support to victims of the riot in this city.

This was learned when L. H. Lightner, supreme clerk of the order, visited the city and held a conference with the East End relief committee. His mission was to make a careful survey of property conditions, and attempt to secure necessary loans that would relieve heavy indebtedness on valuable holdings. He expressed himself as being well pleased with the work the committee had done thus far with such a limited amount of funds.

### Hold Mass Meeting

Renewed interest in the relief work was stimulated when a large mass meeting was held at the A. M. E. church on North Greenwood avenue. Reports were read giving a detailed account of the committee's activities, and how the money sent by outside sympathizers had been used to relieve sufferers.

At this meeting Attorneys E. I. Saddler of Tulsa and Elisha Scott of Topeka, Kan., were the principal speakers. They told the audience the present status of the riot cases. They have now over 1,500 claims filed against the city of Tulsa, but it will require $10 for each case to bring suit in the district court against the

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city. This problem has been a complex affair for the committee to solve. Every effort it has made in this direction has been vigorously fought by the whites of the city, due to the fact that it is feared by officials here as dangerous should a single case be won.

### The Danger Point

The successful termination of some of the riot cases in favor of the committee may set a precedent in that it will show that the city of Tulsa was responsible, in a large measure, for permitting the disorder to continue without offering protection to property owners. This indifference on their part, backed up by signed statements of several white men who witnessed the riot, tends to prove that the conflict between the races had some official endorsement.

The committee, following its plea of recent date, has received donations from churches, lodges and schools. The Central Baptist church of St. Louis, Mo., sent $20; the South Carolina grand lodge, K. of P., at Charleston, gave $300, and the Virginia Normal and Industrial Institute, at Petersburg, contributed $37.13. The treasurer of the committee, J. Tyler Smith, a merchant of Tulsa, is under $2,000 surety bond with the Massachusetts Bonding & Insurance Company of Boston, Mass.

### Makes Report

Once a month the committee compiles a statement, sworn to by the treasurer, and mails copies to the Chicago Defender, Binga State Bank, Chicago, Ill., the Black Dispatch, Oklahoma City, Okla., and the First National Bank of Boley, Okla., the latter institution serving as a depositary for the committee and is authorized to receive contributions.

It was the plan of the committee to appeal to organizations throughout the country by sending out a public speaker, but the expense required for such an undertaking would be almost prohibitive, and the money thus expended could be used for actual relief. Therefore, they decided to appeal to the press for support and in this way notify the country at large of their needs, and depend on contributions coming without direct and representative appeal. This saves unnecessary expense and enables the committee to widen its scope of work.

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Oklahoma (Tulsa)

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Defender 6/11/21

## "My Country, 'Tis of Thee—"

# CLEAVER, TULSA DEPUTY SHERIFF, TELLS OF CRIME

Chicago Defender 7/30/21

### Girl Lured From Her Home to Woods; Acid Put in Face and Left Bound

Tulsa, Okla., July 29.—Tulsa is not quiet yet. There have been charges and counter charges flung in the city and at the city since the terrible massacre which spilled at a single thrust the blood of a hundred lives. But Tulsa is quiet compared to those cities near the scene of the riot which have not yet had their streets bathed with the gore scattered by the mob. The dread conditions described as incident to last month's affair seem to be worked overtime in an effort to accomplish the dirty ends sought before public opinion shall have a chance to catch up with the truth and, once for all, stamp out the evil which is growing.

#### Criminals Bolder

The success of the mob has emboldened the criminals. Attacks on Race men, women and children have increased, rather than diminished. Rape, murder arson, theft are all being accomplished and the law seems impotent.

During and after the riot the name of Barney Cleaver, Race deputy sheriff, was brought into prominence in quoting causes and circumstances leading to that disastrous occurrence. Cleaver has been ranked among the conservative and level-headed workers for justice. He has in a way earned the respect and admiration of both races. Since the riot he has perhaps had a greater opportunity to witness the wrongs which are being visited upon his people. He has not ceased to work in a quiet, strong way to have the crimes which he knows of brought under the light of justice. It is known that Cleaver, regardless of how he has been pictured, is working and working hard.

#### Cleaver's Story

Not long ago he sent the following letter to the sheriff of Muskogee county:

"Sir: Some time the first part of last week at Braggs, Okla., a white man went to the house of Miles Mayfield. No one was present at home except Laura Robinson, 14 years of age. This man asked where was the mother. The girl replied that her mother was in the field at work. The man went away and returned in a few minutes, took this girl Laura Robinson away about two or three miles in the woods, raped her, tied her feet together, blindfolded her, tied her hands behind her, and put acid in her face, and after having raped her left her out there in the woods tied as herein described. About 7 o'clock the next day she extricated herself and managed to get to a neighbor's house, about two miles from the place where she had been left by this white man, and told her story to the people. I am sending a check to Miles Mayfield in order that he may have some postal cards made and sent out, with a description and an offer of $50 reward for the capture of the man. This sum of money is on deposit with the Producers State Bank of Tulsa, Okla. I want this man captured at all hazards, dead or alive."

The letter is signed "Barney Cleaver, Deputy Sheriff."

#### Police Know More

This is not an isolated or an exceptional case. Cleaver knows of more of them, but he is a wise man and is doing all in his power to block the efforts of the culprits who are preying upon the Race. He, and many others who know, are limited in their power. The small country towns surrounding Tulsa are the ones which need the searchlight.

# *Tulsa Refuses to Pay $4,000,000 Claims Of Negro Riot Victims on Technicality*

N Y C CALL
AUGUST 13, 1921

TULSA, Okla., August 12.—The city of Tulsa will take advantage of the absence of a riot statute in Oklahoma to deny to its Negro citizens claims for more than $4,000,000, the declared equivalent of the property destroyed by fire during the race riots or seized by looters.

Frank E. Duncan, city attorney; W. D. Humphrey, former corporation commissioner, and H. L. Browning, corporation counsel for East St. Louis, which recently met riot claims, have joined in the framing of an opinion to the reconstruction committee in which the city is declared under no obligation to pay the Negroes losses they sustained.

However, the Negroes' attorneys intend to fight the case in court. Riot claims may be won if the Negroes can prove the city's culpability, which should not be a difficult thing in view of the conviction of Police Chief John A. Gustafson for failure to protect life and property during the riot.

## CITY SUBSCRIBERS NOT SEGREGATED

Afro American 8/12/21

**General Manager Telephone Company Says Tulsa Conditions Are Not Maintained Here.**

In reply to an article if it were possible to cut off alll colored telephone subscribers and give service only to whites, as it was done in the recent Tulsa riot Burdett Stryker, general manager of the Chesapeake and Potomac Telephone Company of the city, made the following statement to the AFRO-AMERICAN:

"Our switchbords are not arranged so that any group of subscribers may be segregated, nor do our operators know the person talking when a number is requested, unless, of course, in isolated cases, where the voice of an old subscriber is recognized by an operator who has been in the service sometime."

## TULSA VICTIMS WILL SUE FOR $4,000,000

Afro American 8/19/21

**Owners To Claim Damages From City For Property Destroyed By Race Riots**

## REBUILDING GOING ON

**Sixty-five Buildings Under Construction, But 4,000 Still Live In Tents**

Tulsa, Okla., Aug. 18.—Victims who owned property destroyed June 1st by race-rioting will sue the city for $4,000,000. The whites, who owned property in the colored section are also preparing to file separate suits for losses totaling more than $500,000.

Negroes are building rapidly in the burnt districts of Tusa. Mr. G. F. Gabe, a prominent colored man, when questioned as to whether they feared arrest for violaing fire and buiitding regulations, said, "They had better get the jail ready for us, because we are going to keep on building. Negroes are not waiting for winter to come and not have any place to live. They are building on their own ground and if the city authorities ntervene they will carry their cases to the highest courts in the land for redress."

Over sixty-five house buildings have been put up, some temorarily for wnter. Cops stopped work on seven houses. In one nstance, Mayor Evans, white, told P. W. Ross to go ahead and build his. "Don't care what the building inspector says."

Mr. Curley and several other promnent business men are building fireproof store blocks on North Greenwood Ave. The Redding Hotel will soon be completed. This structure will be ive stories high and have fifty rooms.

Four thousand colored people are still livng in tents.

## WHITES OF TULSA ANXIOUS TO KNOW HOW NEGRO BUILDS

Savannah Journal 8/20/21

**Many Questions Have Been Asked Regarding Funds.**

**WOULD WITHHOLD FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE**

(By The Associated Negro Press)

Tulsa, Okla., Aug. 16.—Propaganda intended to embarrass certain members of the relief committee, who have taken an active stand against the attitude of the city of Tulsa and the yhite real estate board, in the matter of retention of the Negroes' property in the district where their property has been destroyed, is being scattered all over the country. Surprise has been exhibited by the white citizens of the community and city to find that certain members of the race are finding money available in other places than the city of Tulsa to reconstruct their homes and rehabilitate themselves. Quite recently a white lady rode down into Greenwood in her car and asked one of the prominent black men there who it was who was furnishing him funds with which to rebuild. "There are twelve millions of Negroes in the United states," answered this wary gentleman, "and we are collecting fifty cents apiece from them for rebuilding purposes."

In other words, the white citizens of Tulsa are attempting to withhold financial assistance from those who desire to rebuild on their holdings, it is said, and they are attempting to locate all agencies from which Negroes are likely to receive assistance, so everything indicates. The Negro who gave the answer above was more diplomatic than truthful. He nevertheless carried his point in keeping certain interested folk in the dark.

## HOOKER DECIDES TO REMAIN IN TULSA AND ASSIST THE SUFFERERS

St Louis Argus 8/26/21

**By Geo. W. Buckner**

"We are very hopeful and are going to rebuild if they go up in ashes the next day," states S. D. Hooker, Chr., Tulsa Relief Committee, Tulsa, Okla., in a letter to the writer today. So determined are the Negroes to regain their former status and so desperate is the need for leadership now that Hooker has been forced to accede to the importunities of his fellow sufferers and remain in Tulsa for the present thereby abandoning his erstwhile plans to locate here. He will re-establish his clothing store in the Greenwood Section next month.

Hooker also reports that sentiment is steadily changing in favor of the Negro throughout the country as the people learn the "other side" of the horrible massacre of June 1st when one and a half million dollars worth of property in the colored section was wiped out. Last week he laid bare the facts regarding the riot and the subsequent treatment of the sufferers before high officials in Washington with favorable consideration and promise of aid.

The greatest satisfaction comes to the sympathizers of the Tulsa victims with the knowledge that 6 new brick buildings for business purposes are now going up in the Greenwood Section. In addition, a hospital is being built where proper treatment can be given the victims and others. This will leave the one remaining school taken over for hospital use by the Red Cross free for its own purposes.

Well organized plans in various parts of the country to help Tulsa are bringing results and representatives of the Tulsa Relief Commiteee are combing every city for funds to meet the expenses incident to carrying on the legal fight for reimbursement of their losses by insurance companies by the city of Tulsa, and the county. Thru the efforts of the Chicago Defender, the Chicago Tribune has just sent its check for $1012.00 toward helping to re-establish the colored people, and attorneys are now busy working to secure an injunction against the city to restrain it from further interfering with building operations.

Hooker highly praised the National Urban League and the Urban League of the St. Louis Provident Association for their work in helping to adjust conditions there following the riot.

## TULSA IS SAID TO HAVE SHUNNED ITS LEGAL DUTY

Chicago Defender 8/27/21

**National Red Cross Officials Investigate Charges of Alleged Neglect**

Tulsa, Okla., August 26.—S. D. Hooker, chairman of the Tulsa relief committee, declares that immediately after the riot there the city caused to be published the news that it was going to restore the value of the $4,000,000 worth of property which was destroyed. Up to the present time it has made no pretense toward keeping its word. The Tulsa Bar Association has even gone so far as to give an opinion freeing the city of all liability in connection with the great conflagration.

**Red Cross to Act**

Despite new hindrances which are coming up every day, the work of rebuilding the burned area is making steady progress. Following upon reports that the Tulsa Red Cross division had been derelict in its duty national officers of the organization came to the city and held conference with local leaders, including representatives of the citizens' relief committee. Only tentative plans were drawn up. It is believed that the plan to build a Red Cross hospital to house the relief work and sick people that are now in the high school will be consummated. It is proposed to construct the building on Greenwood street, near the Dunbar school.

The relief committee has acknowledged the check for $1,012 from the Chicago Tribune, sent to it through the Chicago Defender. It was the second largest donation received so far, the largest being $1,200 sent by the Chicago Peace and Protective Association.

**Countrywide Campaign On**

Agents of the relief committee have been touring the different states in order to create interest in providing more funds for the sufferers. J. B. Garret made a successful tour of Texas and S. D. Hooker, H. S. Hughes and G. A. Gregg established Eastern headquarters in Washington.

An injunction proceeding to restrain the city from interfering with building operations in the burned district has been filed against the city. At the same time expert attorneys have been brought to Tulsa by the fire insurance companies in what is felt to be an effort to induce sleeping Race property holders to swear away their chances of recovering their insurance.

## SUES INSURANCE FIRM FOR TULSA RIOT DAMAGES

Chicago Defender 11/12/21

Tulsa, Okla., Nov. 11.—In what is generally regarded as a test case to determine the liability of insurance companies on property lost in the recent riot here, Thomas R. Gentry, a wealthy property owner, has filed suit for $8,000 against the Hartford Fire Insurance Company.

The five small frame houses lost by Gentry were all in the burned area, being consumed by the flames which broke out the morning after the riot started and raged throughout the day. They were located at 537 North Detroit avenue, 511-13 Hartford street, and lots one and two of the Business Men's Addition to Tulsa. Gentry was considered one of the wealthiest men of the Race in the city before the fire, being rated as worth about $150,000. He lost everything during the riot. He had worked his way up to comparative affluence, having started as a porter and bar boy at Chandler.

Riots – 1921

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# MARTIAL LAW QUIETS CITY; FIRE LOSS PUT AT $1,500,000

## Governor Robertson in Charge; Blames Local Officials and Orders Searching Investigation

## DEATH LIST MAY REACH 175

N Y C AMERICAN
JUNE 2, 1921

## Disturbances Started by Negro Mob's Attack on Jail to Rescue Black Held for Attack on Girl

By Universal Service.

TULSA, Okla., June 1.—Order had been restored by the militia in Tulsa to-night, but the atmosphere was permeated with uncertainty, following last night's and to-day's race rioting. The dead were variously estimated at between 85 and 175.

Five thousand negroes were homeless and 500 wounded were being cared for in hospitals and homes. Most of the dead and wounded are negroes, but nine whites are known to have been killed.

The city is under martial law to-night. Persons without military permits were ordered off the streets at 7 o'clock and street car service was discontinued at 9 o'clock.

**ADJUTANT-GENERAL IN CHARGE.**

The order placing the city and Tulsa County under martial law was received this morning by Adjutant General Chas. F. Barrett, who reached here last night to take charge of the military forces.

Governor J. B. A. Robertson arrived from Oklahoma City at 5:30 to-night. The Governor excoriated city and county officials for failure to control the situation. He said:

"It is a funny thing if the authorities in a city of the size of Tulsa have to sit back helpless when a thing like this is going on."

Governor Robertson promised a thorough investigation of the riots. It was expected a coroner's jury would be drawn to-morrow to conduct inquests over the dead. An investigation by the Attorney-General's office is expected to follow. Scores of arrests have already been made by civil and military authorities.

**ALARMING REPORTS.**

Alarming reports were received to-night from suburban towns. These said armed forces of negroes were moving on Tulsa to renew the fight. Other reports said bands of negroes who fled Tulsa during the rioting were being attacked by white posses. None of these reports had been confirmed up to a late hour.

The only disorder reported since noon came at 5:30 to-night from the black belt where electricians were engaged in stringing electric light wires. A sniper fired on the workmen, according to the report, and a military detail was sent to investigate.

The most spectacular fight occurred after National Guardsmen reached the city this morning. Fifty negroes had barricaded themselves in a negro church. They were called upon to surrender. Instead, they opened fire. Three white men were killed.

**BUILDING SET ON FIRE.**

Reinforcements of National Guardsmen were brought up, armed with machine guns. Before the machine guns were brought into action someone set the building on fire from the rear.

The blacks were forced from their hiding place. Their fire was answered by a volley from pistols and shotguns. Many fell, killed or wounded. The others surrendered. It was here the heaviest casualties of any engagement occurred.

The rioting started when 200 negroes shortly before midnight last night demanded the release of "Dick" Rowland, a negro bootblack arrested and charged with attacking an orphan white girl. He was confined on the second floor of the county jail. No demonstration had been made until the negroes began to congregate.

A policeman attempted to disarm a negro. The negro resisted and was shot dead. The negroes melted back into the black belt, where firing started.

Firing was brisk until 1:30 this morning. Then came a lull until 6 o'clock, when the battle broke out again, with renewed fury.

**TEN BLOCKS FIRE SWEPT.**

White men, armed and in automobiles, drew a line about the black belt. Two buildings used as headquarters by the belligerent blacks were set on fire. The flames swept on through the black settlement, wiping out buildings from ten blocks.

While the flames raged, gunfire was heard on every side. Firemen who attempted to take their apparatus into the fire zone were forced to retreat by flying bullets. They charged white men forced them to retreat and let the negro district go up in smoke.

The property loss to-night was estimated at approximately $1,500,000.

**Five thousand negroes either came voluntarily or were brought by armed guards to Convention Hall and the baseball park. Lines of homeless blacks that filed into the hall and park resembled the lines of refugees that fell back over the war devastated areas in France.**

They came on foot, in wagons, and buggies. Some drove emaciated donkeys drawing rickety carts in which their few personal belongings had been thrown.

**REFUGEES AT FAIR GROUNDS.**

To-night the refugees were being removed to the State fair grounds where five large buildings will afford shelter. Food, water, ice and milk have been provided for the refugees by the business men and women of Tulsa.

The belligerent blacks apparently lost their desire to fight shortly before noon when they learned a report that 5,000 negroes were marching from Muskogee to aid them was untrue. There has been no disorder of any importance since.

**The authorities were investigating a report to-night that 1,000 armed negroes were concentrating for an attack on the white section to-morrow. A number of negroes in custody appear sullen and defiant. They are being segregated from others of their race.**

More than 100 wounded negroes have been given first aid by the Red Cross at the National Guard Armory. Scores of others were treated at Convention Hall and the ball park.

**ESTIMATES OF THE DEAD.**

Police Headquarters reported this afternoon that their estimate placed the number of negroes killed at 150 and whites at 30. Major Charles W. Daley, of the Police Department, set the death list at 175. He said:

"We will not know how many were killed until a search of the ruins has been made.

"The militia is guarding ten city blocks that were swept by fire, and it will be some time before the area can be cleaned up. I believe bodies of many negroes will be found in the ruins."

Scores of wounded are believed to be hiding in their homes or to have escaped from the city.

Tulsa was a "white man's town" to-night. No black faces appeared on the streets. Railroads, hotels and other institutions dependent on negro labor were hard hit. Trains passing through Tulsa were without negro porters.

The negroes either left the trains before reaching the city or passed through locked in compartments. Several trains were searched by whites, but no negroes were found.

**SEVEN COMPANIES OF TROOPS.**

Seven companies of infantry and one machine gun company of the Oklahoma National Guard patrolled the streets to-night. Adjutant-General Barrett expected another company of militia from Muskogee to arrive to-night.

Negro agitators were being held in custody. It was believed by the authorities the trouble was largely due to negroes who have been preaching the gospel of so-called "Equality." Some of these characters are described as fanatics.

The white population to-night appeared sympathetic toward the negro refugees and the authorities were guarding against another outbreak of the negroes. Adjutant-General Barrett said:

"I believe the riots have been quelled. The only danger now is that some of the more defiant blacks will return to Tulsa and start trouble."

**CARING FOR HOMELESS.**

The city faces a problem in caring for the homeless negroes.

"Take preparations to care for the negro refugees of your city for a week or ten days, and not just for to-day and to-morrow," the Adjutant General told a committee of local business men to-night. The business men announced a plan to erect tents and other temporary structures over the devastated area as soon as possible.

The attitude of the white people in caring for the homeless negroes was praised by the Adjutant-General.

## Passenger Train Shot Up in Fury of Racial Clash

OKLAHOMA CITY, June 1.

EVIDENCE of the fury of the Tulsa race clash was borne by a St. Louis & San Francisco passenger train which arrived here to-day from the East.

Many of the windows in one of the coaches had been shot out and the sides of the coaches were scarred by bullets fired on the train as it passed through the negro section in Tulsa early to-day. None of the passengers was injured.

J. E. Lucas, a traveling salesman, said:

"Passengers left their berths and lay flat on the floor in the aisles.

"There was a lull in the firing when a passenger train pulled in and women and children alighted. Then the firing began again. Bodies of three negroes were lying in front of the station."

# CONGRESS ACTS ON RACE WARS

## Two Plans Proposed at Washington to Eliminate Further Clashes.

BROOKLYN N Y CITIZEN
JUNE 3, 1921

WASHINGTON, June 3.—Congressional action to solve the racial question in America will be speeded as a result of the Tulsa race riots, leaders in both Houses declared to-day. No investigation, such as followed the East St. Louis race riots, which grew out of labor disputes, is expected. There are two bills on the racial question which will be pressed for early action.

Sponsors of both plans believe they will prove effective in preventing recurrences of racial outbreaks which have taken heavy toll of life and property in large cities throughout the country in the past few years.

The first plan is a bill by Representative Ryer, of Missouri. It proceeds under the theory that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution gives the Federal Government authority to protect the negro from lynching. Participants in lynchings would be punished for murder by the Federal Government under the terms of the bill. It would also penalize counties in which lynchings occur by a fine of $10,000.

The second plan is to create a commission to study the subject of lynching and mob violence with a view to bringing about more harmonious relations between whites and negroes. Senators Spencer, of Missouri, and McCormick, of Illinois, have introduced measures on this subject, which are now being considered by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

# INEFFICIENT POLICE HELD TO BLAME FOR TRAGEDY AT TULSA

## Special Probe Ordered and Burned District to Be Rebuilt

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

## Stricken City Quiet, But Relief of 12,000 Homeless Is Problem

PHILADELPHIA PA INQUIRER
JUNE 3 1921
*Special to The Inquirer.*

TULSA Okla. June 2.—Developments following the race riots of Tuesday and Wednesday, in which nine whites and eighteen negroes are known to have been killed and property valued at $1,500,000 destroyed by fire were many today and tonight.

The exact death total remains unknown, but it is believed it will reach close to 100 after many bodies thought to have been burned are recovered from the ruins.

The reconstruction commission of citizens announced that 1000 business men have promised to contribute toward a huge fund to be devoted to the rehabilitation of the devastated negro business and dwelling district.

The committee also voted to employ immediately as extra policemen fifty members of the American Legion. A sum for their pay for thirty days was appropriated, after which efforts will be made to continue them with city funds.

District Judge Valjean Biddison, at the order of Governor J. B. A. Robertson, has ordered a special grand jury investigation to be started June 8 in order to establish responsibility for the outbreaks. In his letter asking that an investigation be started, the State Executive also asked that the conduct of the Police Department and the Sheriff's office, which he condemned, be investigated.

Leading citizens, at a rally in City Hall charged that the complete collapse of the city and county police authority was to blame for the loss of life and destruction of property. The trouble caused by "an impudent negro, a hysterical girl and a yellow journal reporter" could have been averted with the exercise of proper repressive measures, according to General C. F. Barrett, commanding the State troops.

Addressing this meeting, General Barrett stated that while he was ordering the withdrawal of the National Guard from Tulsa, there was no intention to remove the martial law edict until such time as it was shown the city could care for itself.

Thirteen bodies of negroes were buried in the city cemetery today. The act was without ceremony, it being said that feeling possibly might flare up if the burial was accented by any ostentation. The bodies were interred in plain wooden boxes.

A military order tonight forbade holding of funerals of those killed in the riot in churches. "Owing to the present conditions in Tulsa and Tulsa county," the order stated, "funerals of those killed during the riots will not be held in the churches of the city. Many of these churches are used as camps for the refugees, and it is against the policy of the military department to allow the use of same for funerals under the conditions of emotional stress which still prevails within the city."

### Relief Committee Named

A committee, on which Mayor T. D. Evans was denied a place, was appointed to care for the helpless negroes, estimated to number more than 3000, and to expedite the work of rebuilding the burned negro quarter.

"Most of this damage was done by white criminals who should have been shot and killed," E. J. Martin, former Mayor, said after he was selected chairman of the Emergency Committee. "As the final outcome we must rebuild these houses, see that these negroes get their insurance, and get their claims against the city and county."

A final check of the morgues today definitely established the number of white dead at nine. Among these, most of whom were residents of this city, is Ernest Austin, 39 years old, formerly of Houghton, N. Y., in which city an aunt, Mrs. Carrie Worden, lives. Walter Daggs, manager of the Pierce Oil Corporation, of Tulsa, was also numbered among the dead.

Five of the negro dead have been identified. Among them is Dr. A. C. Jackson, shot to death while running from his burning home. He was one of Tulsa's prominent negro physicians and surgeons.

Linemen were busy in the mile square devastated district today restoring power and communication wires.

The downtown district tonight will be patrolled by the regular police force, according to General Barrett, and troops will be stationed out in the county.

### Remore Follows War

Retribution and remorse followed swiftly in the wake of the race war. Thousands of the citizenship early this morning volunteered their services for relief, and hundreds of automobiles, including many of those of the wealthy, were proffered for the transportation of relief supplies to the negro detention camps.

Large numbers of Tulsa families early began the search for domestic servants and their families, many of whom had been in faithful service for years. Throughout the day, coupes and limousines drove from the internment location with burdens of negroes. Many well-to-do families maintaining domestice quarters, gave shelter to entire families.

As the race hatred seemed to subside under the pressure of public indignation, negroes began to be released from custody in large numbers. All released were first duly identified, paroled and labelled with white ribbon badges marked: "Police Protection." Those released were permitted to leave the city, to return to the devastated area which but forty-eight hours ago marked the peaceful scenes of their daily life, or to return to the camps where every effort is being made to provide sanitary housing for those who can find no shelter.

The remaining shacks on the outer fringe of the negro belt tonight have as many as six and eight families and relief associations are sending truck loads of provisions and water into this section where negro leaders, in co-operation with the whites, are distributing relief. Plans were afoot tonight for the instant erection of a tented city over the ashes of the negro belt where all refugees can be cared for under police care until more permanent provision can be made for them.

### 12,000 Negroes Dependent

Of more than 15,000 negro inhabitants, some 3000 have left the city and the greater part of the 12,000 remaining are wholly dependent for the mere agencies of life upon the relief that is now being organized.

All churches of the city, the Convention Hall, the baseball park and the extensive county fair grounds have been turned over to the care of the blacks. At the latter two locations where the greater portion were received, conditions of greatest hardship prevailed. Not until tonight had sanitary conveniences been provided after thirty-six hours in which men, women and children, many nearly destitute of clothing, had herded like live stock in the cattle barns that lent them their only shelter and protection.

Facing this crisis, Adjutant General Barrett determined that it was best to face the lessening risk of further disturbances and release all negroes possible from detention. Some 8000 were given orders to depart, but a large portion is expected to return later for shelter.

While the city was thus turned to the work of relief, restoration and mercy, every precaution was being taken by the military and police to prevent a renewal of rioting with the reappearance of negroes through the city. The black belt was surrounded by a cordon of militia and only negroes permitted to pass the confines of destruction that begin at the 'Frisco tracks and ranged north and east through thirty blocks.

Central military depots were established at strategic points through the city from which military units could be summoned at an instant's notice to any quarter in which disturbances might arise. The Tulsa city police, freed from the work of patrolling the negro and railroad districts, again assumed subordinate jurisdiction over street traffic.

As the complete demoralization and terror struck into the hearts of the negro population by the swift catastrophe cooled, increasing evidences of resentment became manifest. Released negroes appearing upon the streets this evening, while guarded in their speech and actions, betrayed a sullen reticence. There was, however, a strong tendency, especially among the women, to lay heavy blame on the negro agitators who organized the first small bands of blacks which penetrated the city to the Court House with the ostensible intention of preventing what the negro quarter believed was to have been a lynching.

The "Street element" of Tulsa, a large percentage of which took a leading part in the rioting, betrayed in the mass no pronounced change of heart. Although somewhat overawed by the flames of indignation that burned on every side, there remains tonight a numerous class of citizens, or inhabitants, which appear content with what they regard as a just retaliation for the armed invasion of the city by the blacks.

Thirteen white men were arrested by National Guardsmen in the negro quarter today and sent to the city jail for investigation. It was said all of them had in their possession property which apparently had been taken from houses which the flames did not reach, but from which the negro occupants fled in fear. Many such houses were entered, according to Guardsmen.

Trains coming into Tulsa last night brought no negroes and the number of white passengers was reduced sharply. On the train arriving here from Muskogee at 1.30 A. M., it was said that three coaches generally are crowded and that the entire negro section usually is filled to capacity. This morning no negro passengers alighted and there were fewer than a score of white passengers. The negro porter was not permitted to make his usual run, and a white brakeman substituted for him.

At the downtown hotels where negro bell boys and porters heretofore have been employed, guests were requested to tell the substitute elevator operators their floors and then find their own rooms.

Officials hope to clear up by the investigation just what led to the first shooting Tuesday. A newspaperman who was at the Court House at time said about twenty-five white m gathered on the south side of the building. Three of the leaders entered Court House, he said. On the top floor of which the negro was being held for an alleged attack upon a white girl in an elevator of a downtown building. Most of the white men were not armed, according to the newspapermen.

### Negro Mob Assembles

Sheriff McCollough met the three men who entered the building and warned them away, with the declaration that the negro would be protected at any cost. The prisoner was in a cell at the top of a winding stairway which could have easily been held by a few men against a mob.

Meantime about 30 negroes, some armed, gathered in little groups west of the courthouse. Barney Cleaver, a negro peace officer, went among the gathering negroes and counselled them to disperse. At this time there apparently was no concerted action among the negroes.

Most of them started to leave, but were called back by a few leaders. Twice again the majority of the negro mob moved away, but each time they returned at the appeal of the few who were determined to stay.

By this time the white crowd had been reinforced by curious persons. Then some broke, running eastward shouting: "Let's get guns."

The negroes moved away and took a stand about three blocks away.

The white crowd remained near the courthouse, however, receiving reinforcements.

Then armed negroes appeared in motor cars racing past the courthouse.

The white mob then moved away from the courthouse and it was a brush between skirmishers in an alley that precipitated the general shooting.

The two forces consolidated soon afterwards and the negroes were driven through the business district back to their quarters. They took up a stand across the Frisco railroad tracks, about a thousand strong, and a battle took place when the white rioters lined up behind buildings on the other side of the railroad tracks.

Finally fires were started by the whites and the negroes dislodged.

### Dispute Over Insurance

The matter of collecting insurance on the properties in the negro quarter destroyed by fire was in dispute today, the insurance men holding that their policies on the approximately $1,500,000 worth of buildings destroyed did not recognize mob violence as a destructive agent. It was regarded possible that some of the negroes might seek to recover from the city of Tulsa, seeking to establish that the city was negligent in not having provided sufficient protection and therefore was responsible for the losses.

The devastated district, irregularly one mile square, contained dwellings and apartment houses sufficient to house more than ten thousand persons and also an extensive business district. Many of the buildings were of flimsy construction, but there were a number of really imposing structures, including two theatres, several three-story buildings, an $85,000 newly-built church, the plants of two newspapers, the Tulsa Star and the Oklahoma Sun, and the only Tulsa undertaking establishment catering exclusively to negroes.

## Harding's Opinion Asked on Rioting at Tulsa

N. Y. C. POST
JUNE 3, 1921

### Colored People's Society Says Utterance of President Would Be Valuable

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asked President Harding to-day for an expression of opinion on the race riots at Tulsa, Oklahoma. The request, signed by James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the association, read:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People feels that an utterance from you at this time on the violence and reign of terror at Tulsa, Oklahoma, would have an inestimable effect not only upon that situation but upon the whole country."

The Afro-American 10/7/21
Baltimore

## Dick Rowland Found Not To Have Assaulted White Elevator Girl As Charged

## REBUILDING GOING ON

### Winter likely To Catch Some Of The Riot Victims Living In Tents

Tulsa, Okla., Oct. 6.—Dick Rowland, bell-boy who is alleged to have raped Sarah Page, white, June 1st. last, which precipitated the Tulsa riots, was released from the county jail last week. It was brought out in the investigation that Rowland was entirgly innocent of any crime or misdemeanor, that the white girl never complained of any such charges as were published in the white daily newspapers. Sarah Page vanished and has never been apprehended since the day she made a statment erfuting the charges alleged against Rowland.

Criminal cases of rioting against J. H. Smithrman, editor, M. S. Weaver, Mose Fitzgerald, Eugene Wharton, Andrew Brown, A. B. J. Taylor, and William Dixon, leading colored citizens came before the court last week. Charges against Dixon was dismissed. The others have asked for a change of venue.

Greenwood, the colored section of Tulsa, destroyed by fire, is being rebuilt rapidly, altho it is feared that the winter season will catch some of the riot victims still living in tents.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# POLICE ORDER IDLE BLACKS TO FAIR CAMP

"WORK OR QUIT WHITE DISTRICT," EDICT IS ISSUED

TULSA OKLA. TRIBUNE
JUNE 7, 1921

Temporary relief work among the homeless negroes who were victims of the race riot last week has assumed the aspect of army routine in the last two or three days with the negroes doing practically all of the work under the supervision of Red Cross directors.

Only 400 negro women and children and a few men remained at the fairgrounds camp today of the 5,000 or 6,000 who were taken care o there last Wednesday night an Thursday. However, with the issuance of a police order yesterday b Commissioner J. M. Adkison that a servants quarters in the white district must be vacated of negroes not working, at least 1,000 negroes are expected at the fairgrounds by tonight.

The police order, also issued yesterday, which requires all negroes to wear green identification tags, probably will help augment the camp at the fairgrounds as it will force the idle negroes who have no employers to obtain these tags for them to either go to the camp of their own accord or be taken there by the police.

**Negroes Do the Work.**

With the connecting up of gas plates in the main building at the fairgrounds most of the negro women are doing their own cooking. The kitchen, which still is maintained, is in charge of Danny Craigo with Miss Helen Black acting as assistant. They direct the work of cooking food for the sick women and children. Negro women do the cooking and the cleaning up is done by the negro men who still remain at the camp. Practically all of these men are the heads of families that are being cared for there until the men can find work and provide a place for their families to live.

Mrs. Harriett Wardell is in charge of the nursing and first aid quarters where the mothers and sick children are taken care of. Here also the negro nurses are doing practically all of the work. During the day several women from the Red Cross headquarters go to the camp to assist Mrs. Wardell in supervising the work.

The fair grounds and the relief headquarters at the Booker Washington school resemble military camps in the careful sanitary precautions which are taken. Every morning negro men and women thoroughly clean the premises and disinfect everything that may harbor disease germs.

**Doctors Took Active Part**

The Tulsa County Medical association is taking an active part in the relief work and care of the sick and wounded. Their services are being given without charge. Forty major operations have been made at the Cinnabar hospital.

The society went on record yesterday recommending that no reconstruction work be attempted until sanitary sewer facilities are provided in the negro district and every house provided with a connection.

A committee consisting of Dr. R. V. Smith, Dr. C. L. Reeder, and Dr. Horace T. Price is taking care of the general plans for co-operation between the medical men and the Red Cross. The work is divided among the various doctors each being assigned to that class of work in which he specializes. The Oklahoma, Tulsa and Morningside hospitals are being used for obstetric and other cases that cannot be handled at the Cinnabar hospital.

L. C. Murray, assistant at Booker Washington school, said this morning that the relief camp at the fair grounds probably would be maintained for several weeks, and the Booker Washington headquarters and the Cinnabar hospital for two o three months.

# NEGRO SECTION ABOLISHED BY CITY'S ORDER

TULSA OKLA. TRIBUNE
JUNE 7, 1921

## Devastated Area Put in Fire Zone

Thirty-five blocks of the negro district south of Standpipe Hill, now in ruins following the fire of last Wednesday morning—will never again be a negro quarter but will become a wholesale and industrial center. This was accomplished this morning when the city commission passed an ordinance extending the fire limits to include this section, including the negro business district in Greenwood avenue. Because of the building requirements laid on this district it is believed impossible that the negroes will again build homes there.

Merritt J. Glass president of the Real Estate Exchange, the organization which presented the ordinance and insisted on its passage, stated that the real estate men will at once secure industrial purchasers for the property in the devastated area and also will get options on land farther to the north where the negroes may build their homes and locate a new negro business district.

**Want Sewer Installed.**

"We are going to endeavor to get a sanitary sewer installed in the new negro district and in this industrial section," Mr. Glass said. "This district never has been provided with a sanitary sewer before because to do so would have made it necessary to dig a sewer about 34 feet deep through Standpipe Hill. We are going to insist that this be done regardless of the cost."

One of the big problems which now confronts the real estate men is to keep the owners of the business property in Greenwood avenue from losing money in selling their property for industrial sites. The residence property should bring more for that purpose than it is now worth as residence property, according to Mr. Glass.

**For Good of City.**

The new ordinance prevents any buildings not of absolute fire-proof or slow-burning construction from being built in this area. In this manner the real estate men expect to lead the negroes to dispose of their property. Mr. Glass made it plain that the real estate men are not seeking financial returns in the transaction but are working for the good of Tulsa and not for private interests.

The fire limits were extended to include property bounded as follows: Beginning at the intersection of Fairview street and Detroit avenue extending north to Haskell street, thence east to Madison street and south to the Frisco right-of-way. A second tract begins at Fifth street and Lansing avenue extending south to Eighth street and west to Elgin avenue.

F. Drake. N Y C EVE WORLD
JUNE 7, 1921

# HARDING AT NEGRO SCHOOL RAPS RIOT

God Grant We Have No More Tulsa Spectacles, He Says at Lincoln University, Pa.

WASHINGTON, June 7.—En route by motor to Washington from Valley Forge, where he spent the week-end as the guest of Senator Philander C. Knox, President Harding stopped for a few moments at Oxford, Pa., near the Maryland line, where, in an address to students of Lincoln University, a negro school, he condemned, by implication, the lawlessness of the recent Tulsa, Okla., race riots.

The President said in part:

"Nothing will accomplish so much as educational preparation. I commend the valuable work which this institution is doing in that direction. It is a fine contrast to the unhappy and distressing spectacle that we saw the other day out in one of the Western States. God grant that in the soberness, the fairness and the justice of this country we shall never have another spectacle like it."

# Tulsa Riot Based on Girl's Mistake

## Leading Citizens Admit No Assault Was Made

### Paper That First Printed Story Has Retracted—How the Mob Was Formed

N. Y. C. POST
JUNE 8, 1921

By Walter F. White

[Special Dispatch to the Evening Post]

OKLAHOMA, June 8.—After fourteen hours of wild rioting on the night of Tuesday, May 31, and the morning of Wednesday, June 1, during the course of which an unknown number of people were killed, property conservatively estimated to be worth $1,500,000 was destroyed and the good name of Oklahoma damaged, Tulsa is slowly returning to normal. In every outbreak of the sort that disgraced Tulsa the question always arises: "What caused it?" I have talked with bankers, business men, newspaper editors and reporters, State, county, and municipal officials, ministers, citizens, and have gathered the facts.

The immediate cause of the riot was a white girl who claimed that Dick Rowland, a colored youth of nineteen, attempted to assault her. Sarah Page, the girl, operated an elevator in the Drexel Building in Tulsa. She said the colored boy had seized her arm as she admitted him to the car. Rowland declares that he stumbled and accidentally stepped on the girl's foot. She screamed. Rowland ran. The following day the Tulsa *Tribune* told of the charge and the arrest of Rowland.

Chief of Police John A. Gustafson, Sheriff McCullough, Mayor T. D. Evans, and a number of reputable citizens, among them a prominent oil operator, all declared that the girl had not been molested; that no attempt at criminal assault had been made. Victor F. Barnett, managing editor of the *Tribune*, stated that his paper had since learned that the original story that the girl's face was scratched and her clothes torn was untrue. The concensus of judgment among the reputable citizens of Tulsa is that all of the trouble was due to this one instance.

Soon after the *Tribune* appeared on the streets, on Tuesday afternoon there was talk of a lynching mob "to avenge the purity of a white woman." Rowland was then removed to the county jail, located on the top floor of the Tulsa County Court House, a substantial building of three stories. Sheriff McCullough stated to me that as early as 4 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon (the *Tribune* reached the streets with the story of the alleged assault at 3:15 P. M.), Commissioner of Police J. M. Adkison informed him that there was talk of lynching Rowland that night.

**The Sheriff's Story**

Sheriff McCullough's story, in his own words, was this:

"I told the commissioner that no lynching would ever take place while I was sheriff. About 8:20 P. M. three white men drove up to the court house in a car and entered. I met them and told them that if they made any attempt to harm any prisoner in the jail somebody was going to get killed. They went away. The jail is located on the top floor of the court house and the only means of entrance is by an elevator and a winding stairway. I ran the elevator to the top of the shaft and removed the fuses so that it could not be used. I then stationed deputies at the top of the stairs with rifles with the instructions that no man should be allowed to enter—that they were to shoot to kill if anybody attempted to force his way in.

"By 9 o'clock there were from 300 to 400 whites around the court house. In the meantime some one had telephoned to the Dixie Theatre, a moving picture house in "Little Africa," the negro section, that an attempt would be made that night to lynch Rowland. About 9:30 P. M. twenty-five negroes came up to the court house, armed to protect him. I talked with them and persuaded them to go home, doing the same to the whites. The negroes left, but returned about seventy-five strong around 10:30. I talked with them again and they were leaving when a shot was fired. Then hell broke loose. I went back to the jail and stayed there all night to protect the prisoner. About midnight a crowd of whites came up to the jail, yelling, 'Bring the rope' and 'Get the nigger,' but did not try to attack the jail."

It is clearly evident from the testimony of officials and reputable citizens that the negroes went to the jail only because they felt that one of their own was in danger of lynching and they were determined to protect him.

Following the outbreak, in the words of the Sheriff, "all hell broke loose." Armed mobs of whites broke into hardware stores and pawnshops and looted them, taking weapons and ammunition. Colored men fought gamely, one of them accounting for five members of a mob that attacked the colored section. Near daybreak a pitched battle was in progress, with the 'Frisco tracks as a dividing line between the two forces. Shortly afterwards the white mobs, numbering by then more than 10,000, invaded the negro section, the colored men resisting determinedly. Cans of oil were secured and fires started. Firemen attempting to quench the first of these flames were fired upon and withdrew.

**Blamed the "Ku Klux Klan"**

An oil operator, who was on the ground, a former New Yorker, told me that the Tulsa affair was the worst outrage in the history of America. He and many others mentioned the "Ku Klux Klan" as the leader in the work of destruction. Imperial Wizard Simmons of the Klan, on the other hand, asserts that his organiza-

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

tion is "100 per cent American."

Many are the stories of horrors committed during the rioting. Major Charles W. Daley of the Oklahoma National Guard, inspector of police, and a Tulsa business man, told me that white "hoodlums" broke into the home of an old colored couple on Tuesday night. As the two knelt in prayer before retiring, the whites shot them in the back of their heads, killing them instantly. The house was then fired and the bodies cremated.

Major Daley also told of the killing of Dr. A. C. Jackson, a colored physician. Dr. Jackson was worth $100,000 and called "the most able negro surgeon in America," this remark being attributed to one of the Mayo brothers of Rochester, Minn. He was a good citizen, respected by white and colored people alike. Dr. Jackson's home was attacked and he returned the fire. Major Daley said: "I do not believe Dr. Jackson would have fired unless fired upon. He did only what any red-blooded man would have done in defence of his home."

When called on to surrender Dr. Jackson complied, after having been slightly wounded. While being carried to Convention Hall, where all the negroes were being held, Dr. Jackson was shot and killed.

Follo[illegible]e fire there were much vandal[illegible] looting of the vacated homes[illegible]s who had fled. More than[illegible]s are under arrest.

# TO HOLD TULSA MASS MEETING SUNDAY COMING

New York News 6/9/21

## African Blood Brotherhood, Accused of Fomenting Riot, Promises Startling Revelations at Palace Casino Sunday Afternoon.

Startling revelations are promised in connection with the Tulsa, Okla., riot by the African Brotherhood, the Negro organization accused by the Oklahoma authorities of having "fomented and directed the Tulsa riot," at a mass meeting, announced for Sunday afternoon, at 3.30 p. m., at Palace Casino, 135th street and Madison avenue.

The officials of the organization, which has for its aim the organization of Negroes for the purpose of self-defense against wanton attack, state that a full report has been received by New York Headquarters from the Commander of the Tulsa Post, which throws new and startling light upon the rioting in the Oklahoma city. The Tulsa Post Commander will be present at Palace Casino to describe to his race what really happened at Tulsa. Several refugees, driven away from Tulsa by the warning to get out before June 1 or suffer dire consequences, will also be present. Other speakers of the afternoon will be Dr. George Frazier Miller, the fearless and outspoken Brooklyn minister; Miss Grace Campbell, prominent social worker; Messrs. W. A. Domingo and R. Moore, widely known speakers and lecturers, and members of Post Menelek, New York, African Blood Brotherhood.

The African Blood Brotherhood invites all Negroes to come out and hear the truth about the Tulsa riot. Admission free.

# TULSA LAWYER HAS AFFIDAVIT

### CONFESSION OF FORMER POLICEMAN GIVES NEW LIGHT ON RIOT

The Savannah Tribune 10/20/21

Tulsa, Okla., Oct. 19th (Associated Negro Press)—Elisha Scott of Topeka, Kans., one of the attorneys retained by the Tulsa riot victims, has a signed affidavit in his possession that when produced will throw an entirely new light on the insurrection carefully planned by the whites here on May 31 last.

It is the confession of a former Tulsa policeman, Van B. Hurley (white), and consists of 21 pages. Hurley, who was honorably discharged from the force and given splendid recommendations by his captains and lieutenants, names several prominent city officials who he declared met in a downtown office and carefully planned the attack on the segregated district by the use of airplanes. He gives in detail a description of the conference between local aviators and the officials.

After this meeting Hurley asserted the airplains darted out from hangers and hovered over the district dropping nitroglycerine on buildings, setting them afire. When questioned regarding instructions from police officials shortly before the riot, his answer was as follows:

"They gave instructions for every man to be ready and on the alert and if the niggers wanted to start anything to be ready for them. They never put forth any effort at all to prevent it whatever, and said if they started anything to kill every d—— son of a b—— they could find. Gustafson, who was chief of police at the time, was later dismissed."

"On the morning of June 1 they gave me orders to go over to the Negro district," Hurley said. "There was a bunch of rogues, the lower class of white people, stealing and robbing and bursting open trunks and carrying off stuff. Well, I found conditions unspeakable in the way of robbery. I arrested eight and turned them over to those who came to the court-house to jail."

Hurley says drays came later and moved the stolen articles away, despite the fact that the Boy Scouts guarding the district, had strict orders to permit only Red Cross cars. It was the former policeman's opinion that members of our race fought in self-defense. However, he punctured his remark with an exception naming the patrol, but that is the last I ever saw of them or heard of them. I avoid the proposed lynching of Dick Rowland.

The confession also involves a well known police official. He is Capt. George G. Blaine. Hurley stated that Blaine rode in one of the airplanes that hovered over the district during the riot.

The ruin left in the best parts of the negro residential district in Tulsa, Okla., after the rioting and fire last week. Many acres of houses were destroyed, and the citizens, repentant after the outbreak of mob violence, are raising funds to rebuild the negro quarter.

N. Y. C. POST JUNE 8, 1921

## ATTORNEY ELISHA SCOTT RETURNS FROM OKLAHOMA

The Topeka Plaindealer Kansas 10/21/21

After several days in the State of Oklahoma, Attorney Elisha Scott, has returned to the city. He reports that the First National Bank of Boley is doing a fine business and has now over Fifty thousand dollars on deposit. Attorney Scott is counsel for the Colored people of Tulsa and has brought suit for amounts aggregating five million dollars. He also succeeded in knocking out the city ordinance which was meant to prohibit the Colored people from rebuilding in the burned area of that city.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

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N. Y. C. POST JUNE 8, 1921

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Riots - 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

OKLAHOMA NATIONAL GUARD AND ARMED CITIZENS ~~BRINGING~~ IN THE WOUNDED, BOTH WHITE ~~AND COLORED~~, IN THE TULSA RACE RIOTS.

# SEARCH HOMES FOR LOOT TAKEN DURING CONFLICT

## Tulsa Citizens See Whitewash Probe Unless Government Takes Hand

**By Staff Correspondent**

Tulsa, Okla., June 24.—Sheriff McCullough has sent out a large force of deputies to round up persons responsible for the race riot here recently which destroyed property to the value of $2,000,000 and caused the death of over 200 citizens. The whites named in the indictments, which number 65, are charged with murder, looting and arson. City officials have been accused, however, of attempting to "boil down the list of whites" for the purpose of showing it was members of our Race who started the conflict. This is being done, it is claimed, to save the city from damage suits that may arise if wealthy citizens of the Race are not indicted for rioting. Sermons have been preached in white churches which demonstrate the course of procedure in this direction. The names of the indicted men have not been made public.

### Search Homes

A search of white homes in the district a few blocks from the riot center revealed stolen goods taken from wealthy families who had to flee the city when the "special officers and Boy Scouts" fired the residential sections. Dressing tables, pianos and victrolas were returned to their owners. A "special officer" who was in the police station was stripped of his clothing when a member of the Race identified the suit as his own. The officer alleged that he bought the suit while away on a visit, but a search of the inside pocket proved the rightful ownership. He was placed in a cell, but later released.

The body of Ed Lockett, prominently known here, was found eight miles from town, where, it is said, he had been shot from an airplane which followed him from the city. Lockett was attempting to escape on horseback. Several hundred persons saw the aviator shoot Lockett, and were later fired on by the same plane themselves. Some are in possession of bullets which were fired from the air. Letters have been sent to Congressman Martin B. Madden requesting him to urge inquiry relative to the misuse of the government airplanes during the riot. The planes used during the riot and which set fire to brick buildings are owned by the Unietd States government, it is claimed, and kept at a training station here.

### Rowland Released

Investigation has proven the fact that Dick Rowland, charged with "insulting a white girl," Miss Sarah Page, was not in the elevator at the time the insult is said to have occurred. The store was closed, as it was Memorial Day, and the elevator was at the top of the shaft. Rowland has been released and is now in Omaha, Neb. Many are of the opinion that the "attack story" was carefully planned in order to bring about the racial clash.

The city has made no offer to rebuild the homes that were destroyed. Men and women who were wealthy and independent before the riot have been offered jobs as servants in white homes. The humiliation is so great that many are leaving for other towns, where they will reside with friends.

# Tulsa Grand Jury Indicts Five Policemen and Seven Civilians

Montgomery Advertiser 6/26/21

(By Associated Press.)

TULSA, OKLA., June 25.—Grand jury investigation of the recent race riots here led today to the return of indictments against seven civilians, five of the city police, including Chief John Gustafson. Previously about ninety indictments had been returned.

Attorney General Freeling, who conducted the inquiry, told the court he could not fully concur in the jury's findings, believing that accusations should have been made against other officials and alleged rioters. Chief Gustafson, and the four policemen are charged with conspiracy to dispose of stolen automobiles, and the chief in addition is charged with failure to enforce the prohibition law, failure to suptress vice and failure to enforce the law against the carrying of fire-arms.

On request of the grand jury, and the attorney general, District Judge Laljean Biddison, to whom the report was made, immediately ordered the suspension of Chief Gustafson from office. Judge Biddison announced that all accused policemen stood suspended pending trial.

The final report of the grand jury was comparatively brief. It found that the race trouble resulted from armed negroes marching up town to defend Dick Rowland, negro, from lynching; that no attempt had been made or was being made to lynch Rowland and the crowd of whites assembled about the courthouse was largely a peaceful one; that the armed negroes were responsible for the riot; that the whites who assembled at the courthouse and took part in the fighting there later were not to blame.

It further found that there were underlying causes of the riot, notably the spreading of racial equality doctrine among the negroes for a considerable time by members of their own race and the storing of arms by them in a negro church and other places; that the majority of the negroes were not implicated and were ignorant of the true facts.

It found that the police had not properly enforced the law either in the white or negro section; refused to place blame on Sheriff William McCullough for the riot, "deplored" reports of the riot which had gone out through the newspapers and called on the citizenship to demand law enforcement and competent officials. The seven civilian indictments were against alleged rioters and looters in connection with the race trouble.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

# TULSA RACE RIOT JURY INDICTS POLICE CHIEF

## He, With Others, Is Accused o Dereliction of Duty and Laxity on Dry Laws and Vice

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
JUNE 26, 1921

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The final report of the Grand Jury was comparatively brief. It found that the race trouble resulted from armed negroes marching uptown to defend Dick Rowland, a negro, from lynching; that no attempt had been made or was then being made to lynch Rowland and the crowd of whites assembled about the Court House was largely a peaceful one; that the armed negroes were responsible for the riot, and that the whites who took part in the fighting there later were not to blame.

The jury further found that there were underlying causes of the riot, notably the spreading of "racial equality" doctrine, among the negroes for a considerable time by members of their own race, and the storing of arms by them in a negro church and other places. It held, however, that the majority of the negroes were not implicated and were ignorant of the true facts.

While it also found that the police had not properly enforced the law, either in the white or negro sections, the Grand Jury refused to place any blame on Sheriff William McCullough for the riot. It "deplored" reports of the riot which had gone out through the newspapers and called on the citizens of Tulsa to demand law enforcement and competent officials.

The seven civilian indictments were against alleged rioters and looters in the race trouble.

# ARRESTED ON RED CIRCULAR CHARGE

N. Y. C. TELEGRAM
JUNE 29, 1921

### Clothing Cutter Was Distributing Bills Denouncing the "Tulsa Massacre."

Caught distributing circulars held by the police to be anarchistic in character and calculated to incite rebellion, Morris Sorner, forty-two years old, a clothing cutter, of No. 124 Ludlow street, is locked up in Police Headquarters on a charge of criminal anarchy.

Policeman James Curtin, of the East Twenty-second street station, arrested the man when he found him distributing circulars in Second avenue, between Fifteenth and Sixteenth streets. The circulars were headed "The Tulsa Massacre," and urged organized force as the only remedy to apply against "mobs of business men who outraged the negroes and workers." They were signed "Central Executive Committee, Communist Party of America."

Sorner told Policeman Curtin that he had been paid a sum of money to distribute the circulars, but explained he was not aware that they contained matter objectionable to the police. He would not tell who hired him.

One side of the poster dealt with the Russian Soviet government and the need of such a government in this country. It read:

"Under the Russian Czar, the Jews were the victims of race riots and pogroms, workers and peasants overthrow the capitalist government and established a workers' government—the Soviet republic of Russia. Only by following our Russian comrades' heroic example and establishing here the Soviet republic of America will the workers, white and black, be able to work in peace and enjoy the fruits of their labor. Down with the capitalist system. Long live the workers' republic of America."

Sorner, who is a native of Russia, told the police that he had been in this country for thirty years and that he is a citizen.

# TULSA NEGROES SMILE IN FACE OF ADVERSITY

St. Louis Argus 7/15/21

## Victims Of Race War Building Huts Under Ghastly Conditions. Are In Need Of Clothes. Bedding And Household Utensils.

By Geo. W. Buckner
(Special Representative, National Urban League)

TULSA, Okla., July 14.—The first impression one gets upon returning to Tulsa is the changed spirit of the Negroes. No longer do they sit around and discuss their losses. On the contrary, they are busy building huts, enlarging their tents, and getting ready to stay. There are also more people here now than I found upon my first trip. Many who have gone as far as Canada are now returning to Tulsa.

### Building Begins

Several new buildings are now going up in Greenwood. After the permits were issued with much reluctance. In some cases, I am told, Negroes have begun rebuilding without permits. It now seems evident that the Negro section as a whole will not be turned over to the whites for an industrial district. This idea of "grabbing" the Negro section has brought about the most resentful attitude on the part of Negroes and they are determined that they shall not be killed and looted, and "cuffed" as well.

### Attitude of Whites

The attitude of the whites has not changed since the reaction set in. At first, there was the emotion for reparation and restoration. Then came the "blow up" of the city administration and the consequent affixing of the blame for the riot upon the Negroes. The feeling now is one of nonchalance and many of the influential whites have gone away for the Summer. Site for the Negro district has already been selected by those who own the land or own land near it. The location of the site is therefore obvious to any one. That the Negroes will never occupy it semes definitely certain, however.

### Negroes Deserve Help

To smile and sing under such ghastly conditions is indeed almost unbelievable. Negroes throughout the country should rally to assist the thousands of Negroes who are now homeless in Tulsa. The need of temporay relief in food and clothing has been sufficiently met, but there is a very urgent need for bedding and cooking utensils and household articles. With the exception of the Union Memorial Church, St. Louis has not done its duty. Over 1500 suits are to be filed against the city and county for damages. This will call for money for atorney fees, securing affidavits, etc. The colored people of St. Louis thru the churches, lodges and other groups could render no larger human service than by helping these destitute and deserving people in their hour of blackest despair. Here is the greatest opportunity to show our Race loyalty in a most tangible way. Will St. Louis do her full duty?

# EVIDENCE HEAPS AGAINST TULSA POLICE CHIEF

Chicago Defender

## Witnesses Tell of Cops Firing Homes and Robbing Women

7/23/21

Tulsa, Okla., July 22.—It has been definitely established by evidence presented in court at the trial of Police Chief Gustafson, charged with criminal neglect of duty during the race riot, that the police organized parties to enter and set fire to homes, shoot down men, women and children, rob and rape women, and prevent any assistance being given to the besieged defenders of two square miles of Tulsa territory.

John Gustafson, austere police chief, who really "fiddled while Rome burned," and who, citizens here claim, has taken rank with Williams of Georgia as one of the world's worst men, has been proclaimed derelict by the very people for whose praise he worked. June 1 was a white man's day in Tulsa and it was felt that whatever white men did would go forever unchallenged, but hidden forces have refused to remain covered and witness after witness has testified to the guilt of the chief and his department.

### Get a "Nigger"

Outstanding in the evidence presented at the trial was that of Laurel Buck (white), a world war veteran, who declared that when he had asked a police officer about being sworn in to help protect the city had obtained the reply that the police could handle the situation and advised him to go and get a gun and get a "nigger." He further stated that on the morning of the riot he had seen policemen hold the crowd back while two other officers would enter the houses, break the windows and come out with the building smoking.

Buck's father also testified. He is a contractor and owned property in the segregated district.

"I thought I might be able to save my building," he told the prosecutor, "and I asked a uniformed policeman, who was keeping the crowd back, to let me go over and try. He said, 'You ain't got no business building buildings for Negroes to live in.'"

Louis Hoffman, groceryman in the burned area, asserted that at 8 o'clock on the morning of the riot he saw no armed Race men, but saw fifteen or twenty whites going from building to building setting fire to everything.

### Stores Armed Whites

White men were invited, according to the stories told by the witnesses, to go to different hardware stores, sign receipts, and get firearms to do their killing with.

During all the shooting and killing it has not been brought out that either Sheriff McCullough or Gustafson did anything to protect the lives of the citizens. All rules seem to have been suspended and the law to have taken an outlaw holiday. No one as yet has testified to the great amount of money and other valuables which men in the street have told of the police taking from the victims. Great loads of furniture are known to have been moved to the homes of the marauders, among whom were the police. The prosecution is expected to grill the chief in an effort to make him reveal the identity of some of the men who grew rich from the spoils of the "war."

Continued

# SUSPENDED CHIEF GUILTY OF FAILURE TO PROTECT PUBLIC

7/23/21

Tulsa, Okla., July 22.—John A. Gufstafson, suspended chief of police, tonight was found guilty by a jury of having failed to take proper precautions for public safety on the night and day of the recent riot here, and also guilty on another count of conspiracy to free automobile thieves and collect rewards. The jury deliberated six hours.

# BOY ACCUSED OF CAUSING TULSA RIOT FREE

Boston Mass.
The Guardian 10/15/21

## GIRL WHO MADE CHARGE VANISHES

Tulsa, Okla., October 7, 1921.—Dick Rowland, Colored bellhop, who, it was alleged committed the crime of rape upon the person of Sarah Page, about whom the riots of June 1st in this city were precipitated, was released from the county jail today and the charges against him dismissed.

was brought out in the investigatin that he was entirely innocent, the girl never having complained that such were the facts as published in a local White Paper. Sarah Page has vanished and has has never been apprehended since the day she made a statement refuting the charges, alleged against Rowland. Bonds in the remaining cases were reduced by the court today from $3000 to $2500

The criminal cases of J. H. Smitherman, W. S. Weaver, Mose Fitzgerald, Gene Walker, Andy Brown, A. B. J. Taylor and William Dixon were called in court on Thursday morning, Sept. 22, 1921. The attorneys for the defence E. I. Saddler, Elisha Scott, were in readiness to take care of the defence and feel very hopeful of the outcome.

The case of William Dixon was dismissed and the cases of the others are standing on application for change of venue. The application for the change of venue has not been passed on by the court. The attorneys for the defendants have filed demurrers in each case of the defendants and over-ruled by the court exceptions saved by the attorneys for the defendants.

All of the defendants are out on bond exceept two and the attorneys are arranging to make bond for these. The attorneys for the defendants have made a perfect record of all the proceedings up until this time.

Greenwood is being rebuilded with all speed. The following persons are rebuilding or have rebuilt: O. W. Gurley, Mrs. E. Partee, Red Wing Hotel Sneed Building, Mr. and Mrs. Williams, "Dreamland Theatre," Jim Cherry, Mrs. Ed Howard, Rev. Richard J. Hill and others, but winter is fast approaching and there is much to be done to help the sufferers for many are still living in tents.

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REEL 14

Riots – 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# Armed White Ruffians Who Begged For Guns to Help Murder

Defender 6/11/21

TULSA, Okla., June 10.—Tulsa is not a city of the dead. In those deserted spots where the course of men's lives has petered out and Nature has come into her own, there is solitude, there is awe, quiet reigns and life is lacking; but there is nothing unreal, unnatural about those places where men have come and gone—the law of God has been fulfilled and they have taken their places with

"The boast of heraldry, the pomp of power,
And all that beauty, all that wealth e'er gave."

But among Tulsa's blackened ruins there has been an eruption. Tragedy wrought from the frenzied minds of men turned wild burned with white heat in this city like the molten lava from Vesuvius' crest. The lifelong work, the hope of the future for 15,000 souls were shattered by the death-dealing strokes of the mob. Tulsa is not a city of the dead; Tulsa is a city of despair, of the living who have been crushed and see their ruins around them. Tulsa's holocaust is the child of thousands of upward striving men stricken in its prime.

What caused the riot? Ten thousand minds in America have set themselves to answer the question. Who knows? Does Tulsa know? Does the white man know? Do we know? One thing is certain—the breeze which fanned the embers of racial prejudice into a devouring flame was born of yellow journalism; it was a story in the newspapers. But it, like the boy at Sarajevo, merely afforded escape for designs of long standing. What were the contributory causes?

Tulsa's crime has centered about one Dick Rowland. Rowland is not a native Tulsan, but came to this city from Arkansas. He has stayed with his grandfather, who runs a rooming house, and although he has not borne a bad reputation himself, it is known that he has associated with a "rough gang." For some time it is reported he has neither worked nor gone to school.

No one knows what his purpose was in the Drexel building at the time of the alleged assault. He entered the elevator, according to his story told at the trial, the car made a swift motion upward when the power was turned on and he lost his balance, one of his feet striking the girl, or rather the woman, Mrs. Sarah Paige. She slapped the seventeen-year-old boy and he resented it. The altercation attracted a crowd and the boy fled. Later he was caught in the white residential district and arrested by Patrolman Pack, a Race police officer. The arrest was made on a charge of petit larceny. It is claimed that the white woman identified the boy after his arrest as the one who had been insolent to her the day before in the elevator. Naturally, the larceny charge was hushed up and a big feature made of "Negro nabbed for assaulting white woman," as the story was published in a Tulsa afternoon paper.

From then on yellow journalism did its dirty work. Why was it able to function so effectively?

Conditions in Oklahoma have been comparable to those in Georgia. Men have accumulated property. All through the state there are wealthy families. But such wealth indicates nothing in the matter of bad social and economic conditions. Such success as men have had in the state has been almost inevitable. To say the least, it has been natural. Oklahoma is one of the great oil producing states. Men of the Race of enterprise and industry have gone there to build up their fortunes. They have been a pioneering, virile class. Hardships have meant little to them and they have prospered with the finding of an oil field occasionally and the ever present opportunity to buy cheap land. The independent farmers were the first to become successful. Too many of the men who have gone there have intermarried with the Indians. These Indians have large holdings and this wealth has passed into the hands of members of the Race as time has gone on. Oklahomans have had exceptional opportunities to acquire wealth which the whites could not deprive them of, and these pioneers have had the industry to make the most of the chances they have found.

Nevertheless, peonage has flourished. The mob has enjoyed as much play in this state as in darkest Texas or in the jungles of Georgia. Men have been impressed for debt by wealthy white farmers and the sparsity of population in the state has made discovery almost impossible. Now and then a fugitive has escaped and given his story to the world. But it takes a Williams case to arouse people. The scattered tales from Oklahoma have not struck the public heart. They have been shadowed by Sarah Rector's wealth. They have been hidden behind a film of kerosene emulsion.

Three days before the riot three men were chased from Okmulgee and came to Chicago. Peons have fled to New York, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has told about them. In August of last year a white man was lynched in Tulsa. The prosperity of business men of the Race in Tulsa had been a cause for envy and the low-class whites during the winter had done everything in their power to keep laborers of the Race unemployed and drive them from the town. Letters had been sent to prominent men of the Race demanding that they stop extending the bounds of the district within which they were segregated.

A rumor has been extant for some time to the effect that it was the desire of white industry or of private citizens to appropriate the lands which the Race had gained possession of. Since the area had become a segregated district to them, the value had increased and white speculators saw a chance for immense profits if they could only drive the inhabitants out. One large foundry had been put up in the district. At the time of the riot there was only one large white property holder in the district.

The voluntary segregation of the people in the city made the riot easy. Oklahoma had a segregation law, but it was unnecessary. The people originally got together, bought the land they owned when it was cheap, and stayed there. When the fight came, the whites knew where they were. Nothing was handier. The innocent could suffer alone. The plunderers sallied forth into the segregated region, spread destruction, and made their way back to their homes in peace. They had nothing to fear.

What were the people to do? A white man had been lynched in the city in August. Did they have reason to believe that the life of a black man would be spared?

A crowd of white ruffians gathered at the courthouse. Their counterparts in our Race gathered and there were whispered conversations. The air was ominous. The small groups grew. Answering the threat of the white men at the courthouse, forty of our men went down to see what was wrong. On the way they were met and joined by more or less irresponsible elements. At the courthouse the leaders got no satisfaction. Barney Cleaver, a police officer of the Race, urged the men to go back. There is an argument. One of our men is killed.

The fight is begun.

There were three distinct battles in the race war besides the skirmishing. While the men argued at the courthouse, men and boys in the outlying regions engaged in isolated cutting and shooting scrapes. The office of one of the Race newspapers in the town was made a gathering place for our men. Measures for defense were taken up. News had got to them of the advance of the whites from the center of the town. The mob rushed into the district shooting wildly in the main streets of the section. A temporary stand was made by our men, but on the advice of the saner, they retreated, went to their homes and were quiet.

The whites did not stop. Their first move was to summon the Home Guards. These guards planted machine guns on the hills overlooking the segregated district. At 4:30 in the morning a steam whistle sounded three times. This was the signal for the whites to begin the invasion of the Race district. They attacked the business places first. With the coming of daylight, airplanes from the local aviation field, in which the Cadillac company is interested, directed the movement of the oncoming army. At 6:15 a. m. men in the planes began dropping fire bombs of turpentine and other inflammable material on the property. Women and children running from their burning homes into the streets were struck dead by the incessant machine gun fire from the hills, or burned to death by the liquid fire poured down from the airplanes. A great concourse of people fled to the church to seek protection in prayer. The men carried their weapons with them. The whites stormed the church, the defenders putting up a game fight until the airplanes bombed the structure and all within were driven out to the mercy of the mob. On the railroad tracks were the mob of 5,000 yelling men and screaming women who fought a battle of hate and blood. White women caught fleeing women of the Race and beat them with their shoes. Their clothes were torn from them. With frantic gestures on the part of their assailants they were driven through the streets.

The battle on the tracks was the last stand made. Men fought with utter abandon against the human devils above and around them. As the scorching, white fire from airships above was poured upon them, the defenders of their homes made a valiant effort to stave off the bloodthirsty passion of the hounds who killed them. Men slipped and fell in the blood of their brothers. White men died cursing "niggers." Railroad property on the tracks was utterly demolished. One man, leaning far out from an airplane, was brought down by the bullet of a sharpshooter and his body burst upon the ground. Men were hideous. Women were evil. Judgment was in the air and the multitude perished.

While this battle was being fought, the Boy Scouts were tearing through the town helping to set fire to homes which had been overlooked. Gas would be turned on and lit and furniture piled upon it. No effort was made by the authorities to arrest the incendiaries. Their hellish work went on. It was systematic, and it was complete. The men who had hidden in their homes were driven out and killed. The women and children were left to starve or perish.

Troops were not necessary to stop the riot. It stopped itself. When the homes of the people had been burned, when liquid fire from airplanes had struck terror into a defenseless people, the force of the eruption was spent. They could fight no more.

Then the looting began. The white thieves went unmolested into the smoldering ruins and seized everything of value. The people of the Race were picked up in automobiles disarmed and carried to the large halls, baseball park and white churches.

The massacre and destruction at Tulsa is probably the greatest in the history of America. Varying reports have been published in the newspapers concerning the number of deaths. The first stories told of scores being killed. Later dispatches had the number down to thirty. The first reports were doubtless correct. O. T. Johnson, head of the Salvation Army in this city, declares that the reports are too low. His lowest estimate is 150. That would include only members of our Race. Soldiers guarding prisoners in the ball park told them that three times as many whites were being killed as of our men. Mr. Johnson states that on Wednesday forty-seven men were pressed into service as grave diggers; that these men worked all day Wednesday and Thursday, digging over 100 graves, in each of which a man was buried. Friday and Saturday twenty of the men were retained to continue the work. The bodies were not put into coffins, but thrown, charred as they were, into the graves. A rumor was spread that two truckloads of men were thrown into the Arkansas river. The closest guess to the number of dead is doubtless 300.

The property loss is reported to be near $2,000,000. The burned area runs from Cincinnati and Archer streets east about seven blocks, north about seven blocks, and then west to Cincinnati. This comprised the business and residential districts. Greenwood avenue, the business district, was entirely wiped out. Four blocks on Archer street were destroyed. The First Baptist church, on North Elgin street, was burned to the ground. It was valued at $80,000. The entirely new Second Baptist church was likewise destroyed. The Hotel Stradford, with 68 rooms, entirely modern and recently built, was left in ashes. The hotel belonged to Mr. and Mrs. J. B. Stradford and was valued at $75,000. Other property to the extent of $25,000 belonging to Mr. Stradford was also demolished. The Tulsa Star, owned by A. J.

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Smitherman, and the Oklahoma Sun, owned by J. A. Bauchman, have gone down in the ruins. Williams' Confectionery Store and Elliot & Hooper's $100,000 department store went with the rest. The Red Wing hotel with 52 rooms and run by J. T. Presley suffered the same fate as the others.

Prominent among those killed was Dr. A. C. Jackson. The mob of Boy Scouts and guardsmen surged about his house and fired through the windows. Then they began throwing firebrands at it and sought to enter it from the rear. Dr. Jackson came out on the porch and held his hands up, hoping thereby to have the mob go away without molesting his wife. He was shot in the stomach and breast and the soldiers ran. At the hospital where he was carried a white physician recognized him, but it was too late to do any good.

The number of persons wounded in the fights is beyond a reasonable guess. There were probably not less than a thousand. Many who received slight wounds fled to other towns. Still others concealed their wounds for fear the authorities would arrest them as agitators.

One of the most important after effects of the riot was the issuance of an order by Tulsa real estate men to the effect that the people whose homes had been burned must sell their lands to the whites to be used for industrial purposes. It was further stipulated that any other houses put up for them be in a further segregated district about four miles from the town. This action of the Tulsa Real Estate Exchange after the riot has caused many to think that there must have been some connection between some of its members and the systematic burning of the property of Race citizens.

Widespread criticism of the police force and the soldiers was brought out after the riot. These men were the most flagrant in the violation of the law. Not only did they permit the mob to have free sway, but they joined it and used the authority of their office to scatter death and fear among the defenders. Guns were taken from these men and given to the whites to slay them with. Women of the Race were kicked and thrown into the streets by them when they sought to save some of their belongings.

A white daily says: "Acres of ashes lie smoldering in what but yesterday was 'nigger town.' This is an exhibition of one conspicuous and hideous fact: that there is an element here in Tulsa that has not been taught to respect the law. **An incompetent or indifferent police force and a none too vigilant county sheriff's office** for years past have not taught some of our Tulsans, both black and white, to respect the law. The result is that Tulsa today has thousands of Colored people, most of whom are innocent, who are homeless, without a bed on which to lay their heads, who have been robbed of their clothes, and robbed of their shelter by those who put the firebrand in their homes."

Almost complete stagnation of industry and domestic service prevailed as a result of the disorder.

Help has come to the city from all parts of the country. The N. A. A. C. P. wired President Harding immediately after the riot: "The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People feels that an utterance from you at this time on the violence and reign of terror at Tulsa, Okla., would have an inestimable effect not only upon that situation but upon the whole country." Governor Cox of Massachusetts forwarded a request of the National Equal Rights League to the President and asserted, "Citizens of Massachusetts look to you in giving aid to the afflicted, and they will stand behind you in any endeavor to punish the guilty and to make such inhuman and barbaric crimes forever impossible in this land of freedom and justice." The Department of Justice announced that Attorney General Daugherty had ordered a general inquiry into the cause and responsibility for the riots in Oklahoma. Money has been received from the Tulsa relief committee of the Chicago Peace and Protective Association.

Tulsans themselves started a campaign to raise a relief fund of $500,000. Present plans call for the erection of permanent dwellings to cost from $500 to $1,000. It is not known where these homes would be built inasmuch as this plan was not a part of the one to establish a new colony.

Today the thousands of homeless are being cared for by the Red Cross. The men sleep on the ground wherever there is room. Army camp beds have been procured for some of the women and blankets given them when they sleep. Some food has also been provided. Three children have been born in Convention hall, where the largest number were housed. Some of the men have gone to work on the streets, where they are paid 25 cents an hour for their labor. Daily others leave. One bunch of young men left for California. Many are going East. Others have gone to Chicago. Many who have remained have done so in order that they may lay claim to their property insurance. Some of the insurance companies have shown an unwillingness to recognize claims and several of the men who have suffered losses have threatened to sue the city, asserting lack of protection.

Today the state investigation by the grand jury was scheduled to begin. The commission of seven men has been collecting evidence. Thirty white suspects are being held. Yesterday smallpox broke out among the prisoners in the ball park. It is not all over yet.

No, Tulsa is not a city of the dead. Tulsa is a city of the living who suffer.

## TULSA A TYPE

WHAT COUNTRY can be called civilized that has no effective means of preventing such manifestations of barbarism as the Tulsa riot? We cannot pass lightly over the affairs by attributing this form of lawlessness to the hoodlum element. We can no longer point the finger of shame only at the South, for the East, West and North have had a touch of it. The fact that the good people of Tulsa, as well as the good people of East St. Louis, Chicago and Omaha are heartily ashamed of the acts of the mobs and willingly give financial aid to the sufferers, will not restore a single one of the innocent lives sacrificed on the altar of race hatred, nor rebuild a single one of the homes destroyed by the frenzied mobs.

THE NUMBER killed is estimated to be in the neighborhood of 306. The property destroyed was worth $5,000,000. This is a terrible toll for a town boasting a population of 72,000. One may moralize from now until doomsday on situations such as this and get nowhere. As has been said, Americans are troubled with short-sightedness; they send troops to every far-off country that order may be upheld and the lives and property of innocent natives protected, then when it comes right here at home they wink at lawlessness directed against us. Lynchings and peonage are looked upon philosophically as a necessary evil.

IT IS THE FAULT of our police systems that mobs form and gain headway. In every instance investigation has shown that prompt action by the police would have averted the trouble. But no, they wait until something tragic happens, then join in with the white mob under the pretext of trying to restore order, and not only kill every black person they find, but steal their belongings and burn their homes. The town police are creatures of the town people. If color prejudice is rife in one, it is in the other. What do they care about their oath to protect equally every citizen with their white brother's life in peril?

THERE IS NO RECORD of Tulsa's colored citizens of good standing being sworn in as deputy marshals to help quell the disturbance. Wouldn't such a move on the part of the mayor or chief of police have had a salutary effect? Why array the white citizens en masse, armed to the teeth against defenseless, innocent colored citizens for no other reason than that their faces are not the same hue? Why burn the homes of the poor by blocks because some one man is charged with a crime? What could be more hellish than dropping bombs from airplanes in Negro settlements? We ask these questions, but expect no reply. There can be no reason.

AND WHAT WAS IT ALL ABOUT? Dick Rowland, a bootblack, on entering an elevator in a store building accidently stepped on the foot of the white girl operator. She slapped him, then he held her arm to keep her from striking him again. She screamed. He was arrested and lodged in jail. Newspapers in reporting the incident used the word "assault," but failed to explain that the trouble was merely an altercation. Assault means but one thing to the natives below the Mason and Dixon line—rape—and the punishment for this is not meted out by the courts but by "the best citizens," who seem to have ever at hand an unlimited supply of hemp rope, firearms and oil-soaked brands.

GRANTED that the men who gathered about the jail did not represent our better class, it has been proven that their purpose was not to stir up trouble but to prevent it. The rumor had gained circulation that a white mob intended to lynch Rowland. These men were there to prevent it if possible. Who dare blame them? White ruffians have had too little of this manly opposition, but the tide is turning. In sections where the law fails to protect the black as well as the white man, the black intends to protect himself.

TULSA IS JUST A TYPE of dozens of other towns where such outbreaks may occur at any minute. It isn't only Tulsa's concern, it is America's concern. These sporadic manifestations are but concrete symptoms of a deeply rooted national vice. If anyone believes that by keeping one race in subjection to the other the problem can be settled he speaks without understanding. The black and the white man are destined to live side by side here in America for all time to come, and there must be a mutual understanding, a friendlier and more tolerant feeling one for the other if this nation is to last.

WE ARE PROMISED a rigid investigation of this whole disgraceful affair by the city authorities of Tulsa, by the state of Oklahoma, and by the federal government. We have had these investigations in other riot-stricken cities with results anything but satisfactory. No individual or set of individuals suffered for the acts they committed. It is up to the federal authorities to stamp out mob violence if it requires the entire military force to do it. A racial riot is simply one kind of a riot, and it seems that hatreds between classes, races, colors, religions and nations can be fanned in a twinkling into a flame that will, if unchecked, wipe out thousands. It is our national disgrace that individual right is held so little sacred in all parts of our land, that mobs may take all power in their hands, ravaging the homes of the innocent for an individual offense, and visiting upon women and children the assumed sins of a class. America, for shame!

## WOMAN LAWYER CONVICTS TULSA POLICE CHIEF, BUT EXONERATES RIOTERS.

Louisville News 7/30/21

(By The Associated Negro Press.)

Tulsa, Okla., July 27 (Special).—John A. Gustafson, Tulsa's "riot chief of police," has been adjudged guilty of riot conspiracy and of theft plots suggested to him and his confederates during the horrible situations of the disgraceful occurrences which has brought so much of disgrace and humiliation to our formerly proud Commonwealth. A woman, Mrs. Katherine Van Leuthen, made the principal plea which brought about this creature's conviction.

The suspended chief of police, last Friday night, was found guilty by a jury, of having failed to take proper precautions for public safety on the night and day of the recent race riot here, and also guilty on another count of conspiracy to free automobile thieves and collect rewards.

For the first time a woman addressed a Tulsa jury when Mrs. Katherine Van Leuven, assistant attorney general, took the floor to present the State's opening argument. She spent the greater part of her argument in analyzing the third count of the accusation charging the chiew with conspiracy. She also charged the chief could have disarmed the Negroes at the court house and could have prevented the riot, arson and murder which followed.

"The State has never contended that any law was violated after that trouble at the courthouse," she concluded. "After those armed Negroes had started shooting and killed a white man—then those who armed themselves for the obvious purpose of protecting their property and lives violated no law. The chief neglected to do his duty and the citizens, after seeing their police fail, took matters in their own hands. No, we don't contend that they violated the law."

Mrs. Van Leuthen's plea, which is acknowledged as a presentation of the case which procured the conviction of the deposed and disgraced chief, is regarded by the leading Colored people as a conscious effort to clear the skirts of the white citizens of Tulsa of all measure of guilt in connection with the underlying causes that led up to the riot. But the conviction comes, they say, as a step in that direction which will strengthen the cause of our Negro in the eyes of the country at large. "We have got to make some sort of a stand," said one recently, "if we don't Tulsa will become too hot for us to stay here."

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(From foregoing Card)
"Huge Sum for Riot Victims"
East Tennessee News
6/9/21

on Governor Allen of Kansas for the return of the negro.
Stratford has refused to return to Tulsa.

Instructions for the grand jury called to convene Wednesday were being prepared today bp District Judge Riddison. The state investigation was expected to get under way tomorrow under the direction of S. P. Freeling, attorney general.

Another angle of what led up to the first shooting last Tuesday night developed today when Tolly J. Elliott, proprietor of the largest negro store in Tulsa, declared at a meeting of the ministerial alliance that he telephoned Mayor Evans at 9 o'clock that evening that an excited crowd was gathering in the negro quarter. He asserted that Mayor Evans replied he was fully in touch with the situation through the police department and that the police had the situation well in hand. Mayor Evans later said he had no recollection of the telephone call.

Orders have been issued by the police department that beginning Wednesday morning all negroes found on the streets without identification cards will be arrested and placed in a detention camp.

Oklahoma. (Tulsa)

Riots - Ill.

N.Y. Post
6/8/21

Homeless negroes gathered by the militia and armed citizen deputies, and taken to the hastily constructed shelters on the Fair Grounds, where they were cared for by the Red Cross and other agencies

# TULSA, OKLA. IS QUIET AFTER THE RACE WAR

## By Conflagration. Police And Militia Shoot Down Men, Women And Children In Cold Blood.

## OLD GRUDGE ENTERS GAME. ADDS FUEL TO FLAME

### Mob Thirsty After Negro Editor. Nearly Two Hundred Reported Dead. Ku Klux Klan Shows Its Hand In Effort To Preserve "White Supremacy." Woman In Case Flees. Dick Rowland In Jail, Seems Litle Concerned About What Has Happened.

### The Cruelties Of Belgium In The Congo Have Nothing On The Brutalities Visited Upon The Innocent During The Brief War. 44 City Blocks Laid Waste

St. Louis Argus 6/10/21

Special To The Argus:

TULSA, Okla., June 8.—The once proud City of Tulsa, is slowly recovering from a most brutal war which visited this city a few days ago. Nothing in the history of brutality and crime surpasses it, even Belgium or in France during the world's war has nothing on the atrocities committed against the innocent Negroes here during the recent battle.

**Cause Of The Riot**

There were many factors that played an important part leading up to and during the actual fighting. The woman Sarah Paige, the elevator operator, played the first part. Dick Rowland a passenger on entering the elevator which had stopped below the surface of the floor came near falling and in so doing stepped on the Paige woman's toe. She screamed and the boy ran. The local newspaper told of an assault upon a white woman by a Negro, and a lynching party was formed by the white ruffians of several thousand, who marched upon the jail. The Negroes hearing that an attempt would be made to lynch Rowland offered their services to the sheriff to help uphold the law. By 9 p. m. there were 3000 white men and boys and a few women at the jail, the leaders being bent on lynching and when the news reached the Negro section restraint failed to hold them longer and about twenty-five marched to the jail and were met with jeers and other epithets. And while the sheriff's plea to the mob had no effect, when he told the Negroes

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there was no danger, they started on their return. At this stage of the game excitement was running high, and some one fired a shot and the battle was on.

No one seemed to know who fired the shot, whether by colored or white and no one seemed to care.

**Old Grudges Loom Up**

After a few short skirmishes, the Negroes were back to their quarters, or neighborhoods beyond the railroad tracks. But the red flag had been waved in the face of the mob when the Negroes went to the jail, in defiance of a mob, which was bloodthirsty. The news of the first skirmish reached the white section and told of two whites having been killed. As the news was rumored, the number of whites increased, until about ten-thousand had gathered upon the hill overlooking the Negro section, but none would dare go down. The Negroes held their own until about 6 o'clock in the morning, when a fierce attack was made upon them from the hill by cannons, and airplanes soared over the Negro section dropping fire on their houses.

**Militia and Police**

Notwithstanding the cannons and airplanes were used with deadly effect, destroying homes; most of the kiling was done by the police and militia, who entered the Negro district under the guise of the law. They entered and looted the homes of their victims, abused the women and children and killed the men who protested. The home of an aged couple on Greenwood street was entered by some of the mob, and because the old couple protested, they both were shot through the back of their heads and their bodies burned with the building.

**Prominent Negroes Killed**

Dr. E. C. Jackson, a well known and the most prosperous colored man in Tulsa, after resisting the mob was shot in the leg, but would not surrender. He was finally prevailed upon to surrender to what is supposed to be the law, on promise of protection; but while being escorted to the detention camp, he was shot down in cold blood by the militia.

The same fate befell Wesley Williams, the wealthiest Negro in Tulsa, and the owner of the Dreamland Theatre, also destroyed by fire. Williams was reputed to be worth more than $200,000. Dr. John Wayne died fighting protecting his home which was destroyed by fire. John Wheeler, one of the oldest employees at the First National, was killed by a stray bullet while on his way to the bank Wednesday morning. No colored man in Tulsa was more highly respected than John Wheeler. He had been in the employ of the First National for a long number of years and was one of the familiar and popular figures of the city. He was buried with signal honors, the officials of the bank attending in a body.

More than forty blocks are laid waste.

**Among The Dead**

Many reports have been given out as to the number killed during this brief war. No one will be able to tell the fatalities. O. T. Johnson, head of the Salvation Army, said that they had one-hundred and twenty graves dug and that was not enough to bury the colored. It is known that more than fifty whites were buried since the riot.

**Other Factors At Work**

The writer talked with many on the causes of the riot. There is a strong sentiment against the independent upstanding Negro. Especially if he is wealthy. The poor whites who have allowed the Negroes to get ahead of them are quite jealous. Like in other parts of the country, the returned Negro soldier is an eye-sore to the white World War men.

The Negroes here are are less cowards than they are in most Southern cities. The Ku-Klux-Klan is here.

**Negro Editor Flees For Life**

A. J. Smitherman, editor of The Tulsa Star, has fled the city. His brother is now in jail. It seemed that the mob was determined in getting their hands on Smitherman. Everything he had was burned and destroyed. It is said that the white linotype operator who was regularly employed by Smitherman and paid a large salary, led the mob on The Tulsa Star's office. It is believed that he was hired to deliver Smitherman into the hands of the assassins. But Smitherman got away.

**The Ku-Klux-Klan**

The hand of the "K. K. K." may now be seen, playing an important part. General information given by men and women in hotel lobbies, [illegible] "The Negroes must be kept down." "The white man must rule;" "We are organized against them;" "White Supremacy." When pressed for the name of the organization, the answer, almost invariably would be, "Its a secret; we can't tell the name." The writer was told that the organization was in New York.

**The Woman In The Case**

Sarah Paige whose toes were accidently stepped upon by Dick Rowland, which was an insult to her, is said to be a notorious character. The sheriff has recently served divorce papers on her, in which she is charged with a catalogue of wrongs against society. Her husband is a Missourian, the papers having been filed in that State and served upon his wife here. She has fled the town, and her whereabouts are unkown.

Dick Rowland is in safekeekping, and it is doubtful whether any charge will be preferred against him.

# FIRST FIRE STARTED BY MOB

FT SMITH ARK AMERICAN
JUNE 8, 1921

Here is where the mob at Tulsa, Okla., first applied the torch. Other buildings in the negro section were fired later and the flames rapidly spread until they wiped out the homes of several thousand persons, most of them negroes. Small picture shows a negro woman being taken from the burned district under protection of guardsmen.

# SECRETARY WHITE TELL N. A. A. C. P. OF TULSA HORRORS

**Addresses St. Louis Branch. Mrs. C. J. Carter and Atty.**

**Vaughn Elected As Delegates To Conference.**

St Louis Argus 6/10/21

Walter F. White, of New York Assistant Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told a large audience at the Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion Church, Tuesday night, of the horrors which had been perpetrated against the Negroes in the race riots at Tulsa, Okla., June 1st. More than seven hundred people were in the audience to hear Mr. White tell of the investigations which he had made.

Before Mr. White began to speak, the regular branch meeting was held and the Executive Committee made its report showing the activities of the branch in fighting the Ku Klux Klan, and in investigating the lynching at Bowling Green, and the urging the Governor to include an anti-lynching bill in his legislative program and of the other branch activities.

The formal drive for memberships was closed and more than ninety new members were reported at the meeting. An itemized report of the drive will be published later, when the same has been compiled. The campaign for memberships, however will continue. A large Committee, headed by Mrs. Cora J. Carter will continue to secure memberships.

Mrs. Cora J. Carter and Atty. Geo. L. Vaughn were elected delegates to the 12th Annual Conference of the [illegible] Association to be held at Detroit, Mich., from June 26th to July 1st, inclusive.

The following is a list of the chairmen of the various committees which will conduct the activities of the branch:

Membership, Com., Cora J. Carter,
Finance Committee W. H. Huffman
Meetings Committee, C. M. Powell,
Press & Publicity Com., J. H. B. Evans
Legal Redress Com. S. E. Garner
Legislative Committee, Geo. B. Vashon
Grievance and Discrimination Com. Rev. E. H. Hamilton
Education Committee, B. F. Bowles
Amusement and Entertainment Com., Herman S. Dreer
Printing Committee, Oscar Ficklin,
Public Welfare Com., T. J. Moppins
Junior Members, Walter A. Giles,

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots - 1921. Oklahoma (Tulsa) (1)

# HUGE SUM FOR RIOT VICTIMS

## All Races Respond To Appeal For Contributions To Rebuild Homes And Restore Property Caused By Vandalism Of Hoodlums In Tnlsa Riot.---Fairminded Whites To The Press And Pulpit Condemn Lawlessness.---Jealousy And Robbery The Motives.

CANTON GA ADVANCE
JUNE 10, 1921

Special to The News. East-Tennessee News 6/9/21

Oklahoma City, Okla., June 6.—Not only the Negroes and fair-minded white people of the state of Oklahoma have been listed among those who have contributed liberally to the relief of the suffering Negroes as the result of the deplorable vandalism exhibited at Tulsa during last week, but Negroes and white throughout the country have contributed liberally and to date the figures of dollars sent will mount into the millions. The entire country realizes the gross injustice accorded the progressive Negro population and every effort is being made to adjust the matter. Among the checks received by the committee in charge of soliciting funds was one for $1,000 coming from the Chicago Tribune.

[redacted]an interview given by Rev. R. A. Whittaker, pastor of [redacted]lt, Zion Baptist church, of Tulsa, a structure worth $85,[redacted]0 whic hwas burned by the mob of hoodlums, to the Black Dispatch, the pastor tells of the deplorable affair as follows:

"Hundreds of black men, women and children are scattered through the bottoms of Verdi Gras river and the Arkansas, naken, barefooted, women with children in their arms and giving birth to children, are scattered everywhere as they hurrp forther from their burning homes and the holocause of bullets o fthe white assassins who rushed upon their defenseless homes in the wee hours of this morning, spreading fire and bullets everywhere.

"Back in the charred, smoking ruins of what was once the finest business district that progressive Negroes had in the United States, two and one-half million dollars worth of homes and property, arson reigns supreme, punctured here and there by the still smoking carcasses of men, women and children.

"Nothing remains. The Stratford Hotel, Red Wing Hotel, Dreamland Thaeter, Dixie Theater, Gurley's Hotel, Tulsa Star, Oklahoma Sun, A. M. S. Church, the new $495,000 Second Baptist church, Welcome Grocery Store, Elliott and Hooker's Clothing ,everything on North Greenwood, together with the whole residential section, a mile square, all lie in ruins.

Fires were started simultaneously in at least fifty places this morning, beginning at Boston and Archer. The whole of the negro district, including Boston, Eaxeter, Eastton, Greenwood and Hartford and the North Addition, was laid waiste.

Nothing in the awful flight of the Moors when they fled from Granada or the story of St. Bartholomews Night. No, not even the shame of Germany's invasion of Belgium can equal the cowardly and dastardly hell that was started Wednesday morning in this citp. Women as they fled from their burning homes were shot down in cold blood.

The trouble started Tuesday night when a crowd of white youths and men congregated about the jail and demanded the sheriff to turn Jack Rowland over to them, he having earlier in the evening been accused of attempting to assault a white girl in an elevator. Colored citizens, reported to have been led by J. B. Stradford, proprietor of the Stradford hotel, went to the jail and offered their services to the sheriff, in the protection of the prisoner. Barney Cleaver, veteran Negro peace officer and deputy sheriff, met them and reassured them as to the safety of the prisoner. The attitude of the Negroes and the attitude of the whites is expressed in the following statement clipped from the Wednesday morning issue of the Tulsa World. It follows:

### NEGROES SUBMIT.

"Boys, you are not doing right," Cleaver said. "There isn't anybody going to get that boy tonight. He is perfectly safe here. You shouldn't have done this thing for it only stirs sace trouble. Go on home and behave pourselves."

"With that the Negroes passer through the crowd of white and on down the streets toward their own section.

### SHERIFF IS HOOTED.

"At the same time, Sheriff William McCullough was delivering a similar talk to the crowd of white men who were demanding that the Negro boy be turned over to them at the south entrance of the court house. He was continually

Riots - 1921.

When the rioters ceased and turned their attention to the conflagration. Three units of National Guards[illegible] were trying to hold the armed bands of whites and negroes in check, but in spite of the presence of the troopers volley after volley rang out in the black belt.

The trouble started when two hundred armed negroes attempted a jail delivery to liberate Dick Rowland, a negro arrested and charged with maltreatin white girls.

The whites have swarmed to the black belt, voing to burn the dwellings of negroes. Airplanes circled over the negro section said to be carrying bombs. The negroes are flee ing by hundreds to escape death. armed whites are doing their best to cut off their escape. The down otwn section is heavily guarded.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14 (over)

(From over)

jeered and hooted, but he dared any man to make an attempt to storm the jail.

"It was when the crowd had continuually refused to disperse that the blacks reinforced in number made their soiree on the business district, which precipitated the race riots that resulted in bloodshed and arson."

Real trouble started when on the return to the court house the Negroes were met by unauthorized whites who attempted to disarm them. Wednesday's Tulsa Tribune recites this story:

"The second version of the start of the firing was to the effect that a number of unarmed white men, seeing that the officials were not willing to disarm the blacks, took that task to themselves. One man is reported to have dashed into the ranks of the blacks and seized one of the guns. Spectators who relate this as the true story of the inception of the shooting declare that the blacks immediately opened fire when they were threatened with disarmament.

"Shortly after the Negroes fled from the court house battlefield an automobile load of white youths sped past and fired into the jail windows on the fourth floor, spectators declared.

"John Mcueen, a former county officer and one of the men who attempted to disperse the crowd at the court house, declared today that Johnny Codp was the Negro whose shot started the general firing here.

"While I was on the steps Cody and a band of Negroes started up," McQueen said. "I went to meet them, and a stranger backed me up. Cody pushed a gun against him and fired just as I pushed the gun away. The stranger went down. Several bullets went through my coat.

"Immediately after this report came to the crowd that the blacks were mobilized for systematic assault on the whites. The majority of the white men were still unarmed. It became apparent, however, that the police and sheriff's force were making no attempt to prevent the return of the blacks so the white men themselves took charge of the situation. Small groups systematically entered all downtown hardware stores and pawnshops and took up all the arms and ammunition that could be found. Nothing else in any of the stores was touched."

After the first clash the Negroes retreated to a point near the Frisco tracks and Greenwood, where they held the whites at bay throughout the night. A detour, however, was made by the whites coming in from the high hill on the North where the cowardlp attack was made with the torch and the match. Airplanes with nitro-glycerine bombs are reported to have been dropped down into the midst of the black district. The military authorities seemed slow in their effort to establish order for the reason that all of the burning took place after they were in charge.

Hemmed in on all sides and trapped in an outburst of flames there was nothing for the helpless Negroes to do but rush from their burning homes, out into the hell of bullets that met them from all sides. Into great concentration camps they were herded like cattle. Convention Hall, the ball park and all of the large garages today house fully 7,000 Negroes, who stand panting in the hot sun. As an instance of the brutal manner in which the blacks were yanked into captivity, we quote fro mthe Tulsa Tribune of Wednesday, which says:

## BLACKS TIED TOGETHER.

Six blacks, roped together in a line, were hauled into Convention Hall early this morning by Leo Irish, motorcycle officer, who held u pand corralled the band on the outskirts of the North Greenwood district. He tied them together with a line and led the ma hot pace behind his motorcpcle on the return trip.

"Following a night of rioting, sniping and open clashes between whites and blacks hundreds of armed men invaded the Negro district to remove the menace the blacks there offered. At 5 o'clock scores of armed men in automobiles drove to the north side of the black belt in the vicinity of Standpipe hill. These white fighters formed one wing of an encircling movement entirely surrounding the Negro district. Hundreds of pedestrians advanced on the black belt from the south and west. Hundreds [illegible] were fired. Many Negroes were reported to have been wounded while a number of whites were taken to hospitals with wounds.

"The heaviest fighting this morning was in the extreme northern section of the black belt. Hundreds of Negroes were concentrated in a valley at the base of Sunset hill. Fifty were barricaded in a church.

## MACHINE GUNS IN USE.

"Deadly volleys of steel were poured into the ranks of the whites as they advanced in open formation against the blacks who stood their ground. Finally the whites were forced to retreat. A call was sent to police headfuarters for reinforcements. A number of guardsmen with two machine guns were set up and for 20 minutes poured a stream of lead on the Negroes who sought refuge behind buildinys, telephone poles and in ditches.

"The heavy firing came to a sudden halt when a huge white cloth was raised aloft by the Negroes. The church where many Negroes were barricaded, was riddle with bullets, it was said.

"Hundreds of Negroes with hands held high in the air walked from the valley under the guard of armed civilians. Thep were taken to Convention Hall and McNulty park, where they were interned."

To date, confirmation has been given to the rumor of Wednesday that Ed Howard, one of the prominent property owners and business men of Tulsa, is dead. Dr. A. C. Jackson, prominent physician, is also one of the victims. Rumor had it Thursday morning that O. W. Gurley, one of the most prominent men of our group had been killed and that J. B. Stratford had been hung on the court house lawn. Telephone communication with Barney Cleaver established the fact that both Gurley and Stratford are in one of the concentration camps.

John Wheeler, who for ten years, was porter at the First National Bank, is also dead. J. M. Tyler, L. D. Grace and Roy Grace are also, through telephone communication, reported in concentration camps and uninjured.

There were eleven Negro women, most of them not seriously hurt. Marie Johnson broke a stitch taken in a recent operation while helpinf to carry wounded; Gertrude Carr had a heart attack due to fear; Ruth Moore, mother of a 3-day-old babp, was in a dangerous condition; Ruth Oliver was shot through the foot; Letha Rentie, of Muskogee shot through the limh; Miranda Glaze, an old woman sustained a number of bullet wounds. Nine Negroes were said to be in a serious condition. A portion of the Negroes were H. Johnson, Bob Rivers, Arnold Vance, Dave Bland, Willie Brown, Ed Ingrahain, George Denny, Cal Arnsley, P. H. Chapell, Tom Nelson, Sam Tyson, Andrew Nell., William Epps, T. J. Bryant, Dan Davis, Clarence Griffin, Clarence Hall, William Turner, Lindsay Williams, Porter Williams, Johnnie Baker, Ed Baskin, William Holderness, S. Jackson, E. Stevenson, George Jeffrey, H. Johnson, Vance Arnold, William Turner, R. T. Everett, Commodore Knox, Chester Henderson [illegible]

## THIRTY WHITE MEN ARRESTED.

Thirty white men have been arrested and are being held for investigation as suspects in connection with the race riots here. Police Chief Gustafson announced this afternoon. Another white man arrested by state guardsmen on a oomplaint of inciting riot is also being held. Police officials refused to reveal the names of the men.

The thirty whites under arrest are alleged to have been found plundering the devastated negro district. About seventy-five men have been taken into custody the last two days on various charges, but many of them were released.

Chief Gustafson declared that drastic measures would be taken against the looters. "We are keeping a close record of all property recovered," he said, "and as negroes identify their belongings we will demand that thep swear out warrants for th earrest of the vandals. Prosecutions will follow."

## FOUR NEGROES CHARGED WITH RIOTING.

The first step toward prosecution of the alleged leaders of the race riots and subsequent burning of the Negro districts here last week with a cost of 42 lives, was taken today with the filing of charges against K. B. Stratford, negro and former hotel proprietor, and three other negroes, none of whom are in custody. They are charged with rioting.

Extradition papers for Stratford, who is in Independence, Kansas, were forwarded by the county attorney to Governor Robertson, who was asked to make a requisition

(See Next Card)

Riots — 1921.

# Robertson Tried To Commandeer Tulsa Hostelry

Tulsa Daily World 6/6/21

The influence of Adjutant General Charles F. Barrett with Governor J. B. Robertson was all that prevented the commandeering of The Tulsa Hotel by the state's military, during the recent reign of martial law, according to reliable sources intimate with official direction of the military here.

According to this source, which cannot be revealed, the governor came to the city of Tulsa in an ugly mood. Arriving he found the hotel filled with guests and nothing left for the state's chief executive. The governor is said to have pleaded, commanded and threatened to no avail. After a time the governor is said to have lost his head, whereupon he vehemently declared he would commandeer the place, oust every guest in the house and turn the establishment over to the soldiers operating under his direct authority.

It is said the governor even threatened to make barrack rooms out of parlor suites. According to the unrevealed source, the governor was preparing to issue his orders when the adjutant general appeared and succeeded in inducing the commander in chief to recede from his militaristic position. The hotel authorities managed to accommodate the governor.

# NEW PROTECTIVE LEAGUE FORMED

## Citizens' Organization Is Independent of Other Enforcement Bodies

## MEMBERSHIP OF 250

### Only Men of Known Ability to Be Admitted to Merchants' Protective League

The formation of a business men's protective organization was announced immediately after the meeting of the executive committee of the central welfare board Sunday morning. It is to be organized under direction of the committee, and as near as can be learned will function idependently of all other organizations. The membership will be about 250 men who have shown ability in law enforcement and in dealing with the criminal element.

Sunday passed quietly in the city, with little more than rumors to disturb the quiet. An occasional arrest was made of those believed to have been implicated in starting the disturbance of Tuesday night and Wednesday, and of persons who were charged with possession of loot. A lost property custodian is to be appointed within the next day or two by Mayor T. D. Evans, and those persons will have charge of the distribution of property brought to the courthouse and to the police station—property that was taken from the burned district either by friends or by looters.

**Guards on All Roads.**

Armed guards have been stationed at the edges of the city on every road leading into Tulsa. These guards have been instructed to halt any person or automobile that looks suspicious, and to fire if persons refuse to halt at their command. Police Commissioner J. M. Adkison said Sunday evening that the co-operation of police authorities in every city and town in this section has been promised to Tulsa, and local officials are to be warned immediately if there is any unusual action seen on the part of negroes in any of the surrounding towns.

Adkison stated there will be no decrease in the number of special men employed by the police department until all rumors of impending trouble have entirely died out. A large reserve force is in readiness at a minute's notice in event there should be any further disturbances or signs of disturbances.

**Search for Riot Leaders.**

Police have obtained information to the effect that Ed Howard, one of the negroes who incited the riot, was among those killed. Howard, it was learned officially, was on one of the first trucks loaded with negroes that invaded the business section. Private investigations are now being made to determine how many

(Incomplete)

it is not justified now and here. Although civilization broke down in Tulsa the other day, we are not willing to turn over to men who disguise themselves this problem of modern life. It is more than unsafe; it is dangerous.

"The hope of civilization is Christ. Tulsa is no better nor worse than the average city. Its white people are no better, no worse, than those of the average American city, its negroes have the same virtues, vices, superstitions, misguided leadership as negroes of other cities. We are face to face with a matter of gravest concern. Its one solution lies in the hope of the ages, the light of the world-Christ. It is through His teachings that Tulsa people must work to solve their problems."

# BLACK AGITATORS BLAMED FOR RIOT

## Bishop Mouzon Cites Visit of Radical Negro as One Cause of Battle

## CITIZENS CRITICIZED

### Says City Government Reflects Moral and Spiritual Desire of Its Electors

## WHITES OVERLOOKED CRIME

### Allowed 'Little Africa' to Become Festering Sore and Wonder at Results

Tulsa Daily World 6/6/21

That the visit of Doctor Dubois, editor of a magazine for negroes, "The Crisis," to Tulsa some time ago may have hd a bearing upon the trouble of the past week was intimated by Bishop Ed D. Mouzon in his sermon last night at the Boston Avenue Methodist church upon the subject, "The Tulsa Race Riot and the Teachings of Jesus Christ." The magazine published by Dubois was termed by the Bishop "dangerous," and Dubois himself characterized as the most vicious colored man in the country.

"I knew at the time that Dubois was here," declared the Bishop, "and I very keenly regret now, in view of the events of the past week, htat I did not take advantage of that knowledge, and inquire into the purpose of his visit."

It was reported to him, stated the Bishop, that on the night of the riot negroes went to the office of the Tulsa Star and there secured guns and ammunition.

"Where,' asked the speaker, "did they get those guns and that ammunition? What business had they with with them? Agitators, be they black or white, can accomplish nothing but serious harm, and social problems of city, state or country are never settled in that way."

**Whites in Defense of Home.**

"The mob,' declared the Bishop, "is always wrong. It is never to be apologized for, never defended; it is ruinous to civilization; it is barbarous. As to what happened after the streets were filled with armed negroes, I do not know. I do not know who is to blame for what happened. But if it is true that the city and county officials were powerless to stop that which threatened, if it is true that there was nothing done at a time when it was imperative that something be done, if it is true that our wives, our children and the people of Tulsa were threatened with being at the mercy of armed negroes, then the white man got his gun and went out in defense with it did the only thing that a decent white man could have done. It is true that somebody blundered. Civilization broke down in Tulsa. I do not attempt to place the blame, the mob spirit broke and hell was let loose. Then things happened that were on a footing with what the Germans did in Belgium, what the Turks did in Armenia, what the Bolshevists did in Russia Tulsa has been disgraced. I am ashamed. It will take Tulsa a long, long time to get over that which has been done here. Papers the country over have carried in big headlines the hoppenings of that night.

**Citizenship Blamed.** ....

"I repeat," said the bishop, who was frequently interrupted by spontaneous bursts of applause, 'that I make no attempt to place the blame for the disgraceful happenings of that night. It is easy to say, 'the city officials are to blame. The administration broke down.' But let me tell you, that if the blunder was made by the city officials, if the fault was the administration's, then you are equally to blame, for you yourselves are your city government; your city government is the exponent of your moral and civic life. Don't blame your city officials. Blame yourself.

"Little Africa," continued the Bishop, "was one of the blackest spots in Oklahoma. I am amazed at the open violation of law practiced there, that there were all sorts of 'joints' operating there. Of course the officers of the law knew all about it—but that was Little Africa' Certainly everything bad was going on there—but that was Little Africa! We must raise the standard of the colored race if we would solve the problem that is not only the problem of Tulsa just now, but of other cities as well, and you can't do that until we raise our own standards. A great many of us have not done that.

**Paid No Attention to Crime.**

"There has been petty pilfering going on in the kitchens of some of you women, and you have allowed it for fear of losing your servants.

# BLACK AGITATORS BLAMED FOR RIOTS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE ONE

There has been immorality in your servants' quarters, and you have ignored it. You have known what is going on in Little Agrica, and you didn't care. That is not the Christian attitude, and it is never in this world going to help uplift the negro race. You women should take an interest in egro wamen, their children and their problems; business men should confer with negro business men from time to time—a kind of clearing house, and the white ministers of this city ought to hold conferences with the negro ministers. Are we Christians or are we not? The dare to do the Christian thing for the betterment of the colored race.

**No Racial Equality.**

"There is one thing," said the Bishop, "upon which I should like to make myself perfectly clear. That is racial equality. There never has been and there never will be such a thing. It is divine ordained. This is something that the negroes should be told very plainly Steps toward social equality are the worst possible thing for the negro man and the white thing. There should be separate hotels, schools, churches, for the negro. At the same time, we must have the Christian attitude toward the black man; he is made by the same creator, he is subject to the same Christian laws; he is our brother in Christ. I believe firmly in the right kind of education for the negroes, and I believe that the right kind of leader, such as Booker T. Washington, and not Dubois, can do more than anyone else for the men and women of his race.

There has been too much of this social esuality and the low-down white trash are responsible for it. Morality is the very foundation of civilization and when morality decays, the foundations give way. At the same time all race hatred and contempt must die out; there is no place for it, and we must have cooperation for the ultimate good of both races.

**Ku Klux Not Justified.**

"There may be some of you here tonight," said the speaker, "who are members of the Ku Klux clan. The other day members of that organization marched down the streets of Dallas, masked and robed. Such an organization may have been justified once, in the days following the war when civilization went wrong. But

# WHITE MAN SAYS POLICE BURNED HOMES IN TULSA

Defender 6/11/21

**Wichita, Kan., June 10.—Thomas Higgins, a white man, resident of this city, happened to be in Tulsa during the riot, says he believes better treatment should be accorded a dog than was given the Negroes at Tulsa.**

**"To my personal knowledge," says Mr. Higgins, "at least a dozen Negroes were shot to death by officers of the law while their hands were in the air and in some instances these same men set fire to the homes and business places of Negroes. The most feeble effort was made to stop the great damage that was wrought.**

**"I saw men of my own race, sworn officers, on three occasions, search Negroes while their hands were up, and not finding weapons, extracted what money they found on them. If the Negro protested he was shot."—From Wichita Daily Eagle.**

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

# *Causes of Riots Discussed In Pulpits of Tulsa Sunday*

## Invasion of Business District by Armed Negroes, Possession of Arms by Citizens, Lax Law Enforcement and Lack of Interest in City Government Reasons Given

6/6/21

Tulsa churchgoers did not escape, in services of worship Sunday, that topic which has been chief in every thought and on every tongue for the past five days, for the race riot, its causes, effects, lessons and necessary aftermath of action, were the subject of entire sermons or of allusion in practically all local churches Sunday morning and evening.

Declaring that the Tulsan who has passed through such occurrences as that of the past week, no matter in what manner, without a degree of disturbance of his feelings and thoughts is not normal, Rev. L. S. Barton of Boston Avenue M. E. church said, "I feel that to talk of anything else but the theme of righteousness would be largely thrown to the wind," in announcing his text as "Righteousness Exalteth a People; Sin Is a Reproach to Any People.' The purpose expressed by most of the ministers was in keeping with the statement of Rev. J. W. Abel of First Methodist church that "Though this is no time for intemperate speech, there are some things that ought to be said without any attempt to shield any one in any way to blame and at the same time bring home the lesson to the whole city which in our humiliation we ought to be ready to receive."

**Name Causes of Disturbances.**

Causes of the disturbance were variously named as non-enforcement of the law, indiscriminate possession of weapons by citizens, the invasion of the business district by armed negroes, general lawlessness in the city and lack of interest in government by the decent citizenship. The ministers were more agreed as to the immediate steps now necessary, such as assisting the destitute and restoring the devastated area and punishing both black and white culprits, and were also unanimous in their plea for a firm stand for good government and law enforcement by good citizens and for a higher moral standing in the city. The pastors stated that they left to the grand jury the fixing of individual blame.

The riot was used as an illstration of how the possession of arms leads to warfare by Rev. Rolfe Pomeroy Curm of Trinity Episcopal church and Rev. S. S. Kaufman of the First Lutheran church, preaching Sunday morning on disarmament in observance of national Peace Sunday. Reverend Curm declared that "If the negroes had had no arms and ammunition or if they had been disarmed at the outset, there would have been no bloodshed, but because they went through the city armed they were the cause of their own undoing." Preceding the taking up of an offering for the relief and restitution fund Reverend Crum said that without regard to where the blame for the disturbance lay, help should be given the innocent negroes suffering because of the radical element. Stating that there would not have been an occurrence such as that of Tuesday night and Wednesday if citizens had not been armed, Reverend Kaufman went on to say that "Tulsa must redeem her folly just as warring nations must, by paying the price. To restore the property losses of the unfortunates is the least that Tulsa can do. Then she ought not to rest until all participants, white and black, are removed as a menace to society."

**Is Stain Upon Tulsa.**

Rev. C. W. Kerr of the First Presbyterian church characterized the disturbance as a stain upon Tulsa's fair fame. "For 22 years I have been boosting Tulsa and we have all been boosters and boasters about our buildings, bank accounts and other assets, but the events of the past week will put a stop to bragging for a while. The matter should not be discussed in regard to any individual blame. Let the courts decide that; they should go to the bottom of the whole matter and bring all guilty ones to justice."

The cause of the riot was divided by Reverend Kerr between the act of bad negroes and a prevailing spirit of lawlessness in the city. "The colored people must understand that they started it. The fact of their arming and coming up through the city was an outrage to the citizenship of Tulsa. If they had not done so, we would still be living in peace.

In the sense that this trouble has been coming on for years, we are all to blame. For years there has been growing a spirit of lawlessness. Human life has been held very cheaply, both in deliberate murder and automobile accidents due to reckless driving. God's law of the Sabbath has been disregarded and Tulsa a few years ago voted not to keep the fourth commandment. Many people are raising a howl about blue laws, but it might be well to beg back some safe and sane blue laws. For years we have been permitting festering sores to exist in the negro section and downtown sections. We have been making a bid for the lawless element in that far and wide men have said, "Tulsa is an easy place." Now it is our task to down that conception and make it so that Tulsa will have a different reputation over the country. We can not have a festering sore in darky town that will not afflict the life of the whole city. There has not been enough co-operation between the good whites and the good negroes. Years ago the negro ministers co-operated with the white ministers, but little by little they dropped out. We white folks must return to co-operation with the good element in the other race. Now is the time to help the good negro and to tell the bad negro to move on."

Non-enforcement of law was the cause of the riot, Rev. Ira Crabtree said in a reference to the disturbance at Grace Methodist church Sunday morning. "If the law had been enforced by officers as it should have been, this would not have happened. It grew out of long law-breaking.

**Responsibility Is Placed.**

Responsibility for the riot was laid squarely by Reverend Barton at the feet of good citizens who take no interest in city government, refuse to vote, shut their eyes to and and do not protest against law violations and failures in duties upon the part of officers and officials and who themselves are guilty of minor law breaking. "The riot was not born in a day; you must go back of the day when it burst upon us last week; it was not an occasion but a cause. It needs to be brought back to the people who take insufficient interest in public welfare. Our officials are put into office by such a little vote that it is absolutely disgraceful. The rank and file of good people are not interested enough to vote. Government is of God and one of his divine institutions and we are untrue to Him if we do not participate in it."

Poor enforcement of law was cited by Reverend Barton as a cause. "Right up to the present time we have had choc joints in Tulsa and the lower down the people the more these joints have flourished. I think you will find that the negroes were dominated by people who frequented these places. The good citizenship in Tulsa is so much in the majority that these places where men may go and get the most deadly poison should not be permitted. With such breeding places of iniquity as these and similar ones is it any wonder that we have a reign of hijacking, burglary and at last this riot? If we do not rise up as good citizenship and say to all officers, county and city alike, that these breeding places of iniquity shall go, we have failed in our duty and cannot complain at consequences."

**Many Negroes Admit Plot.**

There were two parties to the riot, just as there are two parties to every quarrel, Reverend Abel said, naming the negro as the first.

"There is not a negro to whom I have spoken (and that means I have purposely talked to many) who does not blame his own people for instigating it.

"We must not make a martyr of the negro, even though many hundreds of them have suffered innocently. There are all too many of the so-called leaders of the negro race who habitually discredit the white race and misrepresent us as to our willingness to give the negro a chance under the flag to all the rights of American citizenship. What other nation in all human history has done as much a people as the white race has done for the race which but a brief half century ago emerged from slavery? A race which even in slavery was a thousand times b'tter off than the black princes w'o ruled their race in Africa.

We ta. ourselves to educate him; we help him to build churches, we are careful to keep him supplied with work at a good wage, and trust him with the ballot, and all we ask of him in return is to behave himself and prove himself worthy of our trust.

**Negro Protects Crime.**

But the sin of his race is that they are all too ready to protect a member of the race in crime, for no other reason than that he is a negro. If there was any occasion for a negro demonstration last Tuesday night, how much more respect we would have had for the leaders of the race had they presented themselves to the authorities and asked for the privilege of meting out their wrath on the criminal who had disgraced their race.

Some day the negro will come to know that the white race is his best friend. And the white hand is ever ready to lift him far beyond his desert and more rapidly even than he qualifies.

Now what of the white man's part in this disgraceful proceedure? We cannot tolerate a spirit and condition of lawlessness amongst ourselves and expect the negro to refrain from following our example. When we make heroes out of mob eaders and let them go unpunished you have licensed the negro to attempt the same thing.

When the criminal element amongst the whites is permitted to hold the law in utter contempt—you may expect the negro to have like contempt for the law.

We have been hearing many apologies for the impotency of the law enforcement arm of our city government, that the whole city has come to believe in its impotency.

**Spirit of Lawlessness.**

When there is a determined effort in this city to tolerate no longer a spirit of lawlessness—from the man who drives his high-powered automobile beyond the speed limit on the streets of Tulsa, to the person who runs an assignation house under the guise of a hotel—then and then only will the common criminal fail to find a roosting place in the city of Tulsa.

Then what are we to do in the premises?

First: Every negro accessory to the crime of inciting and taking part in the riot lost Tuesday night must be run down and brought to trial. The officer of the law who stood on the courthouse steps and called the white people "damn fools" and ordered them to go home and arm themselves, ought not escape the penalty of the law.

Every white man who engaged in the wanton destruction of property and the promiscuous murdering of the negroes ought to be treated as any other criminal who has committed like offense. And the worst criminal of the whole lot was not the negro who marched the streets with his double-barreled shotgun, or the white citizen who lost his head and fired promiscuously fired at fleeing negroes.

The least the community can do now in a constructive way is first to clean itself up morally. Second, contribute to a fund, not to be given to the negro, but to loan to him and help him by putting a premium on industry and morality, that will encourage him to rebuild his waste places. Third, put a premium upon Christian citizenship so that out of our wreck of sin and humility, we shall build a larger and better Tulsa.

# STATE ACTS IN TULSA CASE

N. Y. C. GLOBE
JUNE 7, 1921

## Charges Filed Against Four Negroes, Alleged Leaders in Recent Race War.

TULSA, Okla., June 7. -- The first step toward prosecuting alleged leaders of the race riots and subsequent burning of the Negro district here last week, with a cost of thirty-two lives was taken to-day with the filing of charges against K. B. Stratford, Negro, and former hotel proprietor, and three other Negroes, none of whom is in custody. They are charged with rioting.

Extradition papers for Stratford, who is in Independence, Kan., were forwarded by the county attorney to Governor Robertson, who was asked to make a requisition on Governor Allen of Kansas for the return of the Negro. Stratford has refused to return to Tulsa.

Instructions for the grand jury to convene Wednesday were being prepared to-day by District Judge Biddison. The state investigation was expected to get under way to-morrow under direction of S. P. Freeling, attorney general.

Another angle of what led up to the first shooting last Tuesday night developed to-day when Tolly J. Elliott, proprietor of the largest Negro store in Tulsa, declared at a meeting of the Ministerial Alliance that he telephoned Mayor Evans at 9 o'clock that evening that an excited crowd was gathering in the Negro quarter. He asserted that Mayor Evans replied he was fully in touch with the situation through the Police Department and that the police had the situation well in and. Mayor Evans later said he had no recollection of the telephone call.

Orders have been issued by the Police Department that beginning Wednesday morning all Negroes found on the street without identification cards will be arrested and placed in a detention camp.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots — 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

N. Y. C. CALL
JUNE 3, 1921

## And Our Plutocracy Talks About "Barbarous Mexico"

N. Y. C. GLOBE
JUNE 4, 1921

### DENY THE U. S.

#### Tulsa Editors Brand Charges Made by New York Negroes as False.

In response to a request from The Globe for statements, the editors of newspapers in Tulsa and Okmulgee, Okla., have denied absolutely the veracity of stories told in this city by five Negroes recently arrived from Oklahoma to the effect that the Tulsa riots were preceded by public warnings in the newspapers advising all Negroes in the district to leave, and threatening them with injury if they remained.

Otis Lorton, managing editor of the Tulsa World, spokesman for papers that there was to his positive knowledge no attempt on the part of the whites in Oklahoma to terrorize the Negroes by published warnings or by written threats placed on the doors of the homes in the Negro quarter. He insisted that the story told by five Oklahoma Negroes in this city, charging the whites with combining to terrorize the Negroes in order to force them to sell their rich oil holdings, was utterly false and without foundation.

The Okmulgee, Okla., Times telegraphed The Globe that the reports of printed warnings to Negroes to leave the city were absolutely untrue. The Times also denied that the reported attempts in Okmulgee to burn the homes of the Negroes were true, or that there was any attempted peonage of the Negroes by the white farmers. The Times charged stories given out by eastern Negroes were for the purpose of arousing sympathy for their movement to bring about equality of the races.

# U. S. Inquiry In Tulsa Race Riots Ordered

N. Y. C. TRIBUNE
JUNE 4, 1921

### Daugherty to Learn if Federal Laws Were Violated; Investigations by State and County Under Way

### City to Attone for Harm

### Raises Fund to Rebuild for Victims; Radicals Among Negroes Called Plotters

WASHINGTON, June 3.—A general inquiry into the race riots at Tulsa, Okla., has been ordered by Attorney General Daugherty, it was announced to-day at the Department of Justice.

The purpose of the investigation, officials said, is to determine whether the disorders were in violation of Federal laws. Preliminary reports, it was added, show that the situation is purely local.

The inquiry ordered is informal and will be made by the department's agents in the field. Officials indicated that it was not probable that a special investigation would be ordered. They expressed the belief that the situation would work itself out without the intervention of the Federal government.

**State Inquiry Ordered**

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla., June 3.—A thorough investigation of the Tulsa race conflict by Attorney General Freeling was ordered by Governor Robertson to-day. Mr. Freeling was authorized to proceed to Tulsa at once and preserve all evidence, which will be submitted to a grand jury when it meets.

TULSA, Okla., June 3.—Search for a number of alleged ringleaders of the race riots of Tuesday night and Wednesday, which cost thirty lives and the loss of $1,500,000 in property, the lifting of martial law and progress on plans for rebuilding a negro "zone" were developments in Tulsa to-day.

Adjutant General Barrett, in charge of the state troops here, announced this afternoon he had the names of a number of persons suspected of being ringleaders in the trouble and that these persons when apprehended would be turned over to the civil authorities.

General Barrett told the Chamber of Commerce it was unnecessary to keep the state troops after to-day and this afternoon issued the Governor's order restoring civil law.

**Bar Association to Aid Jury**

The Committee of Seven at a conference discussed the request of Governor Robertson for a searching inquiry and decided the best plan would be to handle the investigation through the grand jury. A special committee from the Bar Association, it was announced, will be appointed to coöperate with the County Attorney's staff.

The Committee of Seven also considered the rebuilding plans and steps are to be taken to provide a well built negro section, this to be done in part as an atonement for the harm done, and also as an example for other cities.

The committee expects no difficulty in obtaining the $500,000 it has been decided is necessary to rebuild homes owned by negroes.

An order was issued from military headquarters early to-day demanding the arrest of any one offering for recording deeds to or transfers of any property in the burned district.

General Barrett asserted that irresponsible persons were seeking to obtain the property at much les than its value.

**Radical Agitators Blamed**

Agitation by a few irresponsible negroes was blamed for the part of the negroes in the race war here in statements by several prominent negroes and by Police Commissioner J. M. Adkinson.

According to Commissioner Adkinson the police were aware that negro radicals had been at work for some time. He said negro citizens had been warned several months ago that responsibility for any trouble would rest upon the negroes.

As the race war excitement flickered out, the fear which kept negro leaders silent was dispelled, and they told the negro story. Barney Cleaver, a veteran negro police officer and former deputy sheriff, who enjoys the confidence of both whites and blacks, named an alleged negro narcotic peddler as one of the principal leaders in the disturbance Tuesday night which precipitated the shooting and burning.

O. W. Gurley, probably the wealthiest negro in the city, told the story of what happened in the negro section and declared the belligerent negroes stablished headquarters at the plant of a negro newspaper early Tuesday vening.

**Leaders Jeered at Warning**

Cleaver said he warned negroes then that they would cause the negro section to be burned if they did not disperse and disarm. "They only laughed at me and threatened to shoot me," Cleaver said.

Gurley said on the night of the riots he went to the newspaper office about 9 o'clock and found activities far advanced. "Men were coming in singly and in little groups," he said, "in answer to the call to arms, and guns and ammunition were being collected from every available source.

"Many of the men," he continued, "were making open threats and talking in a most turbulent manner.

"When I saw what was going on, I tried to talk them out of the idea of arming themselves to prevent what they believed was a threatened lynching, but they were in such a dangerous mood that I almost got in trouble myself.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

# 200 ARMED MEN ROUT MAD MOB OF WHITES INTENT ON LYNCHING

## Protect Jail, Save Accused Man's Life; Governor Orders Troops To Scene Of Conflict

TULSA, OKLA., June 1. — 200 armed men surrounded the jail here last night and hurled back the onslaught of a howling mob of whites who were attempting to break into the jail for the purpose of lynching a prisoner.

**Surround Jail.**

The trouble started when bold predictions were made that the man would be lynched at sunset. Shortly after, members of our Race began arriving in the vicinity of the jail in automobiles, armed with rifles and small machine guns, evidently relics of the World War. Quickly they mobilized around the jail to lend assistance to the sheriff.

Others began patrolling the streets leading to the jail.

Word rapidly spread through the city that a conflict was impending. The first firing came shortly after dark when the mob of whites advanced on the position accupied by the defenders of the jail.

**Firing Becomes General**

The firing then became general with several known casualties on both sides. Two whites are reported killed and one colored but it is definitely known that several others are dead.

**Would Invade Residence Section.**

Angered at their failure to break into the jail, the frenzied mob of whites next planned to invade our residence sction. This move had been foreseen, however, and our patrols met them on the outskirts of the section and decisively repulsed them.

**Troops Called Out.**

Late last night Adjt.-Gen. C. F. Barrett ordered three companies of state militia to assist the police in quelling the mob. At that hour the streets of the city were still under the control of bands of armed fighters.

"There were not more than forty or fifty men in the crowd of armed negroes who marched upon the courthouse. They were nearly all dope users or 'jake' drinkers with police records. However, a few more intelligent ones were in the lead."

## NEGRO REFUGEES CARED FOR HERE

MUSKOGEE OKLA. PHOENIX
JUNE 4, 1921

### Relief Committee Feeds and Shelters Persons Fleing From Riot in Tulsa

One hundred and fifty negro refugees from Tulsa have come through Muskogee, according to W. H. Twine chairman of the negro committe to take care of them. Virtualy none have stopped here, Twine said.

**Headed for Farms**

The refugees nearly all want to get out into the country, Twine said, and work until things have quieted down in Tulsa. He thinks that most of them will go back then.

The local relief committee is preparing to feed several hundred more refugees, he said, and also pay their transportation to country towns nearby, where they can secure work.

**Dispense Food**

The basements of the three negro Baptist churches will be fitted up into food dispensaries for the refugees, the committee plans. Those who stay over night here will be cared for in negro homes.

The negro relief committee thinks that all the refugees here can be cared for without asking any aid of the whites.

# EIGHT WHITES AND MANY NEGROES ARE ON OFFICIAL LISTS

## Ten Blocks of Homes in Negro Quarter Destroyed During Night and Day; Despite Martial Law Desultory Firing Continues Throughout Afternoon; Believe Negroes Burned to Death in Homes; Attack on Orphan Girl Said to Have Started Trouble

TULSA, OKLA., June 1—Ra ce riots today resulted in the death of eighty or more persons, including nine whites, according to estimates by the police, and in the destruction of ten blocks of homes in the negro quarter. Despite the placing of the city under martial law today, desultory firing continued during the afternoon, but the city this evening was comparatively quiet. Four companies of the national guard under Adjutant General Barrett are on duty.

The reported death list grew all day. At noon the chief of police notified Governor Robertson at Oklahoma City that the total was seventy-five. In one statement Major Charles W. Daley of the police department put the figure at 175 saying he believed many negroes had been burned to death in their homes.

A check of the morgues tonight showed eight known white dead. They were, Walter Daggs, local manager of the Pierce Oil Corporation, formerly of Leroy, New York

Arthur James, Wyonna, Oklahoma.
Cleo Shumate, 24, Tulsa
Carl D. Lotspoich, 26, Tulsa.

Man identified as F. M. Barker, Haviland, Kansas, who carried an identification card with the name of Norman Gillard, Tulsa.

Homer C. Clyne, 16, Tulsa.
S. J. Withrop, 19, Tulsa.
Unidentified man about 40 years old.

The trouble is declared to have started last night from the arrest of a negro charged with attacking an orphan white girl and subsequent attempts of negroes to rescue the arrested man. Comparative quiet prevailed in the later hours of the night but at daybreak a group of negro houses were set afire and the city firemen prevented from fighting the flames. Armed white men then formed a circle about the negro section.

For several hours during the morning parties of negroes and white faced each other across railroad tracks, on which could be seen a number of slain negroes.

With the early arrival of Adjutant General Barrett and a machine gun company from Oklahoma City, a semblance of order was restored. Several thousand negroes were assembled at Convention hall, the baseball park and the police station, and there guarded. Orders were issued for the disarming of all persons not belonging to the guard or especially deputized.

Detachments of the national guard were scattered about the city at strategic points, especially about the negro quarters where 10,000 to 13,000 negroes it is estimated, make their homes. Nearly half that number are now under guard.

Dick Rowland, the negro whose arrest led to the disturbances, was removed from the city to an unnamed place. Officers declared he would be given a speedy trial.

One of the hottest engagements of the whole outbreak took place around a negro church where about fifty negroes had barracaded themselves.

Several massed attacks were launched against the church but each time the attackers had to fall back under the fire of the negro defenders. Finally a torch was applied to the building and the occupants began to pour out firing as they ran., Several. of the negoes wee killed.

Shortly after midnight the negro district was fired in other places and at dawn it lay a seething mass of ruins. The white invaders apparently were supplied with inflamables.

Officials estimate that more than 25 separate fires were set. The wind was not high and the flames were started at intervals through the section. This is believed to account for saving of the warehouses and business buildings in the edge of the burned area.

**OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA., June 1—Evidence of the fury of the race clash was borne by a St. Louis and San Francisco passenger train which arrived here today from the east. Many of the windows in one of the coaches had been shot out and the sides of the coaches were scarred by bullets fired on the train as it passed through the negro section in Tulsa early today. None of the passengers were injured.**

J. E. Lucas a traveling salesman, who arrived here today from Tulsa, gave a vivid account of the fighting in the vicinity of the St. Louis and San Francisco passenger station.

"Pullmna cars standing in the yard were fired upon and the windows shattered," he said. "Passengers left their berths and lay flat on the floor, in the aisles.

"There was a lull in the firing when a passenger train pulled in and women and children alighted. Then the firing began again.

"Bodies of three negroes were lying in front of the station when the tra'n arrived."

Prompt medical attention was given to the wounded, negroes as well as whites at local hospitals and dressing stations. Civic organizations and citizens who volunteered their services cared for the negro refugees, to whom ice water and sandwiches were served throughout the day. Special care was given to the aged and infirm and a call was sent to nearby towns for available nurses.

Following the firing of the first shot last night at Sixth and Boulder streets, the fighting spread to various parts of the city including the business section. At one time two thousand armed white men were reported to have engaged the negroes.

Riots - 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# GRAND JURY TO HALT GRAFT IN CITY OF CRIME

## Head of Law System Ordered Suspended Through Indictments

Chicago Defender 7/2/21

(By Staff Correspondent)

Tulsa, Okla., July 1.—Chief of Police John A. Gustafson has been indicted by the grand jury, and stripped of his star following investigation into causes of the race riot. Charges of failure to enforce prohibitory laws, city ordinances against immoral resorts, state laws against auto theft and rioting and the carrying of weapons by citizens, figured in the five accusations against him. Others named with Gustafson and dismissed from public service are Bay Ward and Roy Meacham, city detectives; B. L. Waddell, chief of police of Sand Springs, and one of his officers, F. P. Williams.

Citizens here have described the police system as "rotten from top to bottom." It has been dubbed a miserable failure under the Gustafson rule, and is said to have aided the rioters instead of attempting to quell the disorder. Reports are current that policemen directed traffic at a lynching of a white man in Tulsa several months ago, and that these facts were known to the chief, but he failed to suspend the officer. The grand jury declared that violators of the law were known to policemen and protected by them.

**Arrest White Rioter**

Attorney General S. P. Freeling, conducting the inquiry for the state, told District Judge Valjean Biddison that the indictments were incomplete, as he believed other officials and rioters should have been included. E. L. "Cowboy" Long, 120 North Gillette avenue, was the first white man to be arrested on a warrant issued on an indictment returned by the Tulsa county grand jury. Long is charged with setting fire to the business district, and leading a squad of men to shoot men and women fleeing from their homes. It is reported that several policemen saw Long armed with a Winchester rifle, but refused to arrest him. Long is known as the "red-neck" of Tulsa.

Although many white citizens are known to have stored in their homes furniture taken from members of the Race during the rioting, none of these has been arrested, but the goods have been removed to the court house for identification by the owners. It is doubtful whether some of the valuables will ever be claimed due to the fact that many have left the city, believing their property was destroyed in the fire.

**Humiliate Citizens**

Victims of the riot here are still indignant at the treatment they are receiving from the city. They are forced to wear what is now known as "pit-tails" issued by the police department. This ornamentation is a badge with the words "Police Protection" printed on it. Physicians, business men and even ministers are forced to wear this inscription along with the "choc" joint keepers, there being no manner of discrimination because of previous character and standing. The whites do not have to wear them. A curfew law forces all members of the Race to be in the house, or in the Y. M. C. A. tent by 9 o'clock at night.

J. M. Adkison, commissioner of police, has assumed charge of the department following the suspension of Gustafson.

**Probe Love Affair**

Efforts are being made to establish whether a social connection existed between Dick Rowland and Sarah Page, the young white girl, alleged to have been insulted by him. Reports are circulated that they were friendly, and that the girl became jealous and caused his arrest. This has become common talk in Tulsa.

**Tulsans in Chicago**

All former residents of Tulsa who are in need as a result of the riot in Tulsa and are now in Chicago are invited to come to the Defender office and file their names. Help will be generously provided for them.

# TULSA RELIEF

The Eagle 7/2/21

Children of the colored public schools of Washington are requested to send postal cards with a message of sympathy to the children of Tulsa, Oklahoma. These cards are to be sent July 4, Independence Day, and addressed to Rev. W. A. Whittaker, relief committee, Tulsa, Oklahoma. This request comes from the Committee of Seven.

E. D. W. Jones, Chairman.
J. L. Pinn, Secretary.
J. Milton Waldron.
C. James Henderson.
W. D. Jarvis.
C. M. Tanner.
George A. Robinson.

# GET FUNDS FOR RIOT VICTIMS

YONKERS N Y NEWS
JULY 4, 1921

## Negroes of Westchester County Attend Meeting at Messiah Baptist Church

At the Messiah Baptist church last night a mass meeting for the purpose of raising money to help the victims of the riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, gathered from all parts of Westchester county.

The Rev. S. W. Smith was the speaker. He told of the beginning of the riot, which he said was not started because a young colored boy stumbled over the feet of a white girl who was running an elevator in a public building in the center of the city in the daytime, but it was the result of abject slavery and peonage. Signs had already been placed everywhere for negroes to leave the place. The elevator affair was only the acute cause and not the real cause, declared the speaker. Riots do not spring up over night, but are the results of careful planning, he said.

"There were between 150 and 200 colored people killed in that awful riot, besides fifty whites; their homes were pillaged, their clothing and furniture were stolen, and their homes set on fire; women and children were burned alive; forty-four business blocks, valued at $1,800,000, were burned. The name of Tulsa was disgraced."

He spoke of the need for money, clothing and food. A large sum of money was contributed, reports Mr. Smith. Barrels of clothing are being packed to send to Tulsa. There will be further meetings in behalf of the sufferers.

The cit... of doctors to

N Y C AMERICAN
JULY 5, 1921

## Tulsa Again Frightened; Negroes Grow Restless

TULSA, July —Tulsa was again in a state of unrest to-day. Reports began to circulate that negroes from Muskogee and surrounding towns were to celebrate July 4 by invading Tulsa and starting another reign of terror.

Negro women began to leave the city in numbers. Not a Tulsa hotel had services of negro maids and only a few colored porters were working. Extra police patrolled the negro section alert to suppress the first sign of disorder.

# Shifting The Blame--Tulsa Whites Shirk Responsibility

New York Age 7/9/21

## Studied Attempt to Put Burden on Colored Citizens Although White Officials Have Been Indicted and Suspended

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE)

Tulsa, Okla.—A significant development, an aftermath of the recent riots, is found in the grand jury action which resulted in true indictments being returned against Tulsa's chief of police, John A. Gustafson, and several minor officials of the department for dereliction of duty on the night of the riot. Roy Ward, head of the automobile recovery department, Roy Meacham, traffic officers E. F. Waddell, chief of police of Sand Springs, a Tulsa suburb, and F. E. Williams, a Sand Springs policeman, are the other men indicted. Seven civilians are also indicted.

Not only are these men charged with neglect of duty in connection with the riot, but they are also charged with failure to enforce law against vice in rooming houses, failure to enforce the prohibition laws, failure to enforce the anti-gun carrying law and automobile stealing.

Attorny General Freeling, who conducted the inquiry, declared that the grand jury findings were inadequate, as other officials and civilians, alleged rioters, should have been included. The presecutor and grand jury, is making the report, requested District Judge Val Jean Biddison to suspend the officials from duty, and this announcement was immediately made by Judge Biddison.

**Shifting Blame to Negroes.**

Notwithstanding its indictment of these officials, the grand jury made an attempt to fix blame for the disturbances upon the Negro citizens, by stating that no attempt had been or was being made to lynch Dick Rowland, the colored boy under arrest by the sheriff, and that the crowd of whites about the Jail was largely a peaceable one. The definite charge is made that armed Negroes, marching uptown, started the riot and that the whites who later took part in the fighting were not to blame. A further charge is made against some of the colored men that they had been spreading the doctrine of racial equality, that arms had been stored in Negro churches and other places. But the grand jury also declared that the majority of the Negroes were not implicated and were ignorant of these conditions:

These statements by the grand jury seem to be the nucleus of a general conspiracy on part of the white people of this town to shift entire responsibility for inception of the riot upon the colored people. Every statement published by white organizations or individuals makes this a definite charge. And while these officials have been indicted, it is notoriously true that the number of Negroes indicted is almost ten to one as compared to the whites.

As a matter of fact, the white people are anly taking advantage of their greater publicity facilities to get rid of the onus of responsibility. They are not saying a word about the eight aeroplanes which circled over the section of the city inhabited by the colored people, dropping bombs and liquid fire Nor are they emphasizing any statements concerning the four machine guns placed at strategic points, covering the four main approaches to the same section.

**Lulled into False Security.**

It is not brought out in these statements that these steps were not taken by the whites until after the Negroes had been lulled into false senses of security from further attacks by the whites. It is stated by men familiar with the facts that attempts by the whites to invade the colored section were repulsed during the early hours of the night, and that the whites finally withdrew. The Negroes, who had been fighting in defense of their homes, then retired to their houses and went to bed.

But the whites, as is evidenced by after developments, conspired with the police officials and with the National Guard for a concerted move upon the "defiiant" (?) Negroes under the pretext of protecting them and their homes. The charge is made against the officials, both police and military, that not only did they condone offenses of white rioters against the colored citizens, but they were themselves guilty of oppressive acts, looting being among the lesser crimes charged. However, among the whites charged with looting and arson, there are no prominent persons mentioned, according to statements from official sources.

One of the high-handed acts of the whites against the Negroes was the order issued by Commissioner Adkinson directing Chief Gustafson to arrest all Negro porters in rooming houses, pool rooms and hotels, regardless as to whether or not they had been issued the "green tags," which served as safety permits. Following the arrest of numbers of these men, efforts of employers to secure their release was unavailing. The police head declared they would be held at the fair grounds camp and worked on the streets.

**The Colored Relief Committee.**

In the meantime, efforts are being made to relieve and assist the families which have been made destitute by the atrocious acts of the white mob. The Colored Citizen's Relief Committee, with S. D. Hooker, Chairmas, and Rev. R. A. Whitaker, secretary, has its headquarters at Frankfort and Easton streets. An appeal has been sent out to the Negroes of Oklahoma and the United States, declaring that thousands

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PETL 14

are homeless, without clothes and dependent upon charity.

This committee is working specially to restore the race's independent status as business men, housekeepers and residents, and to preserve the valuable and desirable realty upon which their homes, churches, business houses and amusement places were formerly situated, and which, it is believed, will be sequestered and appropriated by the whites upon the least excuse. The membership of this committee comprises men and women of highest standing, and contributions sent to this body will be used absolutely for the relief of the present desperate situation.

The personnel of this body is made up of S. D. Hooker, chairman, Rev. R. A. Whitaker, secretary, Mrs. A. Bankhead, Rev. James A. Johnson, Rev. H. T. S. Johnson, S. G. Smith, Dr. J. M. Key, Rev. J. R. McClain, J. Tyler Smith, C. B. Wickham, G. A. Gregg secretary of the Y. M. C. A., with E. A. Saddler acting as legal advisor, to committee.

# "REDS" SEEK NEGRO RECRUITS TO HELP START REVOLUTION

Negro World 7/9/21

## Pamphlets Urging Force Discovered by Police

NEW YORK, June 30.—The police today began inquiry into what they think may prove to be a nation-wide propaganda intended to stir up Negro discontent throughout America and further the cause of "a Soviet Republic of America."

Morris Sorner, forty-two, white, of 124 Ludlow street, arrested last night while distributing, it is alleged, circulars of an incendiary nature, admitted today, the police say, that he had been hired to scatter an appeal headed "The Tulsa Massacre," urging organized force as the only remedy to apply against "mobs of business men who outrage the Negroes and workers." He declined to say who hired him.

The police also continued a search of the neighborhood of Second avenue, Fifteenth and Sixteenth, where the incendiary leaflets, signed by the "Executive Committee, Communist Party of America," were being distributed.

### Tulsa Rioting

"By the time this leaflet is in hand," the circular read, "the whole world will have learned of the horrible massacre of Negroes in Tulsa.

"No words are vivid enough to describe the actions of the well-dressed and armed mob of business men who, with automobiles and airplanes, surrounded the Negro quarter of Tulsa on June 1, killed ninety persons and injured more than 200 and made more than 10,000 Negroes homeless.

"There is only one appeal to stop these fiendish and bloody outrages—the appeal to organized force. The only language that the bloodthirsty capitalists of America can understand is the language of organized power.

"Only by reprisals, by answering force with force, will business men and their white guards, the Ku Klux Klan, etc., be restrained from their assaults on the Negroes and the working people."

Labor was criticised for its attitude toward the Negro as follows:

### Wants Resolution

"We've failed to organize the Negro and refused to treat him as our equal brother. We are to blame. Break down the barriers in the union. Wipe out the color lines. There is only one line we can draw, and that is the class line."

Part of the poster dealt with sovietism. It read:

"Under the Russian czar the Jews were the victims of race riots and pogroms. Workers and peasants overthrew the capitalist government and stablished a workers' government—he soviet republic of Russia. Only by llowing our Russian comrades' heroic mple and establishing here the iet republic of America will the workers, white and black, be able to work in peace and enjoy the fruits of their labor.

"Down with the capitalist system! Long live the Workers' Republic of America!"

## INSURANCE COMPANY HAS HALF MILLION FOR TULSA.

### Unbroken Faith Shown in Rehabilitation Program.

Dallas Express 7/16/21

Tulsa, Okla., July 7.—Rising out of the ashes and the chaos of riot and disorder, that visited this city June 1, is an awakened and a determined black man, with slogans of faith and hope upon his lips which bespeak of a tomorrow full of big things. To rebuild upon ashes of yesterday a greater and a better Negro district in the city, is the slogan of the leadership among black folk. C. M. White of Denver, Colorado, and head of the American Woodmen, one of the strongest Negro insurance companies in America, is said to have made a tentative proposition to the Negroes of this city to place one-half million dollars towards a reconstruction program. Other financial agencies of the race will be called into action and at an early date.

The location of the land where the city commissioners desire to shift the black folk is about one mile from Archer street, which was the south line of the Negro section. "We have just gotten a sewer cut in the section where we now are," said one prominent Negro, Monday, "and I am sure if we were foolish enough to go out in the country where they have virtually commanded us to go, they will not place water, lights and paving out there in the next twenty years."

This same gentleman told of how some one in authority in Tulsa, illegally commercialized the sale of the IDENTIFICATION CARDS." "Some one said he, "got a bunch of these cards and went into the various district and sold them to Negroes, idle and with questionable records and who could not have received such a card through the regular channels. These identification cards are issued on the presumption that every Negro works for some white man. At any rate, you are not free to pass on the streets of the Oil City unless you have one of these cards signed by some white man designated as "employer." J. R. Garrett, a Colored district agent for the Exchange insurance company, was denied the right to the streets until this card was signed by the city attorney.

A peculiar thing about the "FIRE LIMIT ORDINANCE" is the fact that it was voted for by every one of the city commissioners except by Newblock, the only DEMOCRAT on the commission. He is quoted as saying the ordinance was unfair and that it was also illegal.

Dr. Bridgewater, perhaps one of the heaviest property losers in the conflgation is being attacked by the city papers for not acting properly under the directions of the Red Cross. The real fact is that Dr. Bridgewater is suffering from a nervous breakdown. He has done much real work since the riots in administrating to the wants of his people. Incidentally, it might be mentioned that Dr. Bridgewater is one of the heavy Negro property owners who refused to be bluffed in seeing his holdings for a song and moving out into the woods.

The officials of the Exchange National bank of Tulsa, are reported as saying that since the riots of June 1, the Negroes of the city have drawn over a million dollars in cash from this one financial institution alone. There are eight strong banks in the city of Tulsa and it is safe to say that out of this number over three millions of dollars have been drawn by the depositors who have gone to other cities to bank their funds. Bank officials are said to deplore this feature of the affair which in its aftermath is leaving a mighty hole in their treasury. The officials of the Exchange National are reported as saying that they did not know its Negro depositors had so much money in their vaults until the run started.

At a meeting held in the First Baptist Church by Negroes, there was born an organization which will hereafter be known as the "EAST SIDE REALTY & RECONSTRUCTION COMPANY." This meeting and its deliberations is the answer of the Tulsa Negroes to the real estate dealers of who plan now to confiscate the property of the Negroes in the devastated area. Saturday afternoon, the city authorities called the Negroes into a meeting at the city hall. This white reconstruction committee had a scheme to have all the Negroes execute deeds to a holding company that they had formed. They proposed to later valuate the land with a board of appraisers, giving the Negroes the advanced price that the property would bring as industrial property. The attitude of the Negroes was aptly expressed in the language of Prof. J. W. Hughes, principal of one of the ward schools, who in addressing the whites, spoke for the Negro group. He refused to enter into their scheme and made this terse statement of what the Negroes proposed to do. Said Hughes: "I'M GOING TO HOLD WHAT I HAVE UNTIL I GET WHAT I'VE LOST." This slogan adopted at the meeting held by the Negroes in the evening at the Baptist Church, almost to a man, the Negroes on Greenwood street propose to hold their property and rebuild on their land.

Of course the fire limit ordinance is supposed to bar them from building anything but a fire-proof building; this they propose to do.

# PROFESSIONAL MEN IN MD DOCTORS AT TULSA

1921 Chicago Defender

Philadelphia, Pa., July 8.—The Oklahoma Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association, which is affiliated with the National Medical Association, has initiated what is known as the "Tulsa Doctors' Relief Fund." An appeal has been sent out by it requesting every physician, dentist and pharmacist to immediately send a contribution to Dr. Guess, 421½ East Fifth street, Okmulgee, Okla. Dr. Guess is secretary of the state association.

As president of the National Medical Association, Dr. John P. Turner, 1302 South 18th street, Philadelphia, has appealed to the members of the three professions, whether members of this particular association or not, to respond to the relief fund. Dr. Andrew C. Jackson, prominent Tulsa physician, was killed in the riot and several other physicians and dentists there were eagerly sought prey of the

# CITY OFFICIALS TURN DOWN AID; HELPLESS SUFFER

## Red Cross Is Without Money; Must Build Homes for Winter

Chicago Defender 7/9/21

Tulsa, Okla., July 8.—Relief work for stricken Tulsans has reached a critical stage. A fight has been waged over the heads of Mayor Evans and Commissioners Adkison and Steiner in an effort to place responsibility for the discharge of the public welfare board and the information sent out from this city to the effect that Tulsa would take care of all cases needing help. The local chapter of the Red Cross has sought to force a show-down in the matter of funds available for the work.

### Refuse Three Hundred Help

It is claimed that there is $23,500 still in the emergency relief fund. Various methods of disposing of it have been suggested. The Red Cross officials claim that they are at present in debt to the extent of $20,000 and that they have had to turn away as many as three hundred helpless persons in one day. They want the city to help. The reconstruction committee which was supposed to aid in this work has been found to be without funds also. Mr. Willows, Red Cross secretary, says that the failure of public officials to put on a campaign for money was responsible for the present situation.

J. Tyler Smith, treasurer of the citizens' relief committee, has sent a receipt to Jesse Binga, banker, of Chicago, for $1,200 which Chicagoans have contributed to the committee here. Relief has come from several large cities, but so far Chicago is in the lead.

Strenuous efforts are being put forth by the committee during the two months of summer left in order to provide homes for the poor during the winter. It is probable that lumber will have to be bought and the houses built.

### Renew Segregation

It has been learned that every white organization in town has been asked to resolve to not let the Race rebuild in the devastated area. They want to convert that district into a wholesale and industrial center or into a union depot site. Strong influence is being brought to bear in an effort to force the Race to move further out.

The city administration has disclaimed all responsibility or liability for any loss on account of riot or fire. These claims are daily being filed with various organizations. It is planned to make legal demand upon the city for payment, and if this is officially refused, the matter will be taken to the courts.

The insurance companies have also refused to honor any of the claims growing out of the riot, on account of the riot clause in the policies. Protracted legal battles are expected to result as a result of this stand.

## Contributions To Aid Tulsa Riot Victims

S. M. Starks Lodge No. 39, $10; St. James Lodge No. 9, $25; Allen No. 4, $15; Trinity No. 4, $10; Success No. 25, $15; Touisaint L'Overture No. 14, $10; Golden Link No. 44, $15; Myrtle No. 16, $25; Mr. Ulysses Gray, $5; Mr. Wm. A. Grayson, $1.00; Enterprize Lodge No. 2, $25; Eureka No. 1, $15; Morning Star No. 3, $25; Syracuse No. 23, $15; Centurian No. 10, $10, Through Mr. George A. Watty, Grand Chancellor.

Ruth Court No. 28, $5; Myrtle Court No. 11, $5; Amazon Court No. 10, $10; Star of Golden Link Court, $10; Lily of the Valley Court No. 1, $10; Sweet Beulah of Allen, $10; Ceceron Court No. 8, $5; Zerrubabel Court No. 46, $5. Through Mrs. Rosa J. Richardson, Grand Worthy Councilman, for the Tulsa, Oklahoma relief.

## NATIONAL MEDICAL ASSOCIATION SENDS OUT S. O. S. FOR TULSA PHYSICIANS

Guardian 7/16/21

Dr. John P. Turner, of Philadelphia, president of the National Medical Association, has sent out an urgent appeal to the Medical Dental and Pharmaceutical Associations of the various states, in response to an appeal to the national organization from the Oklahoma Association for aid for this class of professional men who were victims of the Tulsa riot. The appeal sent out by Dr. Turner is addressed to all members of the three professions whether allied members or not.

Such funds should be sent Dr. Guess, sec., Okla. association, 421½ East 5th street, Okmulgee, Okla.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots - 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# CITIZENS, SUDDENLY AWARE OF STIGMA TO CITY, DECIDE TO PAY DAMAGES TO NEGRO VICTIMS OF RACE RIOTS

## Families Invited to File Claims by Newly Appointed High Commission

## MAY USE WHITEWASH

## Businessmen Anxious to Suppress Casualty Lists —Industrial Conditions Called Basis of Outbreak

N Y C CALL
JUNE 3, 1921

TULSA, Oklahoma, June 2.—Governor J. B. A. Robertson today ordered a special Grand Jury investigation of the race riots here yesterday. The jurors will convene next Wednesday.

Revolted at the excesses, which resulted in the deaths of about 100 persons and the destruction of the property of 8,000 Negroes and 5,000 whites, business men and public citizens of Tulsa today began to take measures to restore sanity and refurbis h the name of the city, which has been stained by mob passion several times in the past.

One of the first humanitarian moves taken after the fires burnt out was the formation today of a "high commission" of seven, under the chairmanship of Judge L. J. Martin, former Mayor, which spread broadcast an invitation to outraged Negro families to file their claims for damages at the hands of the mobs of whites.

Leading business men, suddenly aware of the stigma the event has cast upon the city upon which they depend for profit, are in hourly conference, and a movement has been started to provide for the protection of the Negroes and the alleviation of their suffering and restitution for the destruction of the buildings that made 10,000 Negroes homeless.

**May Use Whitewash.**

It seems possible that some of the business men may make a concerted effort to whitewash the event by keeping the list of casualties as low as possible in view of the fact that it is extremely difficult to estimate the number of lives lost in the razing of the Negro district of 10 blocks of flames.

The estimate of the casualties today was:

White dead, 10.
Negro dead, 90.
White injured, 75.
Negroes injured, 200.

The property loss is now estimated at $1,500,000.

**One of the most significant developments of the day was the admission from many diverse sources that industrial conditions formed a heavy contributing cause of the outbreak.**

The sentiment of the population generally is one of horror at the destructive explosion of mob passion and profound sympathy with the Negroes who have been made, so it is said, the victims of wild leadership on the part of both whites and Negroes.

One of the chief matters, It was understood, that will come before the inquiry into the race riot will be the complete breakdown of local civil authority. The failure of the authorities to arrest a single person or to show any real interest in arresting the tide of bloody passion is deemed of utmost significance. The fact that 600 troopers restored peace within a few hours of their arrival is held up in contrast to the feeble efforts of the local authorities.

Steps are being taken to investigate the alleged failure of the local authorities in the crisis. District Judge Valjean Biddison is preparing a grand jury call at the direction of the Governor, which will put Police Chief Gustafson and Sheriff Williams McCullough under fire, with the threat of removal for failure in face of duty.

Local significance was attached to the fact that in the selection of the reparations committee the name of the present Mayor, T. D. Evans, was left off.

Practically the entire Negro population spent last night under guard. Men, women and children were herded together in public buildings. Four thousand blacks spent the night at the Fair Grounds.

As darkness set in tonight Adjutant General Charles F. Barrett and his National Guardsmen resumed their second night's vigil, unwilling to leave the city while there was any possibility of trouble. General Barrett cancelled a trip to Fort Sill, Okla., and established headquarters at the Mayor's office.

Untold stories of the rioting probably will be related when Judge Valjean Biddison summonses witnesses before the Grand Jury, call for which is to be issued Friday.

This will be the first Grand Jury called in recent years to investigate county and city officials that will have the backing of the city. For the first time in a year, during which Governor Robertson has repeatedly directed investigation, a citizens' committee actually approved the Governor's criticism of Tulsa affairs.

When a lynching of a white man occurred in Tulsa last fall, with such precision that an ambulance was carried along by the lynchers to bring back the body, and city policemen stood within 10 yards of the victim without moving a hand, the Governor ordered an inquiry wihch, it is alleged, was "whitewashed."

Preparations were made today to complete the release of the thousands of Negroes from the cramped quarters in the Western League baseball park and the Dawson mines outside the city. There was no rush about that process, officers taking time to question every person to learn if he had been connected in any way with starting the riots. There was a fear also that the sudden loosing of large numbers of Negroes would precipitate further trouble.

Guardsmen patrolled the borders of the district. They were ordered to shoot at the first sign of looting. White persons were excluded from the area. A few Negroes were admitted to search out the ruins of their shacks and to see if any of their pitiful belongings could be found. Smoke still curled up from some of the buildings.

Preparations for the burial of the victims were not completed today. Not all the bodies had been identified.

In the case of the Negro victims, many of their relatives still were under guard, unable to help in identification.

Undertakers were busy most of the night carrying the bodies to their establishments. The victims first were piled like cordwood at the foot of Standpipe Hill. Only the guardsmen were free to enter the riot district, and they could waste little time in ceremony.

As the ruins in the burned area cooled today, official searching parties were sent in to see if other bodies were to be found in the debris.

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**May Use Whitewash.**

It seems possible that some of the business men may make a concerted effort to whitewash the event by keeping the feeding of 5,000 Negroes at the Fair Grounds and ball park.

Negroes without money, food or credit, and afraid to make their condition known, were at the mercy of the city.

Red Cross headquarters, opened across the street from the City Hall, was the center of aid for the homeless. Probably 200 automobiles, offered by citizens and driven for the most part by women, conveyed provisions, and also carried Negro families to burned "Little Africa" from the detention camp at the Fair Grounds.

Insurance men here today said that premiums could not be collected on lives of those lost in the riots or on property destroyed.

It was stated that a special "riot" clause has to be attached to policies before collection can be made.

Very few policies had this clause, it was said.

Sheriff McCullough late tonight claimed that only nine white and 18 Negro persons had been found dead thus far, but this does not tally with the impression of the battle field gained by reporters, who are practically the only unofficial persons in a position to know the facts as the city has been thus far under martial law. Police Inspector Charles Daley declared tonight that deaths in the fire would put the total at 100. The facts in the case may never be known.

# U. S. WILL INQUIRE INTO TULSA RIOTING; MARTIAL LAW ENDS

N Y C WORLD
JUNE 4, 1921

## Daugherty to Learn if Race Clash Violated Federal Laws —State Also to Investigate.

## CITY SCORNS OUTSIDE AID; ACTS FOR RECONSTRUCTION.

## Rumors Persist That Many More Bodies Are Still in Ruins or Were Thrown Into River.

WASHINGTON, June 3.—A general inquiry into the race riots at Tulsa, Okla., has been ordered by Attorney General Daugherty, it was announced to-day at the Department of Justice. The purpose, officials said, is to determine whether the disorders were in violation of Federal laws. Preliminary reports, it was added, show that the situation is purely local.

The inquiry ordered is informal and will be made by the Department agents in the field.

**Oklahoma Attorney General, as Well as Grand Jury, in Riot Quiz.**

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla., June 3.—A thorough investigation of the Tulsa race conflict by Attorney General Freeling, was ordered by Gov. Robertson to-day. Mr. Freeling was authorized to proceed to Tulsa at once and preserve all evidence, which will be submitted to a Grand Jury when it meets. In accordance with previous directions of the Governor, steps are already under way for assembling the Grand Jury June 8.

## SEEK RINGLEADERS IN TULSA RACE RIOTS

### Expect No Trouble in Raising $500,000 Needed to Rebuild Negro Homes.

TULSA, Okla., June 3.—Search for a number of alleged ringleaders of the race riots and incendiarism of Tuesday night and Wednesday, the lifting of martial law and progress on plans for rebuilding a negro "zone" were developments in Tulsa to-day. The death list still stands at thirty and the property loss unofficially at $1,500,000.

Adjutant General Barrett, in charge of the State troops here, announced this afternoon he had the names of a number of persons suspected of being ringleaders in the trouble and that these persons when apprehended would be turned over to the civil authorities.

Gen. Barrett told the Chamber of Commerce it was unnecessary to keep the State troops after to-day, and this afternoon issued the Governor's order restoring civil law.

The Committee of Seven discussed the request of Gov. J. B. A. Robertson for a searching inquiry, and decided the best plan would be to handle the investigation through the Grand Jury. A special committee from the Bar Association, it was announced, will be appointed to co-operate with the County Attorney's staff.

The committee also considered the rebuilding plans and steps are to be taken to provide a well built negro section, this to be done in part as an atonement for the harm done, and

also as an example for other cities.

The committee expects no difficulty in obtaining the $500,000 it has been decided is necessary to rebuild homes owned by negroes.

Rumors that radical leaders among the negroes caused the riot, began to take tangible form with the statements of O. W. Gurley, one of Tulsa's wealthiest negroes, J. W. Adkinson, Police Commissioner, and Barney Cleaver, wealthy negro peace officer.

The combined statements of the three tended to indicate that for some time the negroes had been preparing for race trouble and that the first shot at the County Building Tuesday night, when white men who sought to take from jail Dick Rowland, 19 year old bootblack, charged with attacking a white woman, clashed with armed negroes, bent on protecting Rowland, was fired by a narcotic-crazed negro.

Indefinite rumors that the death list greatly exceeded the known thirty—nine white men and twenty-one negroes—also persisted. Many here still believe that numerous bodies of negroes were obliterated in their bullet riddled homes when the torch was applied and that a number of bodies were thrown into the Arkansas River which skirts Tulsa a mile away.

The committee decided that "no money be accepted or used for reconstruction purposes except such as is raised locally, but that if voluntary contributions from other sources are made, they be sent to the Red Cross for temporary relief purposes." The committee also asked that no campaigns for funds be started outside Tulsa, as Tulsa feels equal to the task of its own restitution.

## *"Oil Plots" and "Warnings" To Tulsa Negroes Denied*

(Special to The World.)

TULSO, Okla., June 3.—Denials of charges of threats against Tulsa negroes, preferred in New York Thursday by negroes who said that heeding the alleged warnings, they had fled from Tulsa shortly before the riots, reached official military and civil headquarters here to-day in numbers from all over Eastern Oklahoma.

Files of the two leading newspapers in Tulsa for months back fail to reveal any "warnings" to negroes to

The Star building was burned and leave, as alleged by the "refugees."

Only a remote possiblity remains, publishers say, that such an advertisement might have been printed in the Tulsa Star, negro weekly newspaper, published by J. Smitherman.

Smitherman has not yet been accounted for.

Emphatic denials of any attempt to wrest "valuable oil holdings" from negroes and that the riots of Tuesday and Wednesday were a part of a conspiracy were entered to-day by leaders of the Tulsa oil fraternity. Oil men admit sharpers exist in the oil country, but vehemently declare that reports of concerted attempts to do negroes out of oil lands are ridiculous.

# JUSTICE DEP'T ORDERS PROBE OF TULSA RIOTS

N. Y. C. CALL
JUNE 4, 1921

## Sends Oklahoma Bureau Instructions to Investigate —Congress Plans Ending of Race Conflicts.

## HAS TWO BILLS

## One Would Saddle Damages on Counties Where Outrages Occur — Other for Race Commission.

**OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla., June 3.—The Department of Justice at Washington has ordered the local bureau of investigation to probe the race riots at Tulsa, it was announced here today. The findings will be forwarded to Washington.**

WASHINGTON, June 3.—Congressional action to solve the racial question in America will be speeded up as a result of the Tulsa race riots, leaders in both houses declared today. While no investigation, such as followed the East St. Louis race riots, which grew out of labor disputes, is expected, there are two bills on the problem which will be pressed for early action.

Sponsors of both plans believe they will prove effective in preventing recurrences of racial outbreaks which have taken heavy toll of life and property in large cities throughout the country in the past few years.

The first plan is a bill by Representative Dyer of Missouri. It proceeds under the theory that the fourteenth amendment to the Constitution gives the Federal Government authority to protect the Negro from lynching. Participants in lynchings would be punished for murder by the Federal Government, under the terms of the bill. It would also penalize counties in which lynchings occur by a fine of $10,000.

The secretary plans to create a commission to study the subject of lynching and mob violence with a view to bringing about more harmonious relations between whites and Negroes. Senators Spencer of Missouri, and McCormick of Illinois have introduced measures on this subject, which are now being considered by the Judiciary Committee.

Representative Dyer said today that his bill will be taken up for consideration by the House Judiciary Committee at the next meeting. Senator Ernst of Kentucky, chairman of the sub-committee on the Spencer Bill, declared that he will urge a favorable report on the measure at the next meeting of the Judiciary Committee.

The racial question has long been recognized by leaders in Congress as deserving their attention, but the difficulty lies in the method to be applied. While deploring the ugly expressions of race hatred, many believe it is futile of attempt to meet the situation with legislation.

As many members of Congress have frankly declared themselves opposed to the Dyer bill, on the ground that it invades the police powers of the states, even the friends of the measure are not optimistic over the prospect for its passage.

The Spencer-McCormick plan has the endorsement of President Harding and stands a better chance of becoming a law. In his acceptance speech and in his first message to Congress, the President took cognizance of the racial question.

"Congress ought to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free and orderly representative democracy," the President declared in his message, in which he stated that he recognized the difficulties that lie in the solution of the racial question.

A racial commission is the only way that the question can be reached by Congress, under the Constitution, in the opinion of some leaders. Through this means, they believe that public opinion against mob violence can be mobilized and the evil of lynching checked.

# BLAME NEGROES FOR TULSA RIOT

N. Y. C. GLOBE
JUNE 4, 1921

## Drug users With "Exaggerated Ideas of Equality" Armed for Attack on Jail.

TULSA, Okla., June 4.—Agitation by a few irresponsible Negroes was blamed for the part of the Negroes in the race war here, in statements by several prominent Negroes and by Police Commissioner J. M. Adkinson.

According to Commissioner Adkinson the police were aware that Negro radicals had been at work for some time. He said Negro citizens had been warned several months ago that responsibility for any trouble would rest upon the Negroes.

As the race war excitement flickered out, the fear which kept Negro leaders silent was dispelled and they told the Negro story. Barney Cleaver, a veteran Negro police officer here and former deputy sheriff, who enjoys the confidence of both whites and blacks, named an alleged Negro narcotic peddler as one of the principal leaders in the disturbance Tuesday night which precipitated the shooting and burning.

### The Call to Arms.

O. W. Gurley, probably the wealthiest Negro in the city, told the story of what happened in the Negro section, and declared that the belligerent Negroes established headquarters at the plant of a Negro newspaper early Tuesday evening.

Cleaver said he warned Negroes then that they would cause the Negro section to be burned if they did not disperse and disarm. "They only laughed at me and threatened to shoot me," Cleaver said.

Gurley said on the night of the riots he went to the newspaper office about 9 o'clock and found activities far advanced. "Men were coming in singly and in little groups," he said, "in answer to the call to arms, and guns and ammunition were being collected from every available source.

### Jake Drinkers.

"Many of the men," he continued, "were making open threats and talking in a most turbulent manner.

"When I saw what was going on, I tried to talk them out of the idea of arming themselves to prevent what they believed was a threatened lynching, but they were in such a dangerous mood that I almost got into trouble myself."

"There were not more than forty or fifty men in the crowd of armed Negroes who marched upon the court-house," Gurley said. "They were nearly all dope users or Jake (bootleg whiskey) drinkers with police records. However, there were a few more intelligent ones in the lead.

"The real leader of the gang was a tall Negro, who came back from France with exaggerated ideas concerning equality. He and his brother ran two or three stores in the colored quarter and they stand well in the community."

Gurley named several other Negroes as leaders.

### Refuse Employment.

Street-cleaning forces were busy today mopping up the burned-over district. G. A. Steiner, street commissioner, in charge of this work, said that only two of one hundred Negroes he offered employment at $3.50 a day accepted. Upon that report and other similar ones to the mayor a "work or be arrested" order was issued.

The Tulsa guardsmen to-morrow will entrain for the annual encampment at Fort Sill, Okla., but Battery C, Second Field Artillery, not yet sworn in as an actual unit, will be available for immediate work should its efforts become necessary, General Garrett said in his order of recall of martial law.

# NEGRO "REDS" HATCHED RIOT PLOT IN TULSA

N. Y. C. TELEGRAM
JUNE 4, 1921

## Sounded "Call to Arms" from Newspaper Office, Charge Men Who Were Threatened.

## DRUG PEDLER WAS LEADER

## "Revolters" Only Laughed When Warned They Would Repent Any Violence.

TULSA, Okla., Saturday.—Agitation by a few irresponsible negroes was blamed for the part of the negroes in the race war here in statements today by several prominent negroes and by Police Commissioner J. M. Adkinson.

According to Commissioner Adkinson the police were aware that negro radicals had been at work for some time. He said negro citizens had been warned several months ago that responsibility for any trouble would rest upon the negroes.

As the race war excitement flickered out the fear which kept negro leaders silent was dispelled and they told the negro story. Barney Cleaver, a veteran negro police officer here and former deputy sheriff, who enjoys the confidence of both whites and blacks, named an alleged negro narcotic pedler as one of the principal leaders in the disturbance Tuesday night which precipitated the shooting and burning.

### Wealthy Negro Bares Plot.

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### March Upon Court House.

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DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots.—1921

# THE TULSA RIOT

AS SEEN BY OTHER SCRIBES

6/11/21 Chicago Whip

"The Huns of Tulsa"

"No army of invading savages, modern or ancient, civilized or barbarian, ever wreaked a more brutal outrage on a helpless civilian population than did the Huns of Tulsa on thousands of their unoffending fellow-townsmen."—Omaha Morning World-Herald.

"The Lesson of Tulsa"

"The trouble at Tulsa was not the black man nor the white man. The trouble at Tulsa, the trouble in Chicago and Springfield, and wherever else race riots have broken forth, is nothing more than corrupt politics.

Among white and colored are criminal men and women. They live without the law and they are material for the uses of corrupt politics. They prey upon decent white and decent colored people, and the unscrupulous politician employs them for his own purposes."—Chicago Tribune.

"Oklahoma's Civil War"

"A great change has come over the American Negro's attitude toward the white man's government during the last four years, a change for which the war was largely responsible. The Negro was conscripted like any other citizen. He was put into a uniform, given a rifle and sent to France to fight for his country. He was good enough to die for the flag, and naturally he refuses longer to believe that he is not entitled to privileges and immunities for which the flag stands. He is no longer submissive but aggressive, and while this change has its grave dangers to the Negro himself, it is an inevitable consequence of the failure of local and State Governments to administer even-handed justice.

"Lincoln said that this Government could not endure half slave and half free. It cannot endure with one law for the white man and another law for the black man. There must be one law for both, and until there is one law for both every community of mixed population is living under the shadow of threatened anarchy."—New York World.

"The Reproach of America"

"The worst result was not the destruction of life and property, but the blow at law and order and the inflaming of race hatred. The spirit of race hatred, lawlessness and blood lust has possibilities of destruction which far exceed the deeds of incendiarism and murder that marked the Tulsa riot. It threatens the worst of wars, the overthrow of law and order and the destruction of civilization itself."—St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Courier-Journal Sees No Hope

"Very seriously may be asked the question: Is there soon to be a solution of the problem presented by incidents in American life like that at Tulsa?

Grover Cleveland saw things as they are. He had courage of high order—the courage that refuses to blink a fact.

"I think I see the solution of almost every problem that confronts our people,' said this bravely sincere man a few years before his death. 'Plutocracy will be checked. Warfare between capital and labor will cease. Other questions will be discussed, compromised and settled. But there is one problem in American life for which I foresee no solution. It is the race problem—the Negro question."

Cleveland's words may seem to be unduly pessimistic. But are they so? Has real progress been made, since Cleveland spoke these words, in solving the problem he had in mind?

East St. Louis, Springfield, Elaine, Chicago, Tulsa—are not all these in one direct line? Do these incidents indicate progress? Is the evil illustrated by them decreasing?—Louisville, Courier-Journal.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

# "WHERE IS THE OLD LAW, ANYHOW?"

Houston Informer 6/11/21

The above interrogation, so often uttered in contempt of the constituted authority, is more serious than upon the surface seems evident.

The regrettable and disgraceful race riot at Tulsa last week is the culmination of a reign of lawlessness in this country without parallel or precedent in the annals of civilized man.

Respect for law and order, like the hoop skirts worn by the women years ago, is a thing of the past, and to make bad matters worse, men, who boast of their "Americanism," "superiority" and "Christianity," are now insidiously trying to overthrow their own government by the operation of orders and organizations diametrically opposed and antagonistic to the supremacy of the law.

It does not take a seer to see where such a program will ultimately lead to and what awful and irreparable damage will be sustained by this increasing disrespect for law and order.

The Informer, far removed from the scene of the domestic disturbance in Oklahoma, is not attempting to fix the guilt upon this person or that person; but it does know that the widespread reign of lawlessness in this country is wholly and solely responsible for the inter-racial conflict, and unless something is done immediately to create respect for law and order and put an end to ruthless mob violence, the days of this republic are numbered.

Press reports stated that whites formed a mob to lynch a colored youth incarcerated for an alleged "attack" upon a white girl in Tulsa, and that the colored citizens gathered to prevent a lynching bee, which is the scourge and curse of America.

If these reports are correct, both races were at fault and since one contingent was bent upon taking the law into its own hands and meting out punishment according to its own ideas and as the other group was determined to prevent such a disgraceful stunt by resorting to lawlessness also—giving due recognition to racial prejudice, antipathy and hatred—a clash was inevitable, especially with the police and constabulary officers conspicuous by their absence.

And why were these police officers absent in such a situation? It is the same old story of them being conveniently absent in order that the mob could do its dirty and diabolical work and thus the identity of the mobocratic participants could not be established. It is the same old game resorted to so much in the South when colored people are the objects and victims of the wrath of hellish and heathenish mobs.

ROR RESTS WITH THE NE

GROES THEMSELVES—SOLELY

6/11/21 Plain Dealer

Some sixty-five Negroes lost their lives in Tulsa in the riots there. Hundreds of others were wounded and lost all their possessions in the fire which oblierated the Negro quarter. Seven or eight white men were killed.

Tulsa is a cosmopolitan community. It is not predominantly Southern, so the occurrence there cannot be charged up as one of the "Southern outrages" any more than a somewhat smaller but similar affair in Springfield, Ill., a few years ago, or the one in East St. Louis, Ill., or the bombing of Negro homes, and the riots in Chicago, or the riots in Washington. The reason must be looked for other than in so-called Southern race hatred, and very fortunately two Negroes give evidence. One of them, Barney Cleaver, a "veteran Negro police officer and former deputy sheriff," of Tulsa and the other, O. W. Gurley, described by the Associated Press dispatch as "probably the wealthiest Negro in the city." Other responsible Negroes say that "agitation by a few irresponsible Negroes" was the cause.

The facts were that a Negro man had been arrested for an attack upon a white girl. He was lodged in jail. There was no indication of any attempt at lynching, or any manifestation of violence of any sort. A few white men, said a newspaper reporter, were discussing the affair in small groups near the jail, but there was no excitement whatever, no move toward a mob.

A band of belligerent Negroes "headed by a Negro narcotic peddler began to assemble at the jail to protect the accused." Then they later moved to the offices of a Negro newspaper, and sent out a call for armed men to rally—and were warned by Barney Cleaver that they were inviting trouble and liable to have the whole Negro section wiped out—but, said Cleaver, they laughed at him, and threatened to shoot him.

Then the storm of wrath burst—the Negro section was wiped out, and how many have been killed and their bodies burned in the holocaust, no one can ever tell with absolute accuracy.

Now, in this affair is seen one of the principal causes for racial clashes—the savage, primal tribal instinct of the civilization-veneered African. Were those Tulsa Negroes banding together to uphold the majesty of the law No. Were they arming to see that processes of law should be safeguarded? No. Did they condemn the crime which the prisoner was accused? No sign of it—rather they glossed that and approved that, in banding to "protect" the accused.

It is this attitude, this jungle instinct in the African which arouses the keen resentment of the whites. White people turn in and as a rule, assist the officers to apprehend one who is charged with crime. Many Negroes will protect another Negro, no matter what the crime he may be accused of, and even though he be a stranger! Any officer of the law can bear testimony to this as being a racial characteristic.

Until the real leaders of the race instill into their more ignorant followers the idea that they have responsibilities upon them; must cooperate in the enforcement of the laws, and must not condone crime by protection of

OYEZ

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

# The Benefits of Americanism.

Chicago Whip—6/11/21

Impassioned hatred, disrespect for American laws, trusting in impunity and immunity as usual, the reassuring confidence of power and the whiphand—thus the residential section of Tulsa, Oklahoma's black citizens lies smouldering in ruins and only charred remains of wealth and human bones bear testimony of what once was there.

The tragedy of Tulsa will be recorded as a race riot and the truth will be distorted to suit the morbid blood-lust of America. Yet every attempt that the black man has made to defend his life, honor or property which has resulted in race friction, has been so termed. Any disorder between whites and blacks is accommodatively styled a "riot." Yet no riot proper was staged at Tulsa. It was a massacre, like unto that of Saint Bartholomew and East Saint Louis. The strong crushed the weak. Fire, hot lead, bursting bombs, carnage and pillage.

When the "undue familiarity" of a white girl with a black man leaked out in Tulsa, the black man was accused of assaulting her and immediately thrown in jail. The "battle cry of Dixie" was forthwith raised and "Lynch him, Lynch him," was heard all over the town. A handful of black men with rifles marched to the jail seeking to protect the life of their unfortunate kinsman and prevent the perpetration of the gruesome murder which had been planned. Then the battle began, not with sticks and stones, but with rifles, automatics and shot guns. The handful of black men held their own during the fitful night even as Leonidas held his at the pass of Thermopale and the scream of piercing bullets could be heard telling the death dealing story of their fight.

When morning came and the tragic news had been flashed to nearby towns thousands and thousands of blood-thirsty whites came pouring into Tulsa and like an avalanche they crushed the black people of Tulsa into desolation and ruin. The black men made no attacks upon the lives of women and children neither did they seek to destroy the property of the white citizens but with frothing mouths and blood-shot eyes the—white Oklahomans—burned homes and spared not the aged and decrepit nor even the nursing babies at their mothers' breasts and the stench of their scorching, blistering flesh fills the nostrils of civilization.

They claim as they usually do that agitators of black skin precipitated the trouble, yet reverse the equation and imagine a handful of white citizens protecting one of their own from being lynched. Would anyone have the temerity to call them radicals and agitators? Every stand which depicts manhood and courage which the black man makes is styled "radicalism" and Americans have stretched that term into meaning "anarchism."

No defense will be made in behalf of wilful trouble makers and those who seek to destroy the government. No justification will be tolerated for those who burn property and destroy life. The black man is always on the defensive both in times of war and times of peace. He is humble to a fault and a faint and feeble burst of manhood does not deserve the benefits of Americanism which he receives.

Americanism! Is that the vile and bloody thing that paraded in Washington, in Omaha, in Chicago, in Springfield and in Tulsa? Americanism! Is that the hideous creature who masquerades in skull and bones calling himself the Ku Klux? Americanism! Is that the thing which Jim Crows and taxes and then will not allow the taxed representation? Americanism! Is that the thing which lynches, burns and murders the weak? If so, then give us Lords and Kings with guillotines and dungeons.

Tulsa's way is not the human way. It is the American way which honor, valor, virtue and civilization must change.

(Row over)

accused merely because of the color of his skin, just so long will these outbursts occur. It is going to be a difficult thing to educate the people of African descent into this idea, because the tribal instinct of defense is a primal urge, but it must be done, until it is done, that race will never be thoroughly civilized, no matter how superficial polish it acquires. And there must also be instilled into the race some sort of idea of its obligations, and necessity for ceasing the constant protection of other members simply because they are racial.—Birmingham News.

November 11, 1921

LITTLE ROCK ARK GAZETTE

JUNE 18, 1921

## THE NORTHERN VIEW CHANGES.

The editorial comment of the Chicago Evening Post on the Tulsa race riot is refreshingly frank and also it is striking, because it is so different from the usual editorial comment by newspapers outside the South on happenings of this kind. It shows that thinking people in the North, now that the race question has been brought closer to them, are seeing a great light. The editorial is worth reproducing. It follows:

Mr. Richard Lloyd Jones, a former Chicagoan, now a Tulsa editor, tells for the United News what is undoubtedly the true story of the shameful riots that disgraced the Oklahoma city. First, "the usual offense" by a negro, or the rumor of one; next, the report of a coming lynching, the gathering of a casual crowd of whites, the appearance of an armed negro or two, the first blow, the reprisal, the general melee, the rioting and the firing of the negro quarter; finally, the militia and the peace of devastation.

In the old days we suppose we would have written stern condemnation of the disgrace, demanded the punishment of the guilty and chidden the Southwest for its racial crimes. Today we must do the same thing, but we do it not as a holier-than-thou, but as one who has sinned the same sin. Not only Illinois, but Chicago itself has had shameful race outbreaks. And the punishment has been but perfunctory.

We have learned that the problem is too big for the old generalizations which the inexperienced North used to shower upon the experienced South. The great negro immigrations to our cities have made us feel that it is no longer a theory, but a condition, that faces us. We have seen our city and state elections turned by these newcomers. We have felt the neighborhood restlessness that comes from their occupation of certain sections of the city. We have come to understand that assimilation is not the easy empirical gospel that we used to preach to Dixie.

Nevertheless, we believe that Tulsa will have to clean up, that Tulsa will have to punish, that Tulsa will have to re-establish the majesty of the law and the public trust in equal rights, which are the foundations of American life. This is the hard path upon which all of us will have to struggle so long as we have with us this most difficult of all our internal problems.

If the migration of negroes from the South to the North continues, the North will have the race question as the South has never had it, because the North does not understand the negro and the negro does not understand the Northerner. Despite the general impression outside the South, the negro who is willing to make a place for himself by honest and earnest effort and by doing his duty as a citizen is not molested down here, but is respected and is aided.

The negro can get work in the South when he cannot get it in the North. Certain classes of work in the South, and honorable and remunerative work at that, go to the negro and always have gone to him. The South is too quick to take the law into its own hands, but the worst enemy of the negro in the South is the negro agitator who, from some place in the North or the East, inflames the Southern negro by mischievous and vicious articles in negro papers. The negro leaders should suppress these agitators.

do—and N. Y. C. GLOBE as you can.

JUNE 18, 1921

## Okmulgee and Refugees.

Editor Globe:—The letter of Orlando Swain, commissioner of public safety of Okmulgee, Oklahoma, purporting to give the correct information about the refugees from that state, was very interesting, and is a broad statement from a public official. It gives a fine picture of a southern city where cordial relations exist between the races, a fact which is true of several southern towns and cities.

I do not want to question the sincerity and veracity of the commissioner nor do I want to doubt the stories of the refugees who say that they were driven from their home in Oklahoma and told to flee. It was kind of the woman who signed her letter, "A Southern Woman," to inquire into the facts and to bring forth the reply from the commissioner. But we are brought face to face with two stories, one claiming that there is no prejudice in Okmulgee and the other claiming that feeling is high against the Negro there.

If what the commissioner says is true, how can he account for the actions of the mob in Tulsa, which destroyed the entire Negro section in that town, together with property valued at $1,500,000? The story of Claude Harris, who said that her house had been burned down, runs parallel with the actions of the mob in Tulsa. The unfortunate part about all of these outbreaks in the south is that thousands of innocent colored people must suffer along with those who provoke the crime. This was evidently the case in Tulsa, for in the case of one Negro who was charged with rape upon a woman the whole Negro population suffered.

It is fine of the commissioner to try to remove the stain that his city has suffered, because it does not help any community to have the reputation of burning or mistreating any of its citizens. We hope that the ideal state that the commissioner speaks of does exist in Okmulgee.

CLEVELAND G. ALLEN.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

# The Tulsa Horror: Symptom of a Malady

The World Tomorrow July, 1921.

IN Tulsa, Oklahoma, a young Negro on entering an elevator stumbled against the operator, a white girl. She screamed and claimed that the Negro had tried to assault her. He ran. Out of this episode arose hours of mad terrorism. Before the story was done property conservatively estimated to be worth $1,500,000 was destroyed. This included forty-four square blocks of residential and business buildings and five hundred homes of colored people with all their furniture and fixtures. At the lowest estimate ten whites and twenty-one Negroes were killed. Mr. Walter F. White, who acted as special correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*, gives reasons for placing the number at from 150 to 200. Major Alva J. Niles, president of the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce, said after the riot was over, "I have been in Belgium and in France and in Mexico, but nothing that has been done in the first two countries by the Germans or in Mexico by the Mexicans surpasses what happened here."

What lies behind this terrible tragedy? First, the character of Tulsa itself. It is a boom city made suddenly rich by the discovery of oil, progressive, hustling, but corruptly and inefficiently governed. The percentage of crime is, as in too many other American boom cities, enormously high. As yet the sense of citizenship is not well developed. Tulsa was until recently a place where men make money rather than where they make homes. Tulsa has an ill-developed understanding of what justice means. During the war it was the scene of a particularly brutal mob attack upon some alleged I. W. W.'s. The Civil Liberty Bureau at that time published a pamphlet giving the shameful record. The Tulsa *World* was an instigator of that riot. Its editor was a spectator, and it was alleged the chief inspector of police personally superintended the flogging of the victims. Even Judge Evans had his share of publicity, for he later convicted one of the victims after his return to Tulsa for carrying concealed weapons with the remark: "You are not guilty, but I'll have to fine you $100. These are no ordinary times." Such is the spirit of Tulsa. At the time the liberal protest against the mob spirit fell on deaf ears. Tulsans were patriotic. That kind of "patriotism" proves ghastly in the long run.

But more important than the particular history of Tulsa is the general feeling of race antagonism. It is monstrous that a colored man's life should be put in jeopardy by the hysterical charge of a woman, who may, as in the case of the elevator operator in Tulsa, bear anything but the best reputation. Yet this is the case in large areas of the United States. This racial rivalry is also economic, as was proved in the case of the Arkansas riots and is proved in the case of Tulsa. There was particular antipathy to Tulsa Negroes not because they were poor and shiftless, but because they were prosperous and owned oil lands and other property which white men coveted. Among the victims of the mob was the leading colored surgeon in America, a man of property and of very high standing. The white mob in the opinion of men with whom Mr. White talked was in some degree led by the Ku-Klux Klan.

Another factor in the riot is undoubtedly the growing feeling of racial solidarity among the negroes and their determination no longer to measure up to Mr. Dooley's definition of them as "a docile people, easily lynched." We don't mean by this to imply that the Negroes started the rioting. The very careful investigation made by Mr. White proves the contrary. There was the beginning of a white mob before any colored men gathered. Nevertheless, the Negroes did act quickly in an effort to protect one of their own number from lynching. And this attitude, even though in the rioting colored people were the chief sufferers, has been widely applauded among Negroes.

For this they have been sharply criticised in the white press. It is true that conceivably a race inspired by the spirit that Gandhi preaches in India would discover a more effective form of resistance than by force of arms. It is not, however, for white men, whose whole record has been one of armed resistance on the principle that a man's house is his castle to preach a gospel of non-resistance. And profoundly as we deplore the resort to violence, we do not hesitate to say that the refusal to unite for armed resistance to outrage is only admirable if it springs from strength of spirit and steadfast determination to discover a more excellent way rather than from the hopelessness of slaves.

It must be recorded to the credit of Tulsa that the city has shown genuine signs of shame and penitence. It has even been proposed to buy out negro holdings of land for industrial purposes, which means an appraisal much greater than that put upon residential property. Whether this mood of penitence will last only the event will show. It is very much more encouraging, however, than the sullen and unrepentant attitude which followed the East St. Louis, Arkansas, and other riots. But it is discouraging to find a Tulsa clergyman writing the New York *World* that the "whole blame lies upon the police, who did not disarm the blacks," and that "all the preparation there was for it [the riot] was done by the blacks," some of whom "have been planning a racial revolution."

No American can afford to forget that what happened at Tulsa may happen in almost any city where white, and Negroes dwell close together and in economic competition. For this blot upon our national honor we have no easy solution, no panacea to suggest. However terrible are the results to the Negroes themselves of their armed resistance, we have definitely come into an era when as whites we may expect more and more of that resistance and when we shall have lost our right to protest unless we are ourselves to protect them or to adopt the passivist policy we have preached to them. If public opinion and the law cannot protect the Negro, he will organize to try to protect himself even though he perish in the effort. We welcome interracial co-operation and the appointment of a strong commission composed of able men and women of both races. But the root of the problem lies in the conviction that one race exists to be exploited economically and otherwise. We do not believe that lynching or race wars will be eliminated until that doctrine is eliminated. Lynching, peonage and other forms of exploitation are inextricably bound together.

## THE TULSA OUTRAGE

The Crusader, 9/21.

It was bad enough that the capitalist press of Tulsa, Okla., should play up as an assault, implying rape, the accidental jostling of a white woman elevator operator by a colored man, and that the white capitalists of Tulsa, intent upon gaining possession by hook or crook of the oil lands owned by Tulsa Negroes, should instigate a mob of white hoodlums and loafers to attempt the lynching of the colored man who, on some pretext or other, had been locked up for the heinous crime of trying to save himself, after having stumbled on entering an elevator, by grabbing hold of the first thing within reach—the arm of the white woman elevator operator.

It was bad enough that white mobs, bent on murder, should have precipitated a bloody race riot that culminated in great loss of life to both races and the total destruction by incendiary fire of the Negro district. It was bad enough, but only to be expected under the vicious capitalist system which thrives by setting the workers of one race against the workers of another race, that these things should have happened in the twentieth century, in a so-called civilized country which recently engaged in a war for democracy—capitalist democracy! —with all the disgusting hypocrisy of the tribe of Mammon.

But the real outrage at Tulsa was the use of the city police and the state militia against Negroes who had mobilized primarily with the one thought of protecting, against the openly announced purpose of lynching, the Negro prisoner confined in the Tulsa court-house. In gathering to defend the Tulsa court-house from assault and the Negro prisoner from mob violence, the Negro manhood of Tulsa were plainly upholding "law and order." Yet, queer freak of fate, in the end it was against these Negro defenders of "law and order" that all the forces of "law and order" were turned! It was against the Negroes who had organized to help the police in preventing the projected and publicly planned commission of a crime that the guns of the police and the state militia were turned!

As at Washington, D. C., so at Tulsa, Okla. The entire power of the State, all of the forces of capitalist "law and order," were turned upon the Negro in the process of "putting down" race riots that were started and most actively prosecuted by white mobs. All the deputies sworn in by the Tulsa authorities during the recent race

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riot were *white*. All the prisoners taken up and sent into concentration camps by these deputies, the Tulsa city police and the Oklahoma State militia were *colored*. That is the kind of justice the Negro gets in capitalist America! That is the kind of justice the Jew used to get in capitalist-Czarist Russia, until the workers of all races arose in their wrath and overthrew the capitalist-Czarist combination, and set up Soviets. Now the workers of all races get equal justice—in Russia. How long will the Negro in America continue to fall for capitalist bunk? How many more Tulsas will it take to line up the Negro where by all race interests he belongs—with the radical forces of the world that are working for the overthrow of capitalism and the dawn of a new day, a new heaven and a new earth?

## Another Race Conflict.

Nat. Baptist Union-Review 7/2/21

To the awful list of race riots of Atlanta, Washington, East St. Louis, Chicago, is added the conflict between races in Tulsa, Okla. That state is neither south or north, comparatively speaking, though mostly settled by Southerners. The wildness and non-culture of the west and race hatred of the south abound. No one ever thinks of Oklahoma when state names representing culture, education and spiritual progress are called. The state constitution itself discriminates racially.

Largely there exists a natural disposition or instinct towards violence, rapine and murder, easily inflamed by race hate.

Of course we have no intention, no thought, of indicting all the people of Oklahoma as lawless. That there are Christian people in the state, intelligent, law-abiding, patriotic, we know. But, as in other states, that leaven does not react in the meal because not placed in right relations.

Nor is the Union-Review party to the propaganda, if there is such, carried on by certain radical papers among us bent upon inciting physical violence against white people. We have no wish or purpose to fan race passion or to assert any but our rightful interests.

We would unfound needless race fears and groundless assumptions, encourage inter-race mediations, preach national and racial optimism, conserve the confidence, pride, prowess born of the loyalty and sacrifices of our own war veterans, not stirring those virtues in fomentation of inter-racial conflicts.

After we have said all the good things that ought to be said of white people in Tulsa, the fact yet remains that the shameful, shocking outrage lies at the door of the abounding malevolence and brutal cruelty of that people, those who took part in the conflict. We do not know all the details, and we are afar from the place, and there are many conflicting reports as to details, but when it is known firemen were prohibited from their work by force when hundreds of homes of Colored people were burning, innocent Colored people by the hundreds endangered of life and limb, the guilty are not difficult of discovery.

People, both races, speak eloquently, write strongly, of American ideals, and of constitutional government, of equality before the law, and of human rights. Surely the time is here when they should see to it that not another demoralizing departure from the path of our ideals and the compact of our security shall shame us in the eyes of the world.

The Union-Review sees no difference in crime because committed by one of colored complexion. The Union-Review does not condemn all white people any more than it condemns all Colored people. Nor does virture in one race assure vice in another, or vice versa. All races are people, people of one nature, described by one anatomy, physiology, psychology, not two, and live one life, are under one destiny, regardless of essential inequalities and individual idosqncrasies. Of course neither complexion, dress nor possessions make a man.

That we have said to say this: All Americans need to cultivate a Social consciousness that makes the neighbor as truly human and recognizable as one's self; and conscience consciousness that accords to the neighbor his every right. When many years shall have come and gone Americans will be possessed of a Christian consciousness that will place the capstone upon the national temple.

Till that time, let us cultivate humaneness

## TULSA'S RACE RIOT

By WILLIAM B. SMITH (White)
Editor, The Pitchfork
Dallas, Texas.

The Chicago Defender 7/9/21

Tulsa, Okla., has been sowing the wind. Just the other day she reaped the whirlwind. For many years Negro arrogance and impudence has been increasing through the state of Oklahoma. In Tulsa it was especially noticeable. Finally Negro arrogance became so bold that a few "prominent" coons of that city armed themselves and went to the county jail, demanding the release of another Negro who was being held on a charge of rape. An innocent onlooker, standing on the steps of the court house, fell to death from the first shot fired by the Negroes. Then, of course, the battle was on. A hundred or more lives were destroyed and a million and a half dollars worth of property was burned.

The story is familiar to all readers of the daily papers. The point I would make plain is this: If the white people of Tulsa had started a good many years ago to teach its coon population that there would be no monkey business tolerated; if the white people of Tulsa had made it plain that white supremacy would suffer no encroachment, instead of giving the Negro population another foot of rope each year, theer would have been no such orgy of blood letting and property destruction as above mentioned.

The "race problem" is progressing. Each year the Negro element grows more bold. Their conceit is fed on political patronage. Year by year, office holders become more cowardly in facing the problem. They need Negro votes on election day. And now, since the Negro women can vote, and since they can be "herded" by the leaders of their race and voted virtually as a body, the Negro vote is a definite and valuable element in the political equation. If this evolution in our politics continues, there is going to be hell to pay and no credit granted. Coddling the coon for his vote is only stirring up wrath for the final day of judgment. For this is a white man's country and by God it is going to continue to be!

In some parts of the country the white element may "mess along" with the Negro; but finally the Negro becomes so intolerable that the white man balks, and—there is a tragedy like the Tulsa affair. How infinitely better it would be if the white man, everywhere, would deal with the Negro as the white man deals with him in the South—with kindness, but with absolutely no toleration of any species of impudence? Then there would be no race riots. We don't have any of them in the South. It is true that during the late war we had trouble with a bunch of nigger soldiers that were shipped into our training camps from the North and East. But they weren't our niggers. They hadn't been raised up right.

It is a fact, however, that we have no such race riots in the South as have been staged lately in Washington, D. C., Boston, Chicago, Omaha, East St. Louis and Tulsa. Why? We started right. We gave the "cullud" element to understand, a long time ago, what we expected out of them in the shape of good behavior. Now and then a "bad nigger" develops himself into our especial notice. When he does, we take him out and kill him. That's all. And that's the last of it.

Well-meaning folks in the northern states honestly feel that we people of the South are unjust and cruel in dealing with the Negro. They think it a shame that we don't have some nigger policemen patrolling the streets and telling the white men where to spit; they think it awful that a "cullud" lecturer on race-equality from Chicago can't come to Dallas and demand service in our hotels and restaurants, or sit by the side of our daughters in the theaters. Our friends of the North can go ahead and think whatever they please. We've got a plan that works! Our plan doesn't call for a race war every time we find it necessary to settle with one bad nigger.

To my mind, the aspiration of the Negro to sit by the side of the white man in the councils of the white man's civilization is the very acme of impudence. In the world's six thousand years of history the Negro remained a beast in the woods and didn't even learn to cook his meat. He worshiped fire, thinking it was a god that feasted on dry sticks. The Negro produced no historian, even of his own long savagery. And in that night of savagery there gleams no star. The Negro, through sixty centuries, never wrote a book, never composed an opera, never painted a picture, never carved a statue, never sang a song that would grace music's kingly realm. White adventurers trapped him in his native jungles only a few years ago; shipped him in chains to serve the white man in other lands; a stroke of political fortune makes him free and "equal" to the white man in our country, and he has the consummate gall and impudence to want a place at the council board of the white man's civilization.

It will never happen in Texas, gentlemen!

BUT!

Incomplete

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# THE TULSA RIOT AND THE VARIED OPINION OF THE WHITE PRESS

Times Plain Dealer 6/11/21

**In the columns of this publication** we carry the opinions of two of Birmingham's leading white dailies, who in speaking editorially of the Tulsa, Oklahoma, riot seem to have somewhat of a varied opinion as to what caused the race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma.

**The distinguished editor of the Birmingham Age-Herald** uses as his caption, "Sanity Returns to Oklahoma City." **The distinguished editor of the Birmingham News** places the responsibility of the riot on the Tulsa Negroes and speaks thusly, "Responsibility for Tulsa's horrors rest with the Negroes themselves—solely."

**The editor of the Age-Herald,** in discussing the deplorable affair in Tulsa, makes the following statement: "Lax officials who might have prevented a reign of terror, are severely criticised: as was evidenced at first a few bad Negroes and a few equally as bad whites were responsible for one of the worst race riots in the country." The editor of the Birmingham News gives as his version of the trouble these salient reasons: "The facts were a few white men," said a newspaper reporter, "were discussing the affair in small groups near the jail, but there was no excitement whatever, no move towards a mob. A band of belligerent Negroes headed by a narcotic peddler, began to assemble at the jail to protect the accused." This part of the News reporters' report is laughable. The News then puts the question. The News also answers the question without debate, "Were those Tulsa Negroes banded together to uphold the law? No. Did they condemn the crime of which the prisoner was accused? No sign of it—rather they glossed that, and approved that, in banding to 'protect' the accused."

The News goes on to back its contention by calling attention to the fact that Barney Cleaver, one of the wealthiest Negroes in Tulsa, said "that he had warned the Negroes that trouble was to occur as a result of their arming themselves, but they failed to heed his warning." Poor Barney Cleaver! We know the predicament he was in when he made this assertion; a predicament equal to the predicament of the colored doctor in Jacksonville, Florida, who swore to a lie in order to protect his life when he wired the congressman from Florida that all Negroes voted in that state. But this is neither here nor there! There are two points to be debated.

**What we would like to know,** is why was a crowd of white men assembled in front of the jail if they were not bent on lynching the accused Negro? We would like to know why was it that the city authorities allowed the congregating of these men in front of the jail, when they knew that feeling was running high between the races? We would like to know why the authorities showed laxity in doing their duty while the riot was in progress. We would like to know why was it necessary to burn the homes of innocent people. We would like to know why were innocent people who had nothing to do with the gang of white and black hoodlums broil murdered? We wish some student of philosophy would tell us why the mob was allowed to leave the fighting zone and go promiscuously into the homes of law-abiding citizens and murder and burn without protestation from the mayor or the city authorities? We would like to know why all the responsibility of the Tulsa riot was placed upon the Negroes? **What was all of this temptest in the tea pot about?**

**The majority** of the white press has studiously avoided giving the reason of the trouble. It has only tacitly implied that the accused Negro made an attack. **Why not make the thing clear?** Was it not a matter of racial antipathy? **The better class of Negroes** and the better class of whites seldom quarrel. **The trouble in Tulsa, Oklahoma,** was the result of an irresponsible crowd in the white and black race! **Its depleted effects were the results,** of a poor city administration, who failed to do their duty at the psychological moment. **Give us officers of the law,** who will dare to do their duty, and there will be no racial conflicts in America. **The law was made to apprehend the criminal, be he white or black.**

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

Riots - 1921

# THE RACE RIOT IN TULSA, OKLAHOMA.

Christian Index, 6/16/21.

During the last two years, race riots have broken out in several of the important cities of this country, including Longview, Washington, Chicago, Knoxville and other cities. It is always exceedingly difficult to get correct information regarding these outbursts of lawlessness, and wholesale murder of hundreds of human beings. The first reports are usually made by the white daily press which almost always colors its news to the disadvantage of the Negro, which results in a badly warped public sentiment concerning these matters. The great and shocking surprise has been that occasionally white religious papers of large and influential circulation have published incorrect information to the detriment of the Negro. Of course, we know that papers may sometimes be imposed upon and innocently publish a distortion of the facts they have honestly tried to get; but we know also, that when fair minded, Christian editors or others discover that they have published misinformation concerning such grave matters, they will not hesitate to make correction, not only in the interest of their reputation as an honest, trustworthy medium of information, but in the interest of simple justice which an embarrassed, struggling race has a right to expect, at least from the religious press.

We have made an effort to get reliable information regarding the riot in Tulsa. Reports have come from those who were in the midst of it all Even then, there is always the possibility of the subjective element leading one astray in reporting facts. There are those, however, who would not intentionally mislead in giving facts concerning an awful affair like that which happened in Tulsa.

Our investigation shows that four million dollars worth of property was destroyed; that about one hundred and fifty persons were killed, about half of whom were colored and the other half white; that about three hundred were wounded; that about four-fifths of the Negro homes and eight churches were burned; that all their furnishings and clothing were burned or stolen. One informant says: "There were three gangs; one to direct the people out, another to loot, and another to burn." It is said that the whole Negro business section was wiped out and about "five thousand people are homeless, foodless nd clotheless." One informant says, "I never saw calm come so quickly after a storm." Some say the whole blame rests with the white people; others say that both races are responsible. The remarkable thing about these reports is that no attention is paid to the attempted rape charge that got wide publicity in the press when the riot was started. It seems that those who started the rape charge had considerable difficulty in fixing it so it could be believed, and failing in this, it appears that it dropped almost entirely from any reports concerning the trouble. One man says, "An editorial in one of our papers aroused the colored people, and once aroused they went wild, armed themselves and drove and walked through Main street firing as they went."

One thing is noticeable in all reports, and that is the unanimous statement that the better class of white people are doing all they can to relieve the suffering and to "atone for the sins of their people."

**It may now be in order to indulge in a few observations.** Tulsa has grown tremendously during the last dozen years. A great many Negroes have gone there; they have been quick to see the opportunity for economic

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progress; and following Booker Washington's idea of becoming an economic factor as a solution to the race problem, they have made, perhaps, the most rapid and substantial progress along that line that has been noted any where by Negro people in so short a time. They bought lots, built modern homes, built their own drug stores, moving picture shows, business houses and the like. And there had developed in Tulsa a racial solidarity that gave race enterprises almost the entire Negro patronage. White men who attempted businss in the Negro section failed for lack of support. The Negroes were industrious, frugal, self respecting, and were attending to their own business and letting the white people alone. They accepted the jim-crow laws which segregated the races; they were going right along doing their best for themselves under the laws and rules made and executed by the white peple. They BECAME AN ECONOMIC FACTOR IN TULSA. Was that the primary cause of the trouble? What does the apparent systematic burning of the Negro section mean? But a fund is being raised to rebuild the homes destroyed by fire. Well and good. Will they rebuild homes equal to those that were burned? And will they rebuild the Negro business houses that were burned? Time is the best answer.

Another observation. When during the riots in Washington and Chicago the Negro fought back until he was killed, it was said that his fighting spirit was due to promptings born of the surroundings in those sections; that in the South it would be different Tulsa is in the South. But there is no part of the world just the same as it was in 1914. The huge world war has put a different spirit into men; and that spirit did not lift the bandage to see what the color was– it simply got into men, and they are different now from what they were before the war. The color of their skin has nothing to do with it; and the fact that they are hopelessly outnumbered does not change the fact that men think and act differently now from the way they thought and acted years ago. Men—white and black—fought in the world war for freedom for others. Are they willing to do less for themselves? Of course white men can burn Negro property, mob Negro men, shoot down innocent Negro women and children as they attempt to rescue themselves from the sweeping flames; but that sort of thing DOES NOT HELP ANYBODY. Black men may run wild, shoot and slay innocent people and provoke trouble for all; but that DOES NOT GET THEM ANY WHERE.

Of course, when men are attacked by those who are bent upon violence and death, be they white or black, it is natural to expect that they should do their best to protect themselves.

Lawlessness is a curse to our great country. Mob violence and race riots are destroying the very fundamentals of civilized government. Every such outburst of lawlessness as that which occurred in Tulsa adds to the foul blots upon the name of America, and no citizen can escape the odium and disgrace which these brutal crimes invite. The better element of both races must not lose faith in themselves, in each other and in God. They must not be too indifferent to the victims among their respective race groups; and neither must they be too sweeping and bitter in their criticism of the motives and efforts of those in both races who are working for a better race feeling and more happy adjustment of racial difficulties. Lawlessness is damning both races, and the task of wiping it out or reducing it, belongs to both races. And as much as we detest and abhor these brutal outrages perpetrated against our laws and civilization, we must not lose hope. We must still believe that there is a better way for two distinct races to get along together, and we must work to that end.

N Y C NORTH SIDE NEWS
JUNE 12, 1921

## THE OUTBREAK AT TULSA

The unfortunate race outbreak at Tulsa may lead to serious results, as it was an outward manifestation of smouldering hate of long standing. Negro agitators have been at work among their race in all sections of the country for years, impelling the men to rise against the whites, as it was the only way to insure respect and equality. These men have inflamed the minds of their hearers with claims of negro superiority, and alleged fallacious assumptions of "white trash." The hanging and burning of negroes in the south and west has embittered the blacks and ignorant hedgerow preachers and wily agitators, have adjured them to make a stand against alleged white aggression. The revival of the Ku-Klux-Klan in the south has added to the measure of negro hatred of whites. This organization was originally formed against the blacks in the southern states after the war, as ignorant negroes but recently freed from slavery were lording it over the whites at the suggestion of carpet baggers.

The latter gentry were political adventurers from the north, who exploited the blacks for their own advantage under the guise of patriotism. The result was the Ku-Klux-Klan, composed of ex-Confederate soldiers sworn to keep the negro in what they consider to be his proper place. Negro domination came to a speedy end, and no serious attempt has ever been made to revive it since. Sporadic battles between negroes and whites have been going on in practically every section of the nation since shortly after the close of the Civil War.

Vernon MONROE LA STAR 29, 1815.
JUNE 28, 1921

### WHY A TULSA TROUBLE?

Advice to the Colored Brother, by R. F. Long, of Washington Colored Public School:

When we consider the bloodshed, the number of widows and orphans left to suffer, the homes broken up forever, the amount of property destroyed, the lasting hatred engendered by race against race, we are compelled to stop and ask why should all this be.

To any fair-minded man, white or black, it is plain that these things don't have to exist. When we review the cause and effect of the Tulsa, East St. Louis, the Washington and the Chicago riots, it can be plainly seen that they are uncalled for.

To speak candidly, I believe that there is a propaganda, fostered by some foreign element, power, or class, to put a division between the whites and blacks of this country. It does seem that there is an undercurrent at work to put the races at variance.

Whose business is it that the white race and black race get along in this country? Insofar as we are concerned (and I believe that I speak the sentiment of my people), we are determined to let nothing move us.

There is a definite line along which we are to move. The traditions of the South have long since been fixed. To say that we do not desire a man's chance would be to destroy my race. We do desire a chance—a chance such as is given to any other people; a chance to earn a livelihood; a chance to educate and care for our families and children; a fair trial by an unbiased jury when accused at trial. We ask this, but it is not true when it said that we want social equality. Nothing is further from the truth.

As a preacher and a teacher of my people, I wan to warn them to pay absolutely no attention to advice coming from persons you know nothing about. When seeking advice, go to some of our old reliable citizens whom you have known all your life, and I assure you that you will get the right advice. I have never yet known such a citizen to give the wrong advice. Have you?

Some newspaper reports state that from 200 to 250 persons lost their lives in the Tulsa riot, and that property valued at $2,000,000 was destroyed. Why? Someone, somewhere, had given the wrong advice, hence the results.

Shall we allow anyone to break the peace which has existed between the races, be disturbed by some one who has no interest in us or ours? God forbid!

Let us adopt a program of love. That is a program which is bound to win. Let us decide that we will let no man make us hate him, regardless of the color of his skin or the texture of his hair. Let us, as preacher, preach it from our pulpits; let us, as teacher, teach this from our desks, and I believe that such occurrences will soon cease. Indeed, there is all to lose and nothing to gain in the methods tried out in the recent outbreaks of the country.

Let us keep faith in God, who is, indeed, the God of the just; have faith in our white neighbors, faith in one another, and keep our hands in God's hand, and then the time is not far when the "lion and the lamb will lie down together."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots – 1921.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

# FORCE WILL NOT SOLVE RACE PROBLEM

6/25/21.

Negro Work

Since the great day of shooting an burning at Tulsa, Okla., the press ha dropped a tear upon the ashes, mur mured a few ritualistic words about law-'n-order, and turned its back once more upon the race problem. Naturally we ourselves have seen only a very small portion of the comment called forth by this affair, and yet we will gamble that most of it would have been equally applicable if a mob of whites had entered the jail at Tulsa, dragged out the Negro who was accused of assault on a white girl, and lynched him peaceably, in the good old fashioned way. In other words, we do not believe that either the press or the public has come to grips with the fact that in this country rac -prejudice is now manifested less and less frequently in undesisted racial persecution, and more and more often in the skirmishes of racial war. It appears to us that the significance of the annual decline in the number of lynchings can not be altogether understood by anyone who fails to give some attention to the recent increase in the number and violence of race riots.

For a very long time the professional friends of the Negro have habitually deprecated the idea that the black man might eventually attempt to meet force with force. The Negrophil might or might not believe sincerely in the all-suffering patience of the colored people, but opportunism seemed to demand that he express such a belief, in order to allay the fears and flatter the pride of the South; nor is it to be forgotten that an appeal for the charitable treatment of a helpless and pacific race is somewhat flattering to the white man who makes it, as well as to the whites to whom the appeal is addressed.

It is true even today that any white man who invites the attention of his fellows to the possibility of a black uprising is likely to be looked upon as a fomenter of race-war, eager to turn loose hell-fire upon the Negroes. We are quite well aware of the fact that any mention of the possibility of resistance or retaliation on the part of the Negroes is frowned upon by some of our good friends on the ground that the mere suggestion that such a thing is possible is likely to stir the whites to further violence; and yet we can not see how any final good can come of a refusal to acknowledge that America is now in the actual presence of developments long predicted by white alarmists.

It is not exactly clear how the trouble began at Tulsa, but what difference does it make? Whether or not the whites were planning to lynch the prisoner accused of assault, the Negroes had every historical reason for believing that an attempt of this sort would be made. Whether or not the Negroes were armed and organized and eager for a fight, they certainly put up a stiff defense when the clash came. The salient facts are plain enough, the only thing necessary to turn the habitual white persecution of the Negro into a free-for-all fight is a disposition on the part of the blacks to meet force with force, and unquestionably this disposition is on the increase, as the citizens of Washington, Chicago, Tulsa and a half-dozen other American cities now have reason to know.

We should like very much to join the quietists in the prediction that every thing will come out all right, and yet we find ourselves tied up to the belief that men reap pretty much as they sow. The people of this country have planted hatred and violence among the Negroes, and now at last the crop is beginning to come in. If we do not like the harvest it is high time we began another seeding.

If the Negro's appeal to force is, under present conditions, inevitable, it seems to us to be futile also. If the violence of the white majority has not kept the Negroes in their place, violence on the part of the Negroes themselves can hardly help very much to lift them out of it. It is perfectly natural that the Negroes should fight back, and it is quite certain that the sheer weight of numbers will crush them in any conflict of force.

On the other hand, this assurance of final triumph can hold no great comfort for the whites. The Negroes can be ridden down, but not without cost. In nearly one-fourth of the countries of the South the population is half or more than half black; in some regions the Negroes outnumber the whites six to one, even ten to one; and John Brown's soul as it goes marching among them is more and more "the soul of vengeance and wrath." If the appeal to force offered any promise of a final settlement, opportunism might find some excuse for it; but now that the Negroes are beginning to resist, violence can beget nothing but more violence, world without end.

This business of crying in the wilderness is quite uncongenial to us, and we should by no means indulge in it if we did not feel morally certain that the era of increasing violence is already upon the country. We are not prepared to recommend any specific cure for this symptom of race-prejudice; indeed we are inclined to believe that there is no such cure. We are not altogether sure that there is a cure for the disease itself. However, it seems likely that a careful diagnosis of the case will show that the Negro is now generally recognized as an increasingly dangerous economic competitor of the white man and of the white worker in particular. Those of our friends who agree with us that such is actually the case may properly ask themselves two questions: To what extent can any direct attack upon the race problem alter the conditions which govern economic competition? Can any approach to a final solution of the race problem be made, by any means whatever, as long as these conditions remain what they are?—The Freeman, New York.

## Tulsa

N Y C CALL
JUNE 26, 1921

THE Tulsa massacre adds one more chapter of horror to the already sufficiently terrible tale of race riots in the United States. No words of description, denunciation or appeal remain to apply to this latest event, for all such words have long since been exhausted. Everything that could be said at such a time was said when Washington, Chicago and East St. Louis were red with the blood of Negroes. On the other hand, however, this Oklahoma outrage brings into sharp relief certain new phases of the Negro problem today, which call for comment and investigation. Without any question we are entering a new era of race relations in America, the elements of which will be ignored or defied at our peril.

(1) First of all to be noted is the fact that the rise of the Negro in the economic and social scale serves only to complicate and not to solve the problem of his relations with the whites. The more industrious, efficient and successful he is in the business world, the more insecure is his position in the community, and the more in hazard his own personal safety. This, of course, is just the opposite of what has been anticipated and definitely taught by whites and blacks alike for many years in the past. The whole movement for the industrial education of the Negro, which had the heroic leadership of such men as General Armstrong and Booker T. Washington, which is glorified in such institutions as Hampton and Tuskegee, and which has held the confident support of tens of thousands of whites both North and South, was based upon the one idea that all the Negro had to do, in order to gain the recognition which he sought and deserved, was to establish himself and his race upon a firm economic foundation. To be good farmers and workmen, to save money and accumulate property, to become prosperous and useful citizens in the community, this was all the colored people needed not only to end discrimination, but also to win cordial respect and admiration. If the Negro brings to market better sweet potatoes than his white neighbor, said Mr. Washington in innumerable public speeches, he will get the sale and hold the market, for money knows no color line! Thus for years, to quote the New York Evening Journal, "have the best friends of the Negro advised him that his future and security lie in the development of his own economic and cultural resources. As the Negro prospered, it was believed that the points of social friction with his white neighbors would be reduced. But," continues the Post, "that cheerful belief is now hard to maintain. If the Negro worker's increasing prosperity is only to bring upon him the jealousy of the white worker, and if the rise of prosperous Negro communities is to breed new economic jealousies and hatreds, we are evidently face to face with a new difficulty."

It is this "new difficulty" which is written all over the Tulsa horror. Thus, according to the statement of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, "the Negroes of the Black Belt of Oklahoma, of which Tulsa is the center, are probably the most cultured and prosperous body of Negro people in the country, judging by race standards." The Negro community in Tulsa itself, which represented a high degree of racial segregation—just what the Southern negrophobist, by the way, claims most to want! — was a neighborhood of happy prosperity and exemplary social discipline. Here were excellent homes, successful business houses, Negro churches, banks, theaters, etc., all embodying the best standards of the common life. But these facts offered no protection from outrage and destruction! On the contrary, it was this high-class model "ghetto" which was surrounded by circling automobiles on the night of the riot, swept by machine-gun and rifle fire, and at last burned flat to the ground by the conflagration kindled by the maddened whites.

### Negro Prosperity.

Furthermore, all reports which have come to us from Oklahoma agree in stressing economic conditions as lying at the root of the Tulsa outbreak. Thus, many of the Negroes have shared in the abounding prosperity of the oil industry; some of them "have actually become owners of oil wells and have made neat sums." This had led to a deliberate campaign against the Negroes by whites who hold oil properties or make profits out of oil. Secretary Johnson of the N. A. A. C. P., cites instances where Negroes have discovered oil on their land, and, because no white man would bore for them, have been obliged to sell at the white man's price. A Mrs. Harris, a refugee from Tulsa, tells of a Negro family which discovered oil on their property at Clearview, not far from Tulsa. When the white neighbors heard of the "strike" they demanded that the Negroes sell their farm to them. The colored family of five refused the demand, wishing to exploit the oil well for their own benefit. The whites persisted in their demand, and the Negroes in their refusal. A few nights later, the whole family was burned to death in their home.

This brings to mind an instance cited by Governor Dorsey, in his famous report covering the Georgia situation, of a prosperous Negro farmer who was assaulted, his family dispersed, he himself later convicted and sentenced to the chain-gang on a trumped-up charge, his farm sold at forced auction, and all the results of a lifetime of toil and sacrifice thus destroyed. Negroes in America today, like Jews in Russia in the days of the "Black Hundred," must be set aside for massacre if they become too prosperous!

Another economic aspect of the Tulsa horror is that presented by the unemployment recently prevailing. The slump in cotton threw large numbers of whites and colored workers out of their "jobs,"

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particularly on the farms. This led, of course, to a surplus of labor; and this, in turn, to resentment against the Negroes. Reports indicate that, for some time past, the whites in Oklahoma have been posting notices on fences and the walls of houses, and printing them in the newspapers, warning the Negro workers to get out of the state or "take the conseuences." The prosperity of many Negroes at such a time of depression had also led to a fresh assertion of the old demand that "the niggers be kept in their place." Everywhere were indications of a concerted effort to terrorize the colored population, so that they would be willing victims of exploitation.

### Determining to Make Good.

What this means, from the standpoint of the general aspects of the Negro problem, is evident. For years it has been the stock-in-trade of the South that the Negro is essentially lazy, shiftless and vicious, an inferior creature inacapable of rising and taking his equal place in the social group. The answer to this slander has been the determination of the Negro to "make good," especially in the economic field, and a success in this endeavor which may well be said to constitute the eighth wonder of the world. Now, with this achievement to his credit, the Negro finds himself worse off than ever. His white neighbor fears him as a competitor, is jealous of his prosperity, is embittered by his triumph in the face of enormous difficulties. A great wave of hatred sweeps the country wherever the Negro develops communities which are powerful and happy; always there appears the steady drive to force the Negro back into economic servitude, and every now and then a mad flare up of bloody passion, with the hideous accompaniments of looting, slaying and burning. What an impasse for the colored man! If he does not rise, he is no good; if he does rise, he is too good. There is no darker tragedy in American life today than the ending of fifty years of unexampled industrial progress by the Negro in the race riots of Washington, Chicago and Tulsa.

(2) A second factor to be taken into account in the new race problem of the present hour is the changed attitude of the Negro toward the whole question of his social status. In the past the colored people have been on the whole a docile and submissive race. Naturally gentle, trustful and good natured, the long experience of slavery has early trained them to an easy acceptance of the disabilities of their lot. In recent years, however, new forces, steadily at work, have wrought a transformation which makes the Negro today a different man from what he has ever been before. Booker Washington's constant preaching of the gospel of racial self-respect has had spiritual consequences seldom visualized even by those who supported most generously its practical application in terms of industrial education. Dr. Du Bois's unflinching campaign through many years for the assertion of Negro rights has made irresistible appeal to thousands of the best young men and women of the race, who have now grown to maturity and become the leaders of their people. Most important has been the psychological reaction of the Negro's economic and social development. Inevitably as he has raised his economic status in the community, accumulated property, earned wealth and enjoyed its power, he has gained enormously in self-confidence and self-respect. Discriminations and indignities which were once accepted as a part of life have now become intolerable. No longer is he ready to accept, without protest or resistance, the harsh and cruel treatment which has been the lot of his people from the beginning. Today he is a man, and he proposes to be treated as a man!

### The Negro and the War.

The climax of this development, of course, came with the great war. This date marks an epoch in the evolution of the Negro race in America, second only to the great date, 1865. All at once, after a half-century of discrimination and persecution, the black man was lifted to a high degree of individual and social power. Through military conscription, through industrial regimentation, through the whole lift and sweep of patriotic idealism, he was initiated into the full dignity of citizenship, in so far, at least, as this dignity involved duties and responsibilities. Side by side with the white man he drilled and marched and fought, he worked on ship construction and toiled in ammunition factories, he bought Liberty bonds, contributed to the Red Cross and observed food regulations. In a movement nation-wide, under the stress of events cataclysmic in character, the Negro found himself caught up into the surging life of embattled America, and accepted for the first time as a full-fledged member of the national family. This meant pride, responsibility, sacrifice—a heightened dignity of manhood and a deepened sense of fellowship; and it meant also, for the blacks at least, a demand, at first wistful, then determined, and at last challenging, for a full share in the nation's opportunities and rewards. And it is just this one and final thing, so naively expected and so earnestly asked, which has been denied. The nation imposed upon the Negro during the war responsibilities, and now, after the war, frustration! The Negro is conscious, as he has never been before, of denial and outrage. For the first time in his life he knows what he has done and what he deserves, and counts his exclusion therefore no longer as a doom but a crime!

It is these things—and others less important—which have changed the attitude of the American Negro toward his own problem. A new black man stands before us. His gentleness and good nature are still present; but gone forever is his subserviency. He now demands rights as well as accepts duties. He speaks in new and more militant tones, as witness the Messenger and the Challenger. Above all, he shows a tendency to fight back, and not merely run away. What this means to Negro manhood in particular and to American citizenship in general is evident. But we doubt if it is equally evident what it means to the relations between the races.

(3) As a final factor in the race problem of the present day, we would mention the United States government. Since reconstruction days the government has kept its hands off the Negro question. It has chosen to regard it, all of a sudden, as "a local issue," like General Hancock's tariff, belonging particularly to the South, and therefore for the South to work out on its own terms. The open and shameless nullification of the national constitution by state legislation, has stirred the government at Washington to no protest or interference. Education, which has no political implication of any kind, has been left severely alone. Even lynching has been allowed to go on for a generation or more, without the slightest official notice or action on the part of administrative officials; the same government which was so profoundly outraged by German atracities in Belgium remained absolutely unmoved in the face of American atrocities right here at home in Georgia, Mississippi and Arkansas.

### THE SPIRIT THAT WINS

New York Age 7/14/21

Reports from the ruined Negro section of the city of Tulsa indicate that the survivors of the riot and ruin retain their indomitable spirit of resistance to further despoilment and have entered determinedly upon a program of rehabilitation. According to a special to the *Black Dispatch*, a Negro weekly published at Oklahoma City, a greater and better Negro district will be rebuilt upon the ashes of the former site. A half million dollars is said to have been tentatively offered by a Negro institution of Denver, Col., for that purpose.

Another significant feature of the situation was brought out in the same paper, as follows:

The official. of the Exchange National Bank of Tulsa are reported as saying that since the riots of June 1, the Negroes of the city have drawn over a million dollars in cash from this one financial institution alone. There are eight strong banks in the city of Tulsa and it is safe to say that out of this number over three millions of dollars have been drawn by the depositors who have gone to other cities to bank their funds. Bank officials are said to deplore this feature of the affair which in its aftermath is leaving a mighty hole in their treasury. The officials of the Exchange National are reported as saying that they did not know its Negro depositors had so much money in their vaults until the run started.

The report further detailed the organization by the Negroes of a realty and construction company at a meeting held in a church which survived the flames. This meeting and its outcome constituted the answer of the Tulsa Negroes to the real estate grafters who planned the confiscation of their property in the devastated area. Their attitude was expressed in the words of Prof. J. W. Hughes, principal of one of the ward schools, who answered the proposal of the white reconstruction committee that the Negroes execute deeds to a holding company, and await a valuation by a board of appraisers for industrial purposes. He said tersely: "I'M GOING TO HOLD WHAT I HAVE UNTIL I GET WHAT I'VE LOST." This slogan was adopted at the meeting held by the Negroes almost to a man.

A new fire limit ordinance voted for by all the city commissioners, save one Democrat, is intended to bar the erection of any but fireproof buildings in the destroyed district. But the Negroes will meet this effort to prevent their rebuilding by making the new structures comply with this requirement. The banks and the white financial agencies have announced that they will not loan any money to Negroes to rebuild on their own property. Despite this fiat the Negroes of Tulsa persist in their determination to pool their own resources and maintain their right to rebuild right where their homes and business places were so ruthlessly destroyed.

A people possessed of such grit and determination as this cannot be destroyed. Theirs is the spirit that wins despite all obstacles and reverses. Their spirit cannot be crushed by temporary defeat or disaster.

### MONEY IN TULSA BANKS

(New York Freeman 7/6/21)

**Much is being said and written nowadays about relief for stricken Tulsans. All that is well and good. It is our belief, though, that one of the most fruitful sources for relief is being overlooked. That source is in the bank deposits of the people of Tulsa themselves.**

**What has become of the money which those people killed and those people who had their bank books destroyed had in the banks of Tulsa? Tulsa boasted of being the richest city, per capita, in the world. The bank deposits of the average citizen were much larger than those of the same class of people in many cities. Nothing has been heard of all this money. What is being done to recover it?**

**A rigid investigation should be made to discover just where it is. The money belonging to those killed should be procured by the city and given to the relatives or others of the homeless. Strict supervision should be forthcoming to see that those depositors who have lost their books get full justice in any accounting which may be done. The bankers probably know where this money is. Get after them.**

Riots – 1921.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

N Y C LITERARY DIGEST
JUNE 18, 1921

# MOB FURY AND RACE HATRED AS A NATIONAL DANGER

"THERE IS ONE PROBLEM in American life for which I foresee no solution. It is the race problem, the negro question." These words of Grover Cleveland are recalled by the Louisville *Courier-Journal* in its editorial discussion of the sudden and appalling flare-up of mob fury and race hatred in Tulsa. In this Oklahoma city, which according to one of its journals "has the highest per-capita wealth of any city in the world," the rumor that a colored boy was to be lynched brought a crowd of armed negroes to the jail to prevent it. With the white mob and the black confronting one another, somebody fired a shot, and the result was a pitched battle with scores of casualties, the burning of the city's negro section, and the addition, as the New York *Evening Post* remarks, of "a ghastly chapter to the record of a national disgrace." For while the immediate cause of the Tulsa tragedy has been concisely described as "an impudent negro, an hysterical girl, and a yellow-journal reporter," the conditions which provided the tinder for this spark are not peculiar to Tulsa or Oklahoma, but exist in varying degree, we are told, in all parts of the country where the negro is numerous enough to be a problem. According to the editor of a New York negro weekly, race war lies latent in many American cities, and "as for New York City, it is a magazine. All it needs is to have a fuse touched off." The causes behind the Tulsa explosion and similar outbreaks of the last few years, editorial observers tell us, are: the lynch-law spirit, peonage, race prejudice, economic rivalry between blacks and whites, radical propaganda, unemployment, corrupt politics, and the new negro spirit of self-assertion. Among the remedies proposed are: new legislation, strict and impartial law enforcement, unionization of the negroes, and the Golden Rule.

pyrighted by the New York "Tribune," Inc.

KEEPING RIGHT UP WITH THE PROCESSION.

"The Tulsa horror" moves the Kansas City *Journal* to reflect upon "the narrowness of the margin which separates civilization from savagery." "We have in this country an ugly race problem, and to ignore it is only to postpone the reckoning," declares the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, which has not forgotten the race war of four years ago in its neighbor city, East St. Louis, in which 125 persons were killed. This problem, *The Post-Dispatch* assures us, "can not be solved by riot, by

are headed in this country toward a race conflict greater than the confines of a city—greater, perhaps, than a State," declares *The Star* of the same city, which asks: "Are we going to keep on going in the direction in which we are headed?" "No community knows when it may be marred by similar outrages," says the Oklahoma City *Times*, which is convinced that "the danger of racial disturbances is increased by the orgy of terrorism in Tulsa." "It is not an issue of white *vs.* black, but it is an issue in which is involved the one true conception of government itself," avers the Tulsa *World*. "Mob violence has become common, and if the tendency is not checked, one may not measure the depths of sorrow to come," says the Oklahoma City *Oklahoma Leader*. "If the Tulsa collision had occurred at Vera Cruz the American people would have deplored the lawlessness of the Mexicans and found it shocking," remarks the New York *Times;* and the Nashville *Tennessean* thinks that "the crime of Tulsa will make many of us hesitate before we condemn other races as being unqualified for self-government." "This is not the first race riot within recent years to occur outside of the Mason-Dixon line," notes the Wilmington *Every Evening*, which recalls the following facts:

"In East St. Louis, Ill., which is distinctly a Northern city, 125 persons were killed on July 7, 1917. In Washington, D. C., seven persons were killed and scores injured in the riots which began July 19, 1919. A few days later, beginning July 26, in Chicago, which is certainly not a Southern city, 38 persons were killed and 500 wounded. On October 2, the same year, in Elaine, Ark.—which calls itself Mid-Western—30 persons were killed and hundreds were wounded in the street-fighting. Three days before that, in Omaha, Neb., which is certainly Western, three persons were killed in race riots and many wounded. The mayor of the city was hanged by rioters, but cut down in time to save his life."

The guilt of the Tulsa tragedy, avers an outspoken Southern paper, the Dallas *News*, "attaches itself mostly to the white race"; and in the Emporia *Gazette* we read:

"Of course, it was not the best of the white race that created the hellish situation in Tulsa. But none the less, the best of the white race is responsible. The leadership of a community is responsible for the deeds of the community."

"No matter who kills the most, mobs are an indictment of all the citizens, and of the best citizens more than any of the others," agrees *The Call*, a negro paper published in Kansas City; and it adds: "We maintain that it is white civilization that is on trial when negroes are persecuted, for it is the law as created by the Anglo-Saxon which is treated with contempt when our rights are overridden." "We are wondering where is an Uncle Sam that will hear the cries of the innocent women and children at Tulsa," exclaims another negro paper, the St. Louis *Argus;* and in still another, *The Black Dispatch*, of Oklahoma City, we read: "Whatever the issue, the fact remains undisputed that in Tulsa, in a white-man's country, the negroes were attempting to uphold the law and white men were attempting to destroy it."

The nation must awake to what lynch law and race riots are costing it, our press earnestly admonish us. This Tulsa horror will be featured in scare-heads in every newspaper in Mexico City, and will make it still harder for our State Department to convince the Mexicans that we are in deadly earnest about the protection of American life and property, remarks the Chicago *Evening Post*, which goes on to say: "At this moment we are withholding valuable aid to the Mexican Government because we doubt the safety of American life and property under its jurisdiction, but in Mexican eyes the Tulsa explosion will knock the high horse out from under us." Moreover, it adds, such outbreaks "damage the United States more than we realize in the eyes of all foreign nations." "Americans have been loud in the denunciation of the pogroms in Poland, of the massacres in Armenia and Russia and Mexico, and they were ready to go to war to avenge the victims of the barbarous German war-lords, but unless we can create a public sentiment in this country strong enough to restrain such intolerant outbreaks as Tulsa has just witnessed, we shall be unable in the future to protest with any moral weight against anything that may happen in less-favored parts of the world," remarks the Houston *Post*, which warns us that "the race problem is not being solved in any part of the country."

Tulsa's outburst of race warfare "was as unjustified as it was unnecessary," remarks the Tulsa *World*. The events which made up this tragedy of errors are outlined by Walter F. White in a Tulsa dispatch to the New York *Evening Post:*

"The immediate cause of the riot was a white girl who claimed that Dick Rowland, a colored youth of nineteen, attempted to assault her. Sarah Page, the girl, operated an elevator in the Drexel Building in Tulsa. She said the colored boy had seized her arm as she admitted him to the car. Rowland declares that he stumbled and accidentally stept on the girl's foot. She screamed. Rowland ran. The following day the Tulsa *Tribune* told of the charge and the arrest of Rowland.

"Chief of Police John A. Gustafson, Sheriff McCullough, Mayor T. D. Evans, and a number of reputable citizens, among them a prominent oil operator, all declared that the girl had not been molested; that no attempt at criminal assault had been made. Victor F. Barnett, managing editor of the *Tribune*, stated that his paper had since learned that the original story that the girl's face was scratched and her clothes torn was untrue.

"Soon after *The Tribune* appeared on the streets on Tuesday afternoon there was talk of a lynching mob 'to avenge the purity of a white woman.' Rowland was then removed to the county jail, located on the top floor of the Tulsa County Court-

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House, a substantial building of three stories. Sheriff McCullough stated to me that as early as four o'clock on Tuesday afternoon (*The Tribune* reached the streets with the story of the alleged assault at 3.15 P.M.), Commissioner of Police J. M. Adkison informed him that there was talk of lynching Rowland that night. . . . . .

"By nine o'clock there were from 300 to 400 whites around the court-house. About 9.30 twenty-five negroes came up to the court-house, armed to protect Rowland. The sheriff persuaded them to go home, but in an hour they returned, their number increased to seventy-five. The sheriff had again persuaded them to go home, when a shot was fired. Then, in the sheriff's own words, 'all hell broke loose.'

"Armed mobs of whites broke into hardware stores and pawnshops and looted them, taking weapons and ammunition. Colored men fought gamely, one of them accounting for five members of a mob that attacked the colored section. Near daybreak a pitched battle was in progress, with the 'Frisco tracks as a dividing line between the two forces. Shortly afterward the white mobs, numbering by then more than 10,000, invaded the negro section, the colored men resisting determinedly. Cans of oil were secured and fires started. Firemen attempting to quench the first of these flames were fired upon and withdrew."

Before martial law was established and peace restored by the National Guard more than a score of blacks and nearly half as many whites had lost their lives, more than 200 of both races were wounded, more than a million and a half dollars' worth of property was destroyed, and thousands of negro families were homeless.

The Tulsa *Tribune* and *World* agree the trouble could have been nipped in the bud by decisive action on the part of the city authorities in dispersing the mob as soon as it began to form; and correspondents represent Gov. J. B. A. Robertson as sharing this view. "Undoubtedly the trouble could have been arrested in its incipiency had prompt and intelligent action been taken by officials," declares the Muskogee *Phoenix;* and *The Times-Democrat* of the same Oklahoma city agrees that "in Tulsa the law-enforcement branches were absolutely paralyzed in face of the riots for twenty-four hours." "The accumulation of all the stories relating to the disaster clearly indicates that this is the culmination of a protracted disrespect for law in this city through a long period of time," affirms the Tulsa *Tribune.*

But behind the immediate factors in the Tulsa outbreak editorial observers search for deeper causes. "One incident never causes a race riot; the causes accumulate for weeks and months before the outbreak," remarks James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, who goes on to say:

"If the stories told by refugees from Oklahoma are true, conditions virtually of slavery, similar to those laid bare recently by Governor Dorsey in Georgia, prevail in Oklahoma. Robbery of negro tenants, brutalities of every description, burning of homes, and enforced labor for a mere subsistence wage will inevitably bring about trouble."

So long as the negro is denied in whole or in part the rights and immunities guaranteed him under the white-man's law, "the way is open to the repetition of such tragedies as that which happened in Tulsa," avers the New York *World*, in which we read further:

"Government ceased for the time being to exist and the streets of Tulsa ran with blood. But in vast sections of the country government has a habit of ceasing to exist where the legal rights of the negro are concerned. Altho white men are sometimes lynched when accused of crime the general presumption is that they will not be. Altho black men are often not lynched when accused of crime, the general presumption in many parts of the United States is that they are likely to be. Out of that presumption came Tulsa's race war."

"The core of the situation is the existence of a latent spirit of lynching," thinks the New York *Evening Post.* Of a changing attitude on the part of the negro, the New York *Globe* says:

"Because of his experiences as a soldier and on account of the higher value placed upon his labor during the war-period he has become less submissive. Whether for good or for evil, it is a fact that when attacked by white men he is more likely to shoot back than he was five years ago."

The Socialist New York *Call*, after interviewing Mr. Chandler Owen, editor of *The Messenger*, on the Tulsa riot, reports that—

"A potent cause, Mr. Owen believes, is the recent wave of unemployment, which has hit white workers much [redacted] than colored workers, for the simple reason that the negro [redacted] for lower wages, and are therefore the last to be discharged. This has caused a great deal of resentment among the white workers, who accuse the negroes of taking away their jobs."

"What was the underlying cause of the Tulsa riot?" asks the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, which answers its own question as follows:

"The answer to that question not only explains this riot, but reveals a situation which threatens the peace of every community in the land where negroes and whites dwell together. To speak plainly, those negroes were not in their right senses. They were inflamed by a violent propaganda against the whites which negro radicals in Chicago, New York, and other points in the East have been carrying on since the armistice. Publications filled with denunciation of the white people of the South and with lurid descriptions of imaginary wrongs of the negro race have been spread throughout the South during the past two years and a half. The most extreme of them have preached violence, if not openly, covertly and by innuendo. These professional agitators, most of whom have found an easy way of making a living through this propaganda, have cared nothing for the consequences of their violent teachings. With reckless abandon they have used every possible method of inflaming the negroes in the South against the whites.

"The Tulsa riot is a direct result of the sullen and ugly discontent which these Eastern propagandists have been planting in the breasts of Southern negroes. It is among the 'first fruits' of their teachings. The homeless negroes of Tulsa who view the ruins of the results of their labor and who witnessed their relatives being killed in a furious riot, are the victims of this propaganda."

"It is pretty generally known in Houston that hundreds, even thousands, of whites and blacks have procured firearms during the past two years," says another Texas paper, the Houston *Post*, which goes on to say:

"It is time to talk plainly. The circumstance that there are large armed groups of whites and blacks, each expecting attack, in scores of Southern communities is something for sober citizens of both races to consider. To continue that state of affairs means but one thing, viz., that sooner or later the necessary spark to light the fires of hate will appear."

The Indianapolis *News* thinks that there is much in the argument of the Chicago *Tribune* that corrupt politics is the real villain in the Tulsa tragedy and in other American race riots. Says the Chicago *Tribune:*

"If in Tulsa, Chicago, Springfield, or East St. Louis it were not for the profitable alliance of politics and vice or professional crime, the tiny spark which is the beginning of all these outrages would be promptly extinguished. We should have peace in our communities and the race issue would never reach the point of madness.

"Corrupt politics is directly responsible for race riots. Let us face that fact and not lose ourselves in secondary considerations. Race riots are not problems of race; they are problems of government. There will be no race riots where politics has not corrupted government."

WHERE FIVE THOUSAND NEGROES WERE BURNED OUT BY A WHITE MOB IN TULSA.

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"If the stories told by refugees from Oklahoma are true, conditions virtually of slavery, similar to those laid bare recently by Governor Dorsey in Georgia, prevail in Oklahoma. Robbery of negro tenants, brutalities of every description, burning of homes, and enforced labor for a mere subsistence wage will inevitably bring about trouble."

So long as the negro is denied in whole or in part the rights and immunities guaranteed him under the white-man's law, "the way is open to the repetition of such tragedies as that which happened in Tulsa," avers the New York *World*, in which we read further:

"Government ceased for the time being to exist and the streets of Tulsa ran with blood. But in vast sections of the country government has a habit of ceasing to exist where the legal rights of the negro are concerned. Altho white men are sometimes lynched when accused of crime the general presumption is that they will not be. Altho black men are often not lynched when accused of crime, the general presumption in many parts of the United States is that they are likely to be. Out of that presumption came Tulsa's race war."

"The core of the situation is the existence of a latent spirit of lynching," thinks the New York *Evening Post*. Of a changing attitude on the part of the negro, the New York *Globe* says:

"Because of his experiences as a soldier and on account of the higher value placed upon his labor during the war-period he has become less submissive. Whether for good or for evil, it is a fact that when attacked by white men he is more likely to shoot back than he was five years ago."

The Socialist New York *Call*, after interviewing Mr. Chandler Owen, editor of *The Messenger*, on the Tulsa riot, reports that—

"A potent cause, Mr. Owen believes, is the recent wave of unemployment, which has hit white workers much harder than colored workers, for the simple reason that the negro [redacted] for lower wages, and are therefore the last to be discharged. This has caused a great deal of resentment among the white workers, who accuse the negroes of taking away their jobs."

"What was the underlying cause of the Tulsa riot?" asks the Fort Worth *Star-Telegram*, which answers its own question as follows:

"The answer to that question not only explains this riot, but reveals a situation which threatens the peace of every community in the land where negroes and whites dwell together. To speak plainly, those negroes were not in their right senses. They were inflamed by a violent propaganda against the whites which negro radicals in Chicago, New York, and other points in the East have been carrying on since the armistice. Publications filled with denunciation of the white people of the South and with lurid descriptions of imaginary wrongs of the negro race have been spread throughout the South during the past two years and a half. The most extreme of them have preached violence, if not openly, covertly and by innuendo. These professional agitators, most of whom have found an easy way of making a living through this propaganda, have cared nothing for the consequences of their violent teachings. With reckless abandon they have used every possible method of inflaming the negroes in the South against the whites.

"The Tulsa riot is a direct result of the sullen and ugly discontent which these Eastern propagandists have been planting in the breasts of Southern negroes. It is among the 'first fruits' of their teachings. The homeless negroes of Tulsa who view the ruins of the results of their labor and who witnessed their relatives being killed in a furious riot, are the victims of this propaganda."

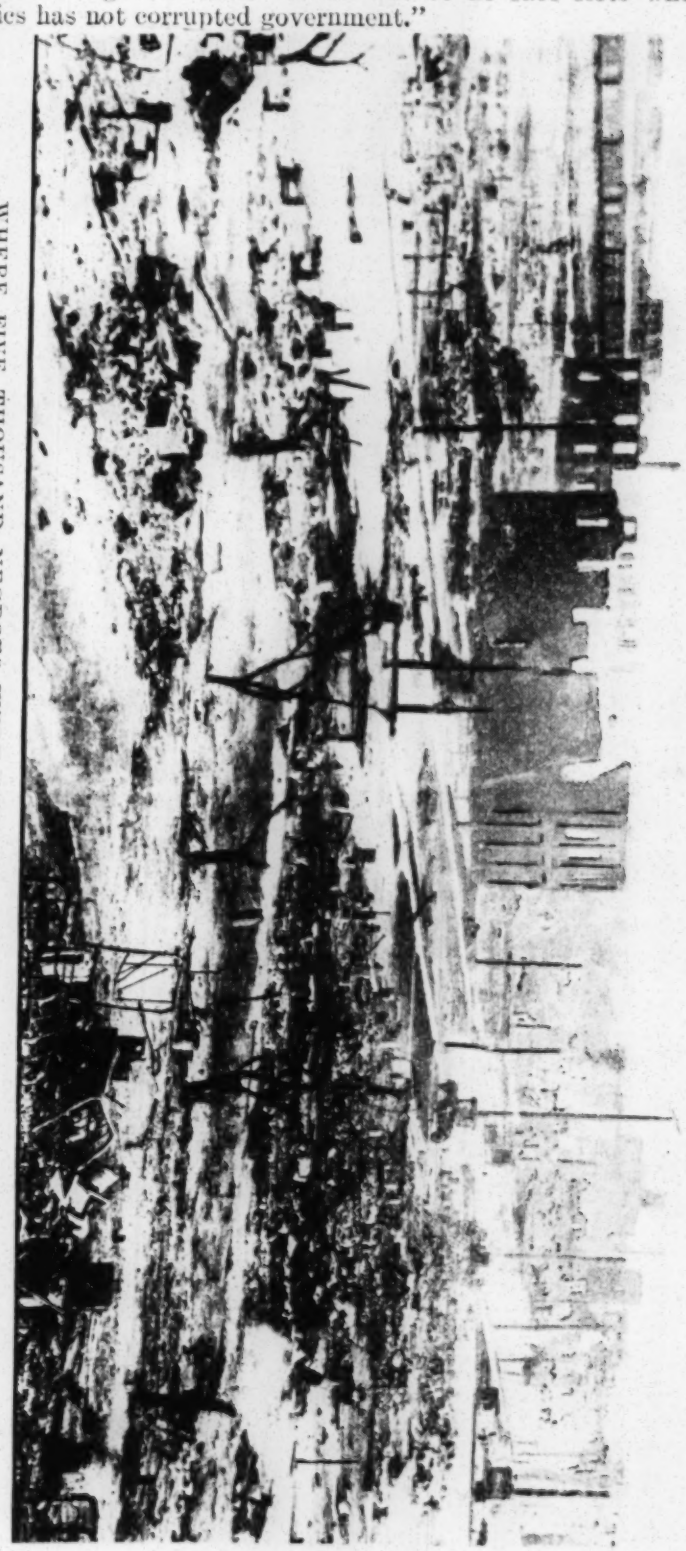
"It is pretty generally known in Houston that hundreds, even thousands, of whites and blacks have procured firearms during the past two years," says another Texas paper, the Houston *Post*, which goes on to say:

"It is time to talk plainly. The circumstance that there are large armed groups of whites and blacks, each expecting attack, in scores of Southern communities is something for sober citizens of both races to consider. To continue that state of affairs means but one thing, viz., that sooner or later the necessary spark to light the fires of hate will appear."

The Indianapolis *News* thinks that there is much in the argument of the Chicago *Tribune* that corrupt politics is the real villain in the Tulsa tragedy and in other American race riots. Says the Chicago *Tribune:*

"If in Tulsa, Chicago, Springfield, or East St. Louis it were not for the profitable alliance of politics and vice or professional crime, the tiny spark which is the beginning of all these outrages would be promptly extinguished. We should have peace in our communities and the race issue would never reach the point of madness.

"Corrupt politics is directly responsible for race riots. Let us face that fact and not lose ourselves in secondary considerations. Race riots are not problems of race; they are problems of government. There will be no race riots where politics has not corrupted government."



WHERE FIVE THOUSAND NEGROES WERE BURNED OUT BY A WHITE MOB IN TULSA.

Riots – 1921.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

# The Age Readers' Forum

## FROM A CAUCASIAN

N.Y. Age 7/2/21

Editor of THE NEW YORK AGE:

Please permit me to introduce myself to you as a minister-at-large, mostly with a typewriter for a pulpit, of the real Gospel complete of the real Christ Divine of the real Christ-built Church universal, internal and invisible. I am a Caucasian of the purest blood and the blondest type, but I would be less ashamed of my race and color if I were an Ethiopian. But even as an Ethiopian I would be very much ashamed of the American Negro's generally supine and unresisting submission to white trampling and outrage. Yet even this shame belongs primary to pusilanimous mollycoddles of my own race and color, whose good intentions are such as hell is paved with, who are well-meaning and unintentional, but only the more real and disastrous betrayers of the blacks, and are on the whole and in the ultimate more dangerous to the blacks than the white lynchers of black men and ravishers of black women.

The simple, awful, ominous truth of the Gospel epistle herewith cannot be honestly questioned intelligently.

Publish this personal letter also if ou choose—and can summon the courge to do so, life-long quasi-invalidism and physical isolation from he blacks, now conjoined with approaching age, may continue to deny me absolute martyrdom for the sacred and vital principle of the universal Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man, which is the chief corner-stone of the democratic Christianity of the single real Christ-built Church which is so utterly opposed to the aristocratic churchianity of the many man-made make-believe "churches." Yet as I am situated I have sacrificed and suffered not a little for Christ in my brethren of color.

Yours for fearing "no ill but sin, no being but Almighty God."

WM. H. WILGUS.

Mt. Sterling, Ill.

(The "gospel epistle" referred to by Mr. Wilgus, under the heading of "The Tulsa Race Riot," is given eblow.)

## THE TULSA RACE RIOT

By Wm. H. Wilgus.

The world gets its news of race riots in America through white reporters, white press associations, and periodicals owned, edited and published by whites. Most manifestly this news (?) is rigidly censored by the American phase of the warring mania of every sort of race prejudice that is engulfing the world with worse than a Noachian deluge. That the recent dispatches from Tulsa are very largely mere rumor and surmise is evident in that they teem with "charged", "alleged", "it is said," "are said to have been", "was believed", "are said to be", "is reported", "was reported," "there were reports," and "reports were received." Very evidently Negrophobia and the fear of Negrophobes bedeviled the Tulsa reporters into blinking, dodging, distorting, suppressing the truth instead of facing finding and reporting the facts. Nearly all the real and reliable information the unbiased and discerning reader can glean from these dispatches he finds not in but between the lines.

The only Negro in Tulsa who seems to have received from the local officials any real efficient protection was the Negro arrested for "an alleged assault upon an orphan girl in an elevator." And why did not Negrophobia go the full length of barefaced falsifying and aver some black man assaulted some white girl in the public square?

Even the national guardsmen arrested and imprisoned the assaulted blacks instead of the assaulting whites; and while we glean from the dispatches that these guardsmen worked hard at disarming defensively armed blacks, no hint is given of their disarming any offensively armed whites.

Friday's dispatches from Tulsa contain no hint of any arrest of any of the real, white rioters, but assure us ten Negroes had already been arrested "charge with inciting the riot"—by simply essaying to fight, or lead in fighting, the real rioters, in defense of their lives, their homes and their families. Even a poor old colored grandmother, "a 60-year old Wash-woman," had been arrested while "fleeing the town with a bundle," and charged with "inciting a riot."

In Georgia in 1919 an old Negro was lynched for trying to protect his colored women from white outrage; in Oklahoma in 1921 at least twenty-five Negroes—some of them burned alive in their own homes—are murdered, 300 are injured—many fatally, and more than a square mile of Negro residences and other buildings to the value of more than a million and a half of dollars are burned while the firemen are fought away—on the strength of an absurd rumor that white girl had been asaulted by a black man.

In all probability many of these perpetrators of arson and murder are "best citizens" and pious churchians; but whatever any of them may be when "clothed and in his right mind" they all together disclosed themselves in this infamous affair a sheer pack of fiends gorily glorifying in their white skins while stripping their black hearts absolutely naked and exposing them in all their horrible repulsiveness to the whole world. "Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer." This horror and infamy is another striking demonstration of the fact that whosoever hateth his brother because of the color of his skin is a murderer at heart only awaiting excuse and opportunity to become a murderer in fact. With neither the nation nor any state making any real effort to even curb this infernal and infectious Negrophobia many of us persist in blaspheming the holy name of the Saviour of all men by calling this nation a "Christian nation." "If any man have not the spirit of Christ he is none of his." The spirit of Christ is the spirit of universal brotherhood. Any man claiming to be a Christian with his heart festering with scornful prejudice toward any race or color, is both a monstrous hypocrite and a horrible blasphemer. And any nation claiming to be a Christian while not only at least practically condoning but even virtually fostering not only seggregation, disfranchisement, trampling and outlawry but even the most savage wholesale murder of men and women solely because of their race and color, is equally hypocritical and blasphemus.

In the last analysis the World War as simply a world race riot precipited by the haughty Teutons' proud esumption that they were a superior ce endowed and destined to dominate e world. The embers of this war are l smoldering, and threatening to flame up at any time into another and worse world conflagration. The chief of these embers are the embers of race prejudice, and all these embers are being vigorously stirred by divers sorts of race rioting in divers countries. The rejection by the Paris Peace Conference of the Japanese plea for some sort of international recognition of racial equality, demonstrated that the ideal of even this great and liberal world congress was not after all any real world democracy but only a little larger and more benevolent Caucasian aristocracy than Germany sought to saddle upon the world.

"Be not deceived: God is not mocked:" whatsoever America soweth that shall she also reap. If she persists in sowing lawlessness in its worst form she must reap a whirlwind of fierry anarchy and bloody chaos. And if the world persists in sewing race antagonism it must soon reap another and worse world-convulsing cyclone of universal race rioting. God's laws are immutable, perpetual and universal. They rule, reward and punish men, nations and the world here and now in all things material, temporal and terrestrial precisely as they rule, reward and punish individual souls in things spiritual on earth, in heaven and in hell. "The wages of sing is death" and hell to nations and the world here and now not one whit less than to individuals, both in this world and the next. Heaven an dhell are not future far-off localities but omnipresent conditions. To nations and the world not less than to individuals, righteousness, life and heaven,—sin, death and hell,—are always everywhere and in all things inseparable. "The wicked shall be turned into Sheol, with all the nations that forget ting of the Father of all than the hating of our brethren because of their race or color.

Imperial Nero fiddled while Rome burned. Shall America persist in her joy-riding and dollar-chasing, "nigger" hating and "Jap"-trampling, Britain-baiting and Erin-stirring,—but leaving Polandto her plunderers, Armenia to the tender mercies of the Turk, and Russia to the civil, social, economic moral and religious chaos of an unprecedented word-menacing dictatorship of sheer brawn and brute,—America all for self, and devil take the black man the yellow man, and all other men save white Americans only—until the country and the world is set on fire of hottest hell?

"Bride goeth before destruction and a haughty spirit before a fall." Race pride the world over is riding for a fall—and great shall be the fall thereof.

Mt. Sterling, Ill., June 6, 1921.

## TULSA RELIEF DAY SET FOR SUNDAY, JULY 24

Houston Informer 7/23/21

Tulsa, Okla., July 11.—The colored citizens of Tulsa, Okla., through their relief committee, respectfully ask that Sunday, July 24, 1921, will be set aside in all churches throughout the United States as Tulsa Relief Day, and that the pastors and officers of their churches will ask the prayers of every member of their respective congregations for the thousands of victims of the cruel mob that looted and burned the homes and business places, churches, schools, lodges and everything that the people possessed, and to this day have tried to take the land for other purposes and remove the colored people to a remote field of eighty acres of land wholly outside the city limits, and to which a good title can not be had.

Our people are living in tents loaned to them by the Red Cross, many of which have only dirt floors and no bedding save government cots. Cooking utensils are very much needed. Should winter catch us in this shape there will be great suffering.

We respectfully suggest that on this day pastors and laymen will make talks along the line of better racial understanding that will make such things as race wars impossible, and that each church will take an offering to help relieve these people who are suffering through no fault of their own.

This appeal is to every church, lodge, club, commercial club and every other organization of the race, and to organizations of other races who will help.

Send all money and other articles to

S. D. HOOKER, Chairman,
Colored Citizens' Relief Committee,
Cor. Exeter and Easton Sts., Tulsa, Oklahoma.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Literary Digest 6/18/21

WHY NOT START A LITTLE "DISARMAMENT" RIGHT HERE AT HOME?

—Gibbs in the Baltimore *Evening Sun*.

TULSA DOCTORS RELIEF FUND

Philadelphia, Pa., June 28, 1921.

*To the Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Professions of the United States.*

Journal of the National Med Assn July-Sept '21

All of us were horror stricken a few days ago to read accounts of the terrible catastrophe that befell the colored citizens of Tulsa, Okla. Indescribable suffering has been, and is being experienced by these victims of mob rule. Our professional men of Tulsa, from all accounts, were eagerly sought as prey of the mob. Dr. Andrew C. Jackson, who had been active in local, state and national medical societies, was wantonly murdered.

The Oklahoma Medical, Dental and Pharmaceutical Association which is affiliated with the National Medical Association has initiated what is known as the "Tulsa Doctors Relief Fund." An appeal has been sent out by them requesting every physician, dentist and pharmacist to immediately send a contribution to Dr. Guess, 421½ East 5th Street, Okmulgee, Okla. Dr. Guess is secretary of the State Association.

As President of the National Medical Association, I am appealing to the members of the three professions whether members of our Association or not, to immediately contribute to the "Tulsa Doctors Relief Fund."

JOHN P. TURNER,
President Nat'l Med. Ass'n.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

*Ignorance is* TULSA OKLA. TRIBUNE *urdity.—Froude.*
JUNE 10 1921

# ABSURD!

ADDED to its other troubles, oil is now charged with having a hand in the events of last week which put Tulsa into the headlines of every paper in the country. Editorially, the nation has commented on and criticized the conditions which made possible the disgraceful episode. Some of the comment has been intelligent; some has shown the most amazing ignorance. The height of assininity and ignorance was exhibited in a news story which appeared in the New York World of June 3 under the caption, "Trace Tulsa Riots to Oil Land Greed."

Accepting the word of five negroes who admitted they had not been eye-witnesses of the scenes in Tulsa, the World reports that the race riots "were engineered by a group of white oil men determined upon wresting from the negroes valuable holdings."

Oil has been charged at one time and another with pretty nearly every crime on the calendar, but the charge that oil precipitated the disturbances last Tuesday night is one of the most insane yet filed. Were it not so ridiculous, it would be serious. It shows the complete lack of understanding which the east has generally of conditions west of the Hudson, especially New York, with its amusing provincialism.

The news story goes on to tell of printed notices in Oklahoma newspapers, warning negroes to leave the state. It quotes these same five negroes with statements that the race for oil lands had become so keen between whites and blacks that the white men were refusing to employ negro labor and were persecuting the wealthier of the race. Insisting that the riots were carefully planned the refugees declared that trainloads of ammunition had come into town shortly before the announcements; negroes' homes were searched for arms, and a rule made that no ammunition was to be sold the negroes except by permit. Had some of these things been true events might have been different. The story continues:

"Most of the Oklahoma land was owned originally by Indians and half-breeds. White men and negroes from all parts of the south came to Oklahoma and bought the lands. During the last decade in the Tulsa region white men sought to buy up all land held by negroes. In Tulsa, up to the time of the riots, approximately 500 negroes held oil lands."

"Tulsa negroes suffered no physical violence during the past few years, although petty persecution was common. Mrs. Johnson said negroes could not vote, sell merchandise or farm (at least profitably, because of a system of mortgages). But the dividing line between the whites and the blacks, the refugees said, was the dispute over oil lands."

To those familiar with the facts, these statements are so absurd as to bring a smile. The amazing thing about the story is not the tales carried by the negroes in whose telling the stories doubtless lost nothing and gained much, but that a reputable newspaper would listen with credence to such accounts, accept them without investigation for even a shadow of the truth, and show such appalling ignorance of its own country as to print the amusingly stupid story.

# TULSA WAR PROFITEERING

New York Globe 6/4/21

The World's War, with all its shameful profiteering, is soon to be "OUT-TULSA-D," or, at least, "OKLAHOMA-ED." Watch to see which one of the many race organizations and leaders who live by their wits and upon the so-called Negro problem, come forward with a "MASS" meeting to glean the shekels in the name of suffering and outraged humanity. Tulsa furnishes fresh inspiration to these bold exploiters, who will waste no time at getting down to the business end of their game. This method has been pursued so long now that even the laymen and participants in riots have begun to use these unfortunate happenings as a means of soliciting funds. The colored people of Tulsa seemed to have taken care of themselves very nicely, or at least with credit to themselves, and without aid of any Eastern organization; and as we offered no assistance for the protection of the colored people at the time SHOT and SHELL were falling fast, what right have we now to COLLECT on the heroic death of those who fought in Tulsa to make that city safe for democracy? If any collecting is to be done to help the suffering people of Tulsa, it should be done by a committee of Tulsa citizens who should appoint agencies throughout the country. This would insure in a large measure that the funds would reach the suffering. Any individual or organization trying to enrich themselves through capitalizing on the misery and death in Tulsa should be treated as a "LEPER." Let us stop the disgrace once for all. Let us be honest and sincere to help to the utmost.

nity ser BIRMINGHAM ALA NEWS
JUNE 10 1921

## Mighty Poor Advice Given Negroes By Alleged "Leaders" In New York.

In The New York Times a few days ago appeared a lurid statement from Herbert H. Harrison, who says he is "president of the Liberal League of Negro Americans":

I am not making any predictions, but I should not be surprised if we saw three splendid race riots by next September. There may not be any in New York, but I advise you to be ready to defend yourselves. I notice that the State government has removed some of its restrictions upon owning firearms, and one form of life insurance for your wives and children might be the possession of some of these handy implements. And it is absolutely necessary for your protection to join the Liberal League, which is carrying on a wide campaign for the interests of our race.

Harrison branded as "a lie" reports that firing by negroes started the disturbance at Tulsa, and said that a group of fifty merely went to patrol the jail when rumors of intended violence to a negro prisoner reached their ears.

Other speakers, all of whom were colored, protested against the lynching of negroes, and declared that a white man would "only stop hurting when he felt what it meant to be hurt."

The meeting was called ostensibly to elect a committee to go to Tulsa and investigate conditions there, but at the close Harrison asked that he and the secretary, Edgar M. Grey, be allowed to appoint it. He intimated that the names of those chosen would be concealed until after their return, "for some white man's darkey in the back of the room might write them down," he declared, "and then some one would be waiting for them when they got out to Tulsa."

"Leadership" of this sort was responsible for the Tulsa horror; talk of this sort will breed others and intensify race hatred. If the negroes have any sense at all they will squelch Smart-Aleck darkeys of the Harrison type.

They do not seem to realize the fact that there are three alternatives facing them: (1) To live amicably with the white race; (2) to invite the hatred and reprisals of the dominant race which never has divided and never will divide sovereignty with a lesser race; (3) invite a widespread conflict in which the lesser race inevitably will be the greatest sufferer.

As long as there are agitators of the Harrison type inflaming negroes—the vast majority of whom are ignorant and credulous in the extreme—just so long will there be trouble, and one trouble breeds another.

The facts show that a small group in Tulsa was of this precise Harrison type; that a band of these officious darkeys armed and proceeded to the jail with great truculence and ostentatious offensiveness, when there was no occasion for it, and by their demeanor and behavior precipitated the conflict out there, having been warned time and again by the level-headed negroes that they were simply inviting trouble and lots of it. People looking for trouble invariably find it—and the best thing the negroes can do is to soft-pedal their fool agitators.

# TULSA—A HORROR AND A BENEDICTION

Afro-American 6/10/21

The race war in Tulsa, Oklahoma, last week is at one and the same time a horror and a benediction.

When the first word of the clash was sent ahead over the wires, millions of colored people shuddered. They visualized Tulsa's 15,000 colored people battling against 85,000 whites to keep a Negro from being lynched without a trial. They saw them succeed, but in the effort lose their homes and churches and business houses,—burnt up and utterly destroyed by bloodthirsty Southerners, who style themselves a superior race.

Last Sunday Tulsa's colored section, separated by a railroad track from the whites was a model of Negro progress. It contained besides its many fine homes, beautiful churches, a newspaper plant, a drug store, a modern hotel and department store, which did a business of $100,000 a year. Oil made quite a few colored men of the town wealthy and they developed a community which prospered without the aid of white banks and merchants. This was on Sunday and Wednesday nightsmoking ruins told their own story of death and destruction.

This caused the feeling of horror in millions of hearts of American Negroes. But this is not all of the story.

Millions of thotful Negroes will thank God for the Tulsa riot as another index of progress.

Ten years ago Negroes would not fight when white men got ready to lynch one of their number. They may be hundreds of rural spots in Southern United States where no public protest would be made should crackers start a ly nching party today. But world knows what happened in Chicago, Omaha, Washington and East St. Louis when mobs started on a rampage. Today Tulsa knows there are black men who would rather die than submit to mob law, and we have an idea, when the city is rebuilt there will never be the need of any Federal law to put an end to lynching there. We believe that Tulsa has got enough of mob spirit to last it a generation.

This is the benediction of the Tulsa race riot.

As long as we have yellow journals like the Tulsa daily and the local Sun and American, which feature

(over)

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(From Over)

disorderly cases involving black men and white women and close their columns to the same class of cases when white men molest black women, there will be lynchings or rumors of lynchings—**UNLESS**

Black men will resolve with God as they did at Tulsa, that the law will be upheld, even tho it cost home and church and business and life.

## THE TULSA, OKLAHOMA, MASSACRE

Birmingham Reporter 6/11/21

We have just received an Associated Negro Press Article explaining what is expressed as the facts regarding the Tulsa, Oklahoma, trouble The torch is a mighty dangerous weapon. It can destroy a city in a single night. It might destroy a city in a single hour. Men who would be found guilty of such a thing should not only be charged for arson, but should be tried for murder as well. It is unfortunate at this time that a few persons of Tulsa should become so enraged or jealous and so prejudiced against others as to begin a murderous campaign. And while it tells the depth to which a certain element of people will go and the savagery they will practice, this exposure does not ameliorate or mollify the situation. Every decent man, woman and child, regardless of color, must look upon this act as a mark of retrogration and certainly indicates a very serious future when such ignorance is allowed to practice its will upon the public.

We condemn in the most emphatic manner the act of any man who would insult or disrespect a lady, certainly he deserves the severest of punishment. And we have no regard or respect for any man who would seek his association out of his circle or out of his race. He is to be condemned and is that source of evil that will breed serious trouble if not checked in time.

We cannot imagine officers taking hand in an affair of this kind and aiding the rioters to punish the powerless and blocking the fire department when it attempted to save the homes and lives of individuals there housed. Certainly something will be done about this, some substantial action will be taken, not the program merely of calling together a grand jury and a few leading citizens and deplore the act, but that some indictments will be had, some convictions made and some necks broken as a punishment to this American outrage. The leading citizens of Tulsa and the Governor of Oklahoma have expressed a very fine spirit. They could be expected to say no more, they could be expected to do no more than seems to be their intention at this time. We dare not assert that this is a general feeling or general condition throughout the country, but we have too many cases of it and there is too little attention given, and if continued without strict and vigilant thought the evil will breed and grow to the point where the savage ignorance and hellish prejudices on the part of a certain element of people will have control of our American Government.

In all of these matters the Negro must be cautious, clean in his utterances, and fair in his appeals, dismissing always from his action any riotous method or hellish spirit in arriving at justice. A fair exposure of an unfair condition, a manly presentation of the facts backed up by an honorable life of service and obedience to law and community interests will solve all the problems and destroy all the hell-fired spirits that we meet every day.

Tulsa is an example that can easily be studied, and it is convincing from two angles. The first is expressed in the riotousness of an element who have no respect for law. And then comes that strong force of gentlemen and citizens who are law-abiding who express their indignation for the act of their fellows and who offer to go as far as it is humanly possible to remedy the error. While we suffer from the loss both in property and the life of a number of our men, and almost without the slightest cause there comes this strong force who attempt to amend, in this we are hopeful and if we keep faith, well girdled and well balanced like the struggling races who suffered before us, we will in time receive our reward and enjoy the freedom and protection that is guaranteed citizens.

# The Real Truth About Tulsa

## Raped White Girl a Myth—Negro Business Section and Better Home Section Laid Waste by Torch

6/11/21 Wilmington Advocate

(By The Associated Negro Press.)

Tulsa, Okla., June 9.—Tulsa lies stricken almost unto death. The city is literally in sackcloth and ashes, and it seems like a veritable miracle that it has escaped complete destruction. Whatever it enjoyed in the matter of thrift, enterprise and a fair name has been, for the moment at least, destroyed by a wanton, fiendish mob, actuated by jealousy and race hatred, which sought to wipe out the Negroes and their section of the city for the simple reason their prosperity and intelligent development was becoming too evident to suit the wishes of a certain element of whites.

### Whole Truth Not Told.

But little of the real truth has reached the outside world concerning the whole horrible affair. The attempted rape incident has turned out to be nothing more than a discovery of the fact that a giddy white girl had become infatuated with a comely young Negro lad of scarcely more than twenty years of age. He was arrested at the instance of a group of white men and the charge of attempted rape was lodged against him. The boy is yet in jail, but the girl has disappeared and the rape charge is about to fall to the ground.

### Negroes Fear Lynching.

It is true that shortly after the arrest of the young colored man a small number of Negro men gathered in the vicinity of the jail. Tulsa Negroes had decided that no lynching should take place in Tulsa without a blood sacrifice to prevent it. Rumors had reached the colored section that a lynching would be attempted by the whites. When the colored men arrived in the vicinity of the jail they found a number of white men, who immediately assumed a hostile attitude toward the colored men. It was not long before trouble was started, and the riot well under way. The Negroes fearing that their suspicions that a lynching was to be effected was about to be confirmed, fought with great desperation and courage.

### Negroes Outnumbered

Within a short while the Negroes were outnumbered by the whites, and they began an orderly retreat which carried them to the north side of the Frisco Railroad tracks, where they made a stand so valiant and death-dealing that a S. .O S. was sent out by the chief of the local police for soldier help. In the meantime the casualties were mounting up with the odds in favor of the colored combatants. It was near midnight when the militia arrived on the scene. This turned the tide of battle to the whites again. The Negroes retreated. Then it was that the white hoodlums began to apply the torch to the business concerns of the colored people located along Greenwood avenue.

### Prominent Negroes Killed

It was but a short step from the business section to the better residential section in this locality. Here three prominent colored man met death defending their homes from the torch-bearing mob. Dr. A. C. Jackson, the leading colored physician of the city, was killed on his doorstep, and his well-appointed home touched by the torch and totally destroyed by the fire that followed. The same fate befell Wesley Williams, the wealthiest Negro in Tulsa and the owner of the Dreamland Theatre, also destroyed by fire. Williams was reputed to be worth more than $200,000. Dr. John Wayne died fighting protecting his home, which was destroyed by fire. John Wheeler, one of the oldest employes at the First National Bank, was killed by a stray bullet while on his way to the bank Wednesday morning. No colored man in Tulsa was more highly respected than John Wheeler. He had been in the employ of the First National Bank for a long number of years, and was one of the familiar and popular figures of the city. He was buried with signal honors, the officials of the bank attending in a body.

### Thousands Made Homeless

The fires spread. White brutes applied the torch while the militia busied itself with the disarming and arresting of such Negroes who were unlucky enough to fall into their hands. In a short period of time a great host of defenseless women and children were being driven helter-skelter by the unfeeling mob or made prisoners by the militia and police. The new Mt. Zion Baptist Church, recently built at a cost of $85,000, was partially destroyed by fire. It was dedicated on the 10th of last April and is said to be the largest church structure owned by colored people in the state of Oklahoma.

### Martial Law Declared

Governor Robertson declared a state of martial law early Thursday morning. He was greatly affected by the condition of things which met him upon his arrival. He openly declared that a competent sheriff and a less cowardly chief of police would have put an end to the trouble without much effort. He has ordered an investigation and declares he is going to the bottom of the trouble to determine its origin and the causes which led up to the riot.

### Plans for Relief

An elaborate plan for relief has been devised backed by the local Chamber of Commerce and prominent citizens. It is proposed to raise a fund of $500,000 at least for the purpose of rehabilitating the Negro section and thereby restore, as near as possible, normal if not better conditions for that end of the city where the colored people lived. The Chicago Tribune has contributed $1000 to the fund.

### Jealousy Main Cause for Riot

The main cause for the riot goes back of the arrest of the young colored man who provided the immediate reason for the outburst. Retail dealers in the main section of Tulsa have long been envious of the business enterprises which the Negroes were sustaining out in their section. And then again while the colored people were doing the menial and domestic work in Tulsa they were making a more prosperous showing, on the whole, than the "poor whites." These situations added to the devilish work of agitators made it rather easy to start a conflagration of hate and prejudice whenever a match was applied to the strained conditions. The discovery of a love affair between a white girl and a colored youth furnished the match and Tulsa lies today stricken to its very heart.

### Order Now Mantained

There have been no outbursts during the week. The authorities are now awake, thanks to the courage and vigilance of Governor Robertson, and it is not now expected that rioting will be resumed. The investigation and the relief work are to start at once.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots – 1921.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

PROVIDENCE R. I. EVE. NEWS
JUNE 3, 1921

## THE TULSA TRAGEDY.

There is sufficient proof now to show that the race riots in Tulsa were really caused by speculators in oil who were unable to gouge negroes out of property lawfully obtained and also failed to frighten them from their homes. The alleged insult to a white girl on the part of a young colored man was the pretext to begin the work of assassination and arson which not only disgraced Oklahoma but is a blot on the white civilization of the country. It will remain a blot unless the Federal authorities steadfastly aim at discovering the leaders and then punishing them.

It is established that for days before the riots warnings had been pinned to the homes of colored people threatening death and arson unless they moved away from the oil properties or sold them at speculators' prices. Indeed, the criminals were so bold as to place an advertisement in a local paper promising to do the very acts committed, although the wording was disguised sufficiently to avoid the penalties of the law. The negroes were in the Tulsa section of Oklahoma long before the white adventurers came there and were entitled to every protection of the law. If the local authorities do not move in this criminal conspiracy the national administration ought to do so without a moment's hesitation.

Freedom of the franchise is denied them, and insolently so, but surely these black people are entitled to protection in their lives and property. Failure to punish those who committed wholesale arson, even to the burning of the church owned by the colored citizens, will eventually lead to graver consequences in other sections of the country, and will also be a confession that there is one code of law in the United States for white criminals and another for black citizens whose main offence is that by industry they have been able to acquire property and keep it.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
JUNE 3, 1921

### TULSA.

The bloody race riot at Tulsa began with a shot fired by a negro in an automobile at a police officer who tried to arrest him; it ended with the burning of the negro quarter and the killing of fifteen negroes and nine white men, according to the latest report. The property loss is estimated at $1,500,000, and thousands of homeless negroes must be cared for by the city. Thus Tulsa will have to pay heavily for hatred between the races and for the feebleness of its police force. Order was finally restored by National Guardsmen, but they were not called upon until the mischief had been done.

The Tulsa race riot has been described as the worst outbreak of the kind in the history of the country. In some of its features it is certainly the most amazing. The attack of a young negro upon a white woman and the gathering of a small force of armed negroes do not account for the running fight for hours and the deliberate burning of the negro quarter, a square mile of buildings, including a church. The cause must lie deeper. Friction between the whites and negroes has been growing in Oklahoma. It is not altogether racial; in part it is economic. During the war Southern negroes flocked to the border State and found profitable employment. There has not been so much for them to do of late, and many of them are loafing on the streets. Not only the idle, shiftless and disorderly have worn out their welcome. It has become a common saying that "Oklahoma is a white man's country." When they had plenty of money to spend the negroes bought automobiles, lived high and claimed social privileges that the whites were not inclined to allow them. Drafted for service in France and praised for their patriotism, they naturally had a better opinion of themselves. All these things contributed to fan the flame of racial antagonism.

The savage outburst at Tulsa leaves no room for doubt that the rough element among the whites was ripe for a rising to teach the negroes their place. Among the negroes were leaders who were ready for resistance. Unfortunately, when the explosion came the police force was found wanting and the Mayor was slow to call upon the Governor for troops. If the Tulsa collision, with its casualties and destruction of property, had occurred at Vera Cruz, the American people would have deplored the lawlessness of the Mexicans and found it shocking. It will be a bad sign if they are not made uneasy by the Oklahoma exhibition of violence and ferocity. There must be an end of that sort of thing if an approach to anarchy is to be escaped.

CLEVELAND O PLAINDEALER
JUNE 3, 1921

### TULSA.

Tulsa is no better and no worse than any other mob city. Tulsa will be heartily ashamed of herself when she cools off. But Tulsa's sense of shame will not restore a single one of the lives sacrificed to ugly race hatred nor rebuild a single one of the structures given to the torch in the mad frenzy of the last few days.

Our civilization is on trial in cases like this. We send army and navy to free Cuba from the brutality of an overlord. We dispatch troops to Hayti and San Domingo that order may be upheld and the lives and property of innocent natives protected. We protest against cruelties practiced in distant parts of the earth.

But we tolerate our own Tulsas! We become almost philosophical over peonage and lynchings. The wanton slaughter of men, women and children for no other reason than that their faces are not the same hue as the faces of the majority goes on intermittently with only a formal, conventional protest on our part. No state is privileged to point finger of scorn at any other, for most of them have at one time or another been tarred by the same stick of mob violence.

The crime of Tulsa, like most such crimes, had its tragic inspiration in a police case which would not of itself have attracted wide attention. A man was arrested for assault. A speedy trial was in prospect. There was every indication that the law would take its course, with justice reasonably assured. From such sparks are mighty conflagrations started.

This is America's concern and America must put a stop to these recurrent outbreaks of race antagonism. For better or worse these races must live side by side and work out a common national destiny. There is no use wishing the situation otherwise. If one race deals out injustice to the other both suffer. If anyone believes that by keeping one race in subjection to the other the problem can be settled he speaks without understanding. It is up to Americans to take hold of this matter with firmness and determination and to work intelligently for that better sympathy between the races that shall promote our common peace and welfare.

The first step, however, is to bring to trial and punishment every individual, whatever his color, who is responsible for this outrage at Tulsa. There should be an accounting in this Oklahoma city which will show the world that murder and arson are not the approved weapons of democracy in America. This much Tulsa owes to the people of the United States.

N Y C CALL
JUNE 3, 1921

## The Tulsa Massacre

NOT even the pogroms waged against the Jews in Czarist Russia surpass in murderous ferocity the carnival of murder staged in Tulsa against its Negro population. It was accompanied with the accessories of modern warfare. The surrounding of the Negro quarters by men in automobiles armed with rifles; airplanes soaring above the besieged men, women and children; shooting down every Negro who made himself a target, and consigning the Negro section of the city to flames is a scene of murderous lust that surpasses anything yet staged in the United States.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People calls attention to an

(over)

(From Over)

economic phase of this affair. The Negroes of "the Black Belt of Oklahoma, of which Tulsa is the center, are probably the most cultured and prosperous body of Negro people in the country judging by race standards." Many are employed in the oil industry and some "have actually become owners of oil wells and have made neat sums."

In his notable statement on the treatment of the Negro in Georgia Governor Dorsey cites the case of a prosperous Negro farmer who was assaulted, his family dispersed, he convicted and sentenced to the chain gang on a trumped-up charge, his farm sold at auction and the results of a life work of toil and sacrifice vanished by this assault. In the Russia of the Czars it was sufficient for the Jews, who, in spite of terrible handicaps, succeeded in accumulating some money, to be massacred for that reason.

The ruling whites of the South cultivate hate against the Negro on the ground that he is vicious, shiftless and incapable of rising. When in spite of his handicaps he pushes ahead and acquires a little competence he is regarded as impudent and must be "shown his place." He is damned if he does, he is damned if he doesn't, he is damned anyway.

However, in every Negro center there is a sufficient number of the dreg type, to which the ruling whites point in justification of the policy of terrorism. But the same may be said of a dreg type of the lowest whites in the same cities and even in the rural sections. When one of the lowest type of Negroes commits a crime or is charged with committing one the tendency is to give way to a passion of elemental fury, which culminates in a Negro dying in the agonies of a slow fire or of mass murder such as that which has occurred in Tulsa.

In the present instance a Negro was charged with assaulting a white girl. The truth was unknown. Yet it was sufficient to start this massacre. At the same time it is notorious that throughout the South many thousands of whites regard Negro women as their legitimate prey.

Some years ago an amendment was proposed to the Constitution of Mississippi which would make the consorting of white men with Negro women a felony. A Mississippi physician expressed his indignation on the score that the hot blood of the white youth of the South should find satisfaction in the old customs. What would become of the chastity of "ouh daughtahs"? asked this venerable old cad when expressing his indignation over the proposed amendment.

Beneath this terrible race tension there seethes elemental passions that may some day bring a bloody nemesis. As the Negro slowly rises in the social scale and acquires more education he will be less and less inclined to submit to the horrible spiritual agony that broods over his loved ones day and night. The social ostracism, the economic injustice and the horrible tortures to which many of them have been forced to submit accumulate, in terms of resentment, compound interest with the passing of the years. The whole working class movement of the United States should take the initiative in educational work to bring about a better understanding on this matter and to pledge its solidarity with a people, nine-tenths of which belong to the working class. This cannot begin too soon.

CLEVELAND O PLAINDEALER
JUNE 3, 1921

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THE TULSA TRAGEDY.

Richmond
6-7-21

Until investigation of antecedent events shows the cause of the bitter race feeling that broke out in Tulsa last night and today, any analysis is of necessity is premature.

The mob spirit so easily breaks bounds, unless it is repressed the moment it shows itself, that trivial events sometimes are responsible for gruesome tragedies. Usually, however, if one searches far enough, one finds some old grievance that has embittered men, or some fear that has driven them to a frenzy.

It may not be without significance that the worst race riot of recent years has occurred in the "new city" of Tulsa—a city that has been built up within the last ten years by immigrants from many parts of the country. It certainly is significant that the three most distressing race riots since that of East St. Louis have been in Washington, Chicago and Tulsa, places where racial relationship has not been established on a sensible footing by long understanding and decent consideration. In this is vindication of the views of those who have maintained that the whites and the colored people of the older Southern cities know better how to live together in amity than do the various fanatics who rise up to preach an extreme policy of one sort or the other.

The average colored person asks primarily for two things—justice before the law and freedom from threats that have their origin in his color. He asks that when he comes before a court of law he will not be penalized because he is colored. Give him absolute cold-blooded justice and you seldom have trouble. Give him, in addition, a sense of security and the chances of any organized violence become almost negligible. Not every colored person it must be remembered, is able to distinguish between the foolish patter of propagandists and the serious threats of on occasional bitter man.

If a rumor springs up of organization against the Negroes, it arouses fear in some and, in others, a desire for counter organization. The more foolish the report, sometimes, the greater the reaction. It is all-important [illegible] have the ignorant [illegible] of a city and the white men who are their friends will see to it that they can live in peace and security. Nothing had done more good in Richmond, in recent months, than the convincing evidence the colored people have had that the people of this city do not countenance and will not permit any organization of any sort to terrorize with vague threats Negroes who are law-abiding and industrious.

In giving our colored citizens the sense of security to which they are entitled the white people have had the intelligent support of many of the colored leaders. It is not forgotten in Richmond that the first call sent out after that of the police, for the apprehension of persons suspected of a recent wretched crime, was issued by a number of colored ministers who appealed to the Negroes of Richmond to assist in apprehending the guilty persons.

Justice and security—these with common sense application of the golden rule—will save any community from race troubles.

FORT WORTH TEX TELEGRAM
JUNE 4, 1921

## Tulsa Is on Trial.

The action of the business leaders of Tulsa in inaugurating a movement to rebuild the houses of negroes burned in the recent race riot and generally to relieve those negroes who suffered losses in the riot, shows the right spirit and is calculated to demonstrate that the violence visited upon the negroes does not represent the attitude of the best citizens of the community. It is particularly gratifying that they have taken such action, in view of the fact that since the movement was inaugurated, negroes in Chicago have started a subscription in that city for the relief of the Tulsa victims. If the business men of Tulsa appreciate fully the crisis which their city is facing they will take care of this matter with such thoroughness that it will not be necessary for one penny to be sent in from the outside, particularly from Northern negroes.

Whatever the causes of the Tulsa riot, it is certain that a large number of innocent negroes have been the victims of it. These, at least, had no connection with those causes. We pointed out the other day that the real cause of it was the action of negroes who attempted to take a hand in the matter of dealing with the negro under arrest for alleged attempted assault upon a white girl, and that the final cause of this action was the propaganda of Northern and Eastern negro agitators. It is for this reason that negroes outside the South should not be permitted to capitalize the Tulsa riot. The losses of the negroes should be paid by people of Tulsa, and not by Northern negroes. That is why it is gratifying that the leaders of Tulsa did not wait for any outside suggestion to start a movement to do this. They should carry out this plan promptly and with thoroughness.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

## Tulsa

Herald - Commonwealth 6/8/21

Tulsa has added another bloody race war to the lengthening list of horrible slaughters of black men in so called "race riots."

The savagery of the Tulsa mob surpassed in some respects the excesses of those of the most savage mobs in American history. Not content with shooting down innocent and inoffending Negroes, they wantonly and deliberately applied the torch to the homes of peaceable and law abiding Negroes with the intent of burning them up alive or killing them as they attempted to escape fro mtheir burning homes.

It is a source of pride, however, to every Negro in the land that the Negroes of Tulsa fought like men in defense of their lives and homes and brought death to many of those who sought their lives.

So long as the National, State and Municipal Governments look on with indifference or approval upon the hellish work of mobs there is no way out for Negroes but to meet these with steel.

The quick return to normalcy and the speedy organization of the better element of the white people of Tulsa and their assumption of control and determination to repair the losses sustained by the race is proof that the lawless element can b curbed whenever and weherever the law enforcing authorities or the law abiding people assert themselves. But so long as the present condition of mind and temper of the white people towards the Negro continues, there will never be a complete restoration of law and order, a willing obedience to the mandate of law when that mandate includes the Negro, until he is removed as a subject for racial agitation on the political stump, on the lecture platform, in the columns of anti-Negro newspapers, in State legislatures and the halls of Congress. There will be lynchings and burnings of Negroes and increasingly bloody race riots until the Vardamans, the Cole Bleases, the John Sharpe Williams, the Pat Harrisons and the Heflins are silenced and they can be silenced only by restoring suffrage rights to the Negro and clothing him with every right and privilege enjoyed by all other citizens of the Republic. All other remedies will prove to be palliatives—this the only cure. So long as the Negro is deprived of the right to vote in a single state he will be the football of politics in that state, a standing issue, to be held up as a menace, to be denounced as an inferior who seeks "social equality" and must be suppressed, and against whom every species of hellish legislation must be devised.

The race hatred which is engendered in states where disfranchisement prevails through agitation and legislation, becomes propaganda and spreads like a deadly infection to other states and create conditions which cause race riots, such as prevailed in East St. Louis, Duluth and Omaha.

If there are American statesmen who are genuinely desirous of putting an end to racial disorders, lay the ak at the root of the tree of crime and lawlessness. disfranchisement. It is the only cure.

# EDITORIAL

By R. R. WRIGHT, JR., Ph. D.

## TULSA

Christian Recorder 6/9/21

Another great blot upon America is Tulsa, Oklahoma: A— barbaric expression of the great and growing disregard of America for law and order. It is the same old story, as was enacted in East St. Louis. An almost trivial incident excited the passion of the great white mob and with the connivance of the officers of the law, the citizens of color were set upon and beaten, houses burned without discrimination and with little provocation, their women and children murdered in cold blood. Arson and murder and riot held sway, while officers of the law looked on in approval.

Like East St. Louis, Tulsa has become a name of shame upon America and this shame is the greater because of the utter helplessness of the law enforcing authorities.

More than $500,000 worth of property was destroyed and hundreds of human beings were killed and maimed for life. For what? Because of a trivial occurrence which ordinary police attention might have been sufficient to control.

The cause, however, was and is deeper than the mere occasion. The cause is the attitude of mind of the American white man toward the Negro, which is an attitude of suppressed hate, suspicion, jealousy, and a determination not to give the Negro an equal chance in the affairs of life.

The press and politics are chiefly to blame for this, as they both thrive on a low appeal to race hatred. Congress and every legislature are full of men from the Southern States who receive their election chiefly because they appealed to race hatred. There are hundreds of mayors and thousands of judges, councilmen and minor officials who have come into prominence chiefly because of their promise to help "keep the Negro in his place" of inferiority. The pulpit and the schoolhouse by their silence have aided and abetted this attitude, and the Northern money power has so shaped public sentiment as to keep honest minded people in all sections from expressing themselves.

What is saddest of all, is that what happened in Tulsa might happen in any city in the United States at any time and with no more provocation. It did happen in East St. Louis; but for the resistence of Negroes it would have happened in Chicago, Philadelphia and Washington.

Because of the attitude of newspapers in the North, and newspapers and politicians in the South, every Negro knows that he is every moment in imminent danger of riot. And the bad thing about it is that he does not know how to avoid it. Every investigation of every riot has drawn that more innocent Negroes are beaten and killed than guilty ones, and most of this killing is done indirectly if not directly by the officers of the law.

The atmosphere is so charged with race hate that if a colored man in a crowd should brush against the arm of a white woman, and that woman should scream, that colored man would be beaten by the passers by, and sometimes the police would join the mob.

The cure for the situation is in the school room and the pulpit, and with fair minded people in general. And the burden of the cure is more on white people than on Negroes, for the whites control the machinery of government, and ought to regulate the community. The cure is in producing such a state of mind as will permit Negroes to have a equare deal—to be punished for their crimes as others and to have the same protection as others. At present the American mind is to give Negroes all the punishment possible for any crime, and as little protection as possible. The theory of the American mind is to punish Negroes in resentment and as severely as possible, thinking thus to frighten other Negroes to be good. No inducements are made for them to be good, and they are cursed for being bad. But we must not get discouraged. We must continue to work hard, save, organize, make homes, and fear God. We will win. Every Tulsa, every East St. Louis weakens the white man. It only warns us. Let's have courage. Let's get closer together. We must hang together. We will win.

"Right is right, since God is God,
And right the day must win."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

## THE CURE FOR MOB LAW

New York News 6/9/21

The nation stands shocked and dumbfounded at the fresh outbre of Southern barbarism at Tulsa, Oklahoma, during the early days last week. A hysterical little white girl pointed an accusing finger an innocent young colored man and the mountain of Negro phob dynamite was exploded and the South goes again on a riotious ran page of black blood-letting and infernal destruction. Circumstance are slightly different, but it is the old story over and over again. Ther is but one cause for this breaking of the bonds of civilization in Okla homa. There is but one cure for this disgrace that menaces and gnaw at the very vitals of the republic. The cause for the massacre at Tulsa is the same cause that produced the riot in Atlanta, the riot at Chicago, at Omaha, and Washington, in Arkansas and in every other place where Southern propaganda has reached its logical conclusion. It is the Dred Scott Decision followed to its practical and logical conclusion: that black men have no rights which white men are bound to respect. It is the colored phobia which prevents colored citizens from being recognized as equal citizens, only in another form. When white men in the South watch their more industrious and progressive black brethren grow in wealth and possess themselves of homes and banks and business and lands and cattle, they grow envious and to themselves repeat the dictum laid dawn by Justice Taney. When colored men rise to demand, by reason of their intelligence, their wealth, and their numbers, the ballot; and not only the right to vote but the right to have that vote honestly counted again there surges forth from the maddened brain of the South's color phobists the same siren song. When colored men are given positions in industry which white men consider "white men's jobs," again they think the same thoughts. The cause for the great disgrace of American democracy is simply that the nation is unwilling to enforce its constitution in spirit and letter which guarantees to all men equal protection of the laws with regard to race, creed or color. The issue is clear cut. The nation cannot with safety to itself in this year of our Lord, 1921, postpone the settlement of that issue longer. The strong arm of the federal government must stop in its tracks the hydra headed monster of mob law or the dreadful day of nation wide reckoning is not far distant.

There is one cure. The President and the Congress must proclaim that henceforth colored citizens are going to be treated and protected in no wise different from other citizens. It must issue this ultimatum to the States North and South, East and West. It must then proceed to enforce this proclamation. States rights can no longer be pleaded when the nation's life is in jeopardy. The black race is not going to stand to be disfranchised, jim-crowed or lynched longer. Colored men must be granted equality in all the political and civic life of the nation. They must be appointed to office and be protected and encouraged in their political activities as they must be in their industrial and domestic life. The American people must get used now to seeing colored citizens in every post and vocation of life like other citizens. The Dyer Anti-Lynching bill must be passed at once. Compulsory public school education must be enjoined upon all of the States in the South by the government at Washington. The interstate jim-crow car must be abolished at once. Tulsa must be avenged, not by the black race, but by the American nation because the threat is not only racial but national. The militant program of the South to keep the black man in his place will breed increasing race discord, racial strife and national peril. The South is marching along in the shadow of the valley of industrial and political death. Last November its progress north of the Mason and Dixon line was stopped, but it has not been destroyed even in the North. In the South it is pushing its mad career with increasing intensity and danger. The cause for mob law is that the nation has treated the colored citizens as distinct and different from other American citizens. The cure for mob rule is for the nation to see to it now that colored citizens are treated in all respects as all other citizens.

## OKLAHOMA'S SHAME.

East Tennessee News 6/9/21

**The scenes have changed again. A few years ago Oklahoma was held out as a paradise for the Colored man. It was pointed to as being the field for rich oil deposits, which industry had made millionaires of a few and caused many others to grow rich. The business and industrial world was marked by many enterprises owned and controlled by Colored people in all the larger cities of that state. In the last few months evidences ofpeonage and warnings to leave have become frequent and as a culmination of such prejudices a serious race riot broke out last week in Tulsa, a leading town near the Missouri border. All the horrors of a race riot were produced with the torch added. As a rsult a district a mile square was burned out with a property loss of over a million dollars. The eyes of the world are turned toward Oklahoma to see if she will right herself in dealing out even-handed justice to those responsible for such.**

N. Y. C. GLOBE
JUNE 9, 1921

## A MORAL FOR JOURNALISTS.

There is a lesson for all American journalists in the account which Walter White sends to the Evening Post of the blunder which led to the Tulsa race riots. The rumor which caused the uprising was the usual one that a white girl had been outraged by a Negro. What actually happened, according to Mr. White, was an incident that would have passed without notice if both participants in it had been of the same race. Dick Rowland, a Negro youth, entering an elevator operated by a white girl, accidentally stepped on her foot, and when she remonstrated lost his temper and jostled her. The girl screamed and Rowland ran. The next day the Tulsa Tribune appeared with the story of Rowland's arrest and the charge that the girl's face had been scratched and her clothing torn, both of which assertions, it was later discovered, were untrue. This one incident is believed to have been responsible for the riots, which began on the night the misleading story was published, and which cost at least sixty lives.

The immediate responsibility in Tulsa appears to rest upon the police and upon the newspapers. A less direct responsibility, but perhaps a more serious one, is on the shoulders of those persons and organizations who have advocated an extra-legal settlement of the race problem. Some of these are white and a few are black. Whether black or white they are a menace. The only way to deal with them is to enforce the law strictly. Those who take part in lynchings or incite others to take part are as guilty as though they were accomplices in an ordinary murder, and this the law must recognize if it is to be worthy of respect.

## Mighty Poor Advice Given Negroes By Alleged "Leaders" In New York.

In The New York Times a few days ago appeared lurid statement from Herbert H. Harrison, who ays he is "president of the Liberal League of Negro mericans":

"I am not making any predictions, but I should not be surprised if we saw three splendid race riots by next September. There may not be any in New York, but I advise you to be ready to defend yourselves. I notice that the State government has removed some of its restrictions upon owning firearms, and one form of life insurance for your wives and children might be the possession of some of these handy implements. And it is absolutely necessary for your protection to join the Liberal League, which is carrying on a wide campaign for the interests of our race.

Harrison branded as "a lie" reports that firing by negroes started the disturbance at Tulsa, and said that a group of fifty merely went to patrol the jail when rumors of intended violence to a negro prisoner reached their ears.

Other speakers, all of whom were colored, protested against the lynching of negroes, and declared that a white man would "only stop hurting when he felt what it meant to be hurt."

The meeting was called ostensibly to elect a committee to go to Tulsa and investigate conditions there, but at the close Harrison asked that he and the secretary, Edgar M. Grey, be allowed to appoint it. He intimated that the names of those chosen would be concealed until after their return, "for some white man's darkey in the back of the room might write them down," he declared, "and then some one would be waiting for them when they got out to Tulsa."

"Leadership" of this sort was responsible for the Tulsa horror; talk of this sort will breed others and intensify race hatred. If the negroes have any sense at all they will squelch Smart-Aleck darkeys of the Harrison type.

They do not seem to realize the fact that there are three alternatives facing them: (1) To live amicably with the white race; (2) to invite the hatred and reprisals of the dominant race which never has divided and never will divide sovereignty with a lesser race; (3) invite a widespread conflict in which the lesser race inevitably will be the greatest sufferer.

As long as there are agitators of the Harrison type inflaming negroes—the vast majority of whom are ignorant and credulous in the extreme—just so long will there be trouble, and one trouble breeds another.

The facts show that a small group in Tulsa was of this precise Harrison type; that a band of these officious darkeys armed and proceeded to the jail with great truculence and ostentatious offensiveness, when there was no occasion for it, and by their demeanor and behavior precipitated the conflict out there, having been warned time and again by the level-headed negroes that they were simply inviting trouble and lots of it. People looking for trouble invariably find it—and the best thing the negroes can do is to soft-pedal their fool agitators.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots -1921.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.

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FORT WORTH TEX TELEGRAM
JUNE 6, 1921

## That Negro Propaganda.

Negro propagandists in the East are spreading the idea that the Tulsa race riot was deliberately planned and are charging that a condition of peonage exists in Oklahoma. This charge is based on the declaration that negroes have been required to raise cotton under conditions that meant only a bare subsistence. We know nothing of the conditions existing in the Oklahoma cotton fields, and hope that there will be a thorough airing of those conditions, whether they be such as to justify the charges or to refute them. But we do know this: Any man, white or black, who put in his time last year raising cotton and nothing else, whether he raised it as a renter or as an owner of a farm, and made even a bare subsistence out of his crop must certainly be a remarkable man.

That negro croppers and renters in Oklahoma may have nothing to show for a season's work in raising cotton is not remarkable, for there are tens of thousands of white men in the same fix. Indeed, the cotton farmer is fortunate who did not find himself up to his ears in debt at the end of last season. If negroes were destitute and out of work because of the drop in the price of cotton they were simply in the same boat as a lot of white men. And yet it is this sort of thing that is being made the basis of this propaganda against the Southern white man in the East. There are organizations in New York the avowed purpose of which is to "fight for the rights of the negro proletariat of the South." This is the menacing factor of the present situation, for whatever rights the "negro proletariat" may have which require defense will certainly not be protected or furthered through the activity of Eastern negroes.

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CHICAGO ILL POST
JUNE 6, 1921

## WHAT TULSA TOLD THE WORLD

A close student of Mexican affairs was commenting the other day on the difficulty of convincing our south[illegible]bors that the Harding administration was in deadly earnest about the protection of American life and property. He said: "Of course, this Tulsa affair will be featured in scare-heads in every newspaper in Mexico City and will make the state department's job just twice as hard."

Our lynchings and race riots, which of recent years have not confined themselves to the south, but have spread to every part of the country where the black race is numerous enough to be a problem, damage the United States more than we realize in the eyes of all foreign nations. We have a lordly way about us, especially in affairs lying within the domain of the Monroe doctrine, which irritates our neighbors; but we ordinarily have both the civilization and the solidity to get away with it. When, however, our civilization disappears in a riot of race hatred and when our stability is made to appear a sham by unpunished murders and burnings, it gives the Latin American too good a chance to sneer.

At this moment we are withholding valuable aid to the Mexican government because we doubt the safety of American lives and property under its jurisdiction. And in the Mexican eyes the Tulsa explosion will knock the high horse out from under us.

The nation must come to realize what lynch law is costing it. Oklahoma is a hustling state. Tulsa is a new town, full of newly prosperous people from all parts of the country, without the southerner's cheerful resignation about lynchings. Tulsa may be shameless; or she may be eager to redeem herself. She can gain a good reputation for herself with surprising ease by showing real vigor and sincerity in punishing the guilty. It is to the whole country's interest to encourage her along that line.

N. Y. C. POST
JUNE 6, 1921

## Letters From Our Readers

### For Better Race Relationship

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK EVENING POST:

SIR: May I thank the *Post* for its editorial comment on the Tulsa race riot? All students of the race problem in the United States are aware that a similar outbreak might occur in any of a dozen cities, but I write to affirm that there is a way out other than the Tulsa methor. That way out is the programme of coöperative effort fostered by the National Urban League, which your paper has frequently commented on with favor and which has received an interesting indorsement in the *Southern Workman* for June.

The testimony of all the people interested in better race relationships in Chicago, both before and after the riot there, was that the Urban League with its programme was the outstanding helpful agency in all their difficulty. It has tackled the problems of unemployment more intelligently than any other group in Chicago and is ready to go into any field with its programme of mutual helpfulness and civic betterment.

Can you not definitely urge upon your readers the establishment of some such programme of coöperative activity and let us put at their service the results of our experiences?

L. HOLLINGSWORTH WOOD.

WICHITA FALLS, TEX. TIMES
JUNE 8, 1921

## THE ORIGIN OF THE TULSA RIOT.

The Houston Post attributes the race riot at Tulsa in part at least to the negro radicals of that city, the loafers and the dopesters of that race and says that the problem now is to re-establish the friendship, harmony and mutuality of interest between the whites and the blacks that has been so grievously impaired by the Tulsa riot. One of the first steps in this direction, says the Post, is for sensible and self-respecting negroes themselves to repudiate the new leadership among them that is making for strife and mischief. The Post says:

"As the preliminaries of the Tulsa affair come to light, the more it appears that the riot was no sudden flaming of passion, but the logical outcome of conditions that had been steadily forming since the end of the war. Indeed, the evidence goes to show it was generally understood that sooner or later something serious would happen.

"According to Police Commissioner Adkinson, the police were aware that a group of negro radicals had been at work for some time. Negro citizens of the better class had been warned months ago that the entire responsibility for any trouble would rest upon them. Weekly meetings had been held.

"O. G. Gurley, the wealthiest negro of the city, told what had happened in the negro section, declaring that the belligerent negroes established headquarters at the plant of a negro newspaper early Tuesday evening, where large quantities of guns and ammunition had been assembled.

"There were not more than 40 or 50 men in the crowd of armed negroes who marched upon the court house. Gurley declared, and for the most part they were nearly all "dope users or jake-drinkers with police records."

"Gurley's further testimony is illuminating: 'The real leader of the gang was a tall negro named Mann. He and his brother ran two or three stores in the colored quarter and they stand well in this community, but this boy came back from France with exaggerated ideas about equality.'

"This testimony is exceedingly important, because omitting the actual riot itself, it is almost identical with what has taken place in half a hundred southern communities since the end of the war.

"The group of negro radicals, the weekly meetings, the bombastic and defiant newspaper, the idle dandies and sports who dress loud and subsist upon the bounty of negro working-women, the criminal ruffians who terrorize street cars, the self-conscious bullies who become insolent where their physical safety is not imperilled—the combination that brought matters to a crisis in Tulsa may be duplicated in many places, north and south.

"And the combination, as well as each individual or group belonging to it, is about the greatest affliction the quiet, hard-working negro people of the south have to bear.

"The evil these loafers do is not less harmful than the sorrowful circumstance that they render it almost impossible for generous and helpful white friends of the negroes to be of substantial assistance to the race. With militant and radical blacks boisterously and coarsely asserting themselves, strutting about with chips on their shoulders, and their newspapers teeming with incendiarism, white people who might otherwise lead, direct or influence movements seeking to secure for negroes a greater measure of opportunity and justice are silenced, and, since white is white, into the Caucasian mass they retire until there are better opportunities for true service.

"Not only are the white friends of the race baffled and silenced by this group of noisy malefactors, the large number of good citizens of the negro race, both men and women, are completely suppressed. And in Tulsa it happened that these, too, who enjoyed the friendship and respect of the white people, were made the victims of the folly of the few.

"If, as was said of Tulsa, the few radicals, dopesters, jake-drinkers and loafers, made up the greater number of agitators, is it not largely true elsewhere?

"In Tulsa, they are now going to enforce the vagrant law. Why is not the vagrant law enforced everywhere?

"How can we expect anything but lawlessness, when streets and the dark corners of the cities are thronging with cheap sports, gamblers, loafers and idlers who shun honest work? These negro haunts are known to the police, and so are similar haunts frequented by the white parasites.

"The whole country ought to be swift to learn a lesson from Tulsa, for the lesson is there.

"But the south especially must arouse itself to the problem, for the post-war phases of it are introducing conditions and situations that do not admit of indifference or neglect. What the Post has in mind is some way to re-establish, if possible, the friendship, harmony and mutuality of interest that have been so grievously impaired by the very element of negroes that made the Tulsa affair possible.

"One of the first steps in this direction is for the responsible and self-respecting negroes themselves to repudiate the new leadership among them that is making for strife and mischief. The continued activity of this pestiferous blood can result only in disaster."

GLOUCESTER MASS TIMES
JUNE 6, 1921

## THE TULSA RIOTS.

All good Americans should hang their heads in shame as they read of the anti-negro riots in Tulsa, Oklahoma. A comparatively trivial incident set fire to the train of racial passion and the result was a civil war in the city. Bands of hundreds of white men fought against equal numbers of colored citizens. Advances and retreats were made as in regular battle and more than 85 men have been slain. Nothing is accomplished. The racial question is no nearer being solved. A loose rein has been given to bitter passion and that is all. Hateful memories remain of violence in the hearts of the whites and vengeful feelings of injury with the blacks. Perhaps Americans can judge from this quenchless color feud some of the racial passions of Europe, and can cultivate a less egotistical frame of mind in regard to them. Some of us think the racial differences of the old countries could easily be solved by American genius, and we are prone to meddle with them and correct them form afar. This Tulsa riot should teach us that racial antipathies are a painful reminder of how thin a veneer of civilization we have attained. The white roughs who attacked the negros in Tulsa and the foolish blacks who provoked them are as primitive savages as rioted in ancient Alexandria in the early Christian era.

The Tulsa incident exposes once more the hideous antipathies inherent in the negro problem. The ugly fact is that segregated negro colonies in any city north or south are the causes of disorder. It is so in New York, in

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DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
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From Oret,

Chicago and many other cities. The reasoning and intelligent members of each race make no trouble. But among the younger generation of the negroes is a light-headed and impudent class who have not learned their places in life. And these run up against a rough element among the whites with disaster to themselves. Many high-minded white people have devoted themselves to raising the negro to a plane of happiness and prosperity. At times we think they have attained their goal. But these hideous riots in great industrial cities are a grim reminder that racial passion and antipathy are almost impossible to eradicate. We are humiliated again by this anti-negro riot in Tulsa.

# Stump Tells Of Tulsa Riot

4/9/21 East-Tennessean

Muskogee, Oklahoma, June 6.—

Let us all pray. We will have to resort to the weapons of our mothers and fathers back in the days of slavery. I am not inclined to say any "cuss" words, or unkind words about any one, I am shocked, disgusted, humiliated, vexed, moody, despondent and almost everyth else a human beng can be, and am sure that you are also, and I ask you to join me in prayer to God for a change of conditions. Surely God will hear our prayers. We have suffered, and yet I saw in the good book where He will not permit us to suffer more than we can bear or something like that.

As I sit down to take my pen in hand to write you a few lines, I am reminded of the thousands of men, women and children homeless today just a few miles from this place, in a land of civilization, in the land that sings: Ca

"The Star Spangled Banner, long may it wave, over the land of the free and the home of the brave." I wonder what in the hen feathers that means to the hoodlums of Tulsa, who burned every Negro church, every home in reach, every place of business carried on by Negroes, and took human life indiscriminately at will and pleasure. Where was the Star Spangled Banner, when fire was set to homes of American citizens, when homes were fired into, killing inmates? What will our president say or do in this matter? What will our Republican Congress do now?

You have read account of the mob violence in Tulsa, and of a race riot, and the Lord only knows what else it has been called. It was the slaughter of human beings, the destruction of property, and if I knew anything else to say I would say it. I want to give it as I have been able to gather, it for I could not get into the town myself. I was on my way there, but could not reach it.

It seems that a white woman was elevator conductor or something like that. She lifted the people up and down in a building, and a man of my race entered it, and accidentally knocked against her foot, and she is said to have uttered some cuss words at him and he spoke back and she made the cry that he had insulted her. That was all that was necessary to warm up the white people. He was arrested, placed in jail and it was said that there would be a lynching party that night. Negro men said, "There ain't gwyne to be no lynching in this town."

Black men got together. I am told that the sheriff and police told them to go and protect their homes and they would take care of the prisoner. They seemingly were afraid to trust them, and they said they would help take care of him. They got their smoke wagons, and went to the jail. Went through the streets in cars with their guns, for they were brave men.

I don't known who started the shooting, but shooting was started that night, and the white folks ran. While my people were shooting away their powder white folks were getting ready. All night long we were shooting, and white folks were getting ready. They were organizing, and just as soon as the soldiers got to town they commenced their devilment. They lined up colored men, marched them into the armory, police station. Shot in houses, and they started to fire, until there was not left one house in the territory known as "Little Africa." They would riddle every house, command the occupants to come out, and if they were women and children they were unmolested, but carried to places of safety, and the house was burned.

The soldiers were glad to hear the call for they went into Negro stores and helped themselves to what they wanted, and then fired the building. It was really hell on earth. As I write to you I am shedding tears, for there is nothing else left for me to do. I am really too sick to think damn or even say it, hence mine is "Lord have mercy."

I talked with Mrs. L. S. Brown, of Tulsa, whose husband is a prominent man in this section of the country. She was at home alone. When it was raining bullets, she went to bed in the bath tub, believing that bullets could not penetrate a bath tub, for it was bullet proof. She remained there all night long alking to God, and the next morning she left the bath room, went to the dining room and stretched out on the floor. All the windows were destroyed, great holes in the house, dresses hanging up in the dress closet were torn into threads by the bullets, things destroyed in her home and shouts, "Come out." At last a man ventured in her house, and saw her.

"Any one else in here?" he asked.

"Yes, an old gentleman."

"Come on out here."

"May I get my hat and some other things."

"Yes, get them quick. I don't know as you'll need them."

She went back to get her hat and a few other things, was placed in an automobile, also the old man who was there and they were carried to a place of safety and her home was burned to death.

As soon as Mr. Brown heard of what was going on, he started for Tulsa Wednesday morning, but was not allowed to alight. He went on up the road, and returned. He was deterrmined to get his wife, and he did get her and she is safe now in Muskogee, and without a change of clothes. She is as happy as could be, and declares that the better class of white people were indeed kind, many of them taking women and children in their homes for protection. Many of the women lost all their clothes, dressed only in their sleeping garments, and children the same way.

Rev. S. S. Jones, Lawyer Emmett W. E. Stewart, have started a relief W. E. tSewart, have started a relief fund to help some of those who are homeless and clotheless—in fact to help all, and a letter to Rev. J. T. Johnson, D. D., Muskogee will receive attention. What are you going to do?

It takes coin to back your sorrow. Are you willing? We had just as well be prepared for whatever may come, for it is coming. But let us hope that it will never be again. These outbreaks result in death and in the destruction of property.

I have been going some since I mailed you the last letter. I was then in Wichita, Kansas, and you will see where I am now. I went from Wichita to Oklahoma City, then out to see Dr. H. W. Conrad, to see what he could do for me. He listened to them bugs plotting against my life, and called them liars, and told them that they were not going to do what they thought they were. He said that Dr. G. C. Hall had done the right thing. I tell you it was great. He is kept busy as usual. The Park Sanitarium is a great place and Dr. H. W. Conrad is a great doctor. Dr. J. W. Rankin is going to be there this month. He needs some treatment, and bugs are after him.

It is wonderful how doctors can put something to their ears and put a little flat thing against you and just hear everything that is going on inside. I am so glad that I live in this age. I will have more to say in another letter.

CHARLES E. STUMP.

E. T. BELSAW.

THE TULSA RIOT.

Mobile Forum 6/10/21

The daily newspapers have just heralded the news to the world of one of the worst race riots in the history of America. The city of Tulsa, Oklahoma, was one of the fairest and most liberal cities of the west. The Negroes of Tulsa are considered the most cultured and progressive of Oklahoma's colored citizens. There was more real financial achievement represented there by business success and lovely homes, than any other city its size could boast respecting its Negro population. And yet, a few hours were sufficient to change this entire condition, and destroy $1 500'000.00 of Negro property. It simply exemplifies the truth that the Negro race has nothing to gain by violence and bloodshed. All odds are against the Negro when he attempts to take the law in his hands. The white man has the law, he has the police authority, he has the organized militia, he has the majority of male citizens, he has the weapons and storehouses of ammunition; now what has the Negro race to gain by fighting under such conditions? As we have said from the platform and through the papers time and again, the hope of the Negro as a people depends upon a peaceful, harmonious and thorough understanding between the two races. We have all to win by making friends of the white man, whether in the South, East, North or West.

When you hear loud-mouthed Negro agitators standing on the street corners teling groups of people that "the only way the Negro will ever get his rights, is to fight for them," you can put that kind of a leader in the class of fools. And when trouble starts he will be the first to run, while ignorant, inocent people are dying.

Today, in Tulsa, several hundred people are injured, and nearly two score are dead, as a result of following unwise leaders. There is no chance for the race by pursuing a policy of strife. Be brave, be honorable, be courageous, but be conservative and reasonable.

E. T. BELSAW, D.D.S.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

Riots - 1921

## WHEN THE RACES FIGHT.

Montgomery Advertiser 6/5/21

The Tulsa race riots, with their terrifying consequences, are like those racial conflicts which preceded it,—due to a chain of circumstances, and to the weakness of the law officials at a crucial moment.

It is a fact which may have its own significance, that these far-flung race riots, prolonged shooting, arson and property destruction—recur oftener in the Middle West than in any other section of the country. Chicago, East St. Louis, Springfield, Illinois, and Springfield, Ohio, have all been the scenes of barbarous race conflicts. The South is, of course, not free from race troubles, but it is rare that innocent negroes suffer in the South. Nor are the conflicts protracted or widespread. Neither do the mobs seek out negroes guiltless of crime to burn their houses and beat them up.

The riots of the North and Middle West constitute a certain form of anarchy; it is revolting to read of infuriated men herding and cooping up innocent negroes and shooting them as they run from burning houses. In Tulsa thirty-one persons were killed, ten of them white men and twenty-one of them negroes. Property damage of more than a million and a half was done by the rioters. A square mile of buildings, some of them costly and handsome, were destroyed by the flames.

It is easy but by no means effective to dogmatize over these racial conflicts. No way has been found to avoid them in America; they break out suddenly and unexpectedly. No new law is necessary to restrict or stop them; if the law alone could prevent them, they would have been stopped long ago. The best means for restricting them has been found in a quick and earnest enforcement of laws already in operation. The law itself has not broken down; it has not been effective because of the timidity and procrastination of the local authorities.

Preceding all these outbreaks there has always been smoldering hatred between the two races in the community where the trouble is to occur. Neither side is wholly free from contributing to this gloomy and dangerous condition. The negro has always had some bad advisers; he has been particularly unfortunate in his advisers in recent years. There are reckless and lawless white men who welcome the final outburst, and who really believe that the are in some danger from the negro.

We should not forget that preceding the outbreaking and as its final cause there is always some startling crime, and usually it is a crime against a white woman. The great mass of negroes is, of course, innocent of these crimes, but when the conflict, brought to its outbreak by such a crime, goes into active fighting the innocent and the guilty alike suffer from the rage of infuriated men. The Tulsa riot began with just such a crime. A white girl, an elevator operator in a department store, had been attacked by a negro. The accused man had been arrested and safely placed in jail. The usual mob, and a very small one, gathered at the jail. The sheriff was amply able to protect the prisoner; he soon dispersed this small gathering.

But as the white men were leaving the jail, it was discovered that a counter mob of negroes was forming on the other side of the court house. The units in this mob seemed inclined to break away and leave but again and again they were called back by their incendiary leaders. Here, was seen the effects of the bad leadership to which the negro has been subjected. The negro prisoner was in no danger; the sheriff was master of the situation. But the black speakers inflamed their followers with declarations of defiance to the whites, with a statement as to their rights, and how they proposed to exercise them, and with mouthing over the bad advice that had been given them. The excitement with which they made those inflammatory speeches was very poor compensations, the next day when it was all over, and when all their houses had been burned and twenty-one of them had been killed.

The local police could very easily have stopped the incipient riot at this stage. They could have interposed themselves and separated quite easily the two mobs while they were small and unorganized. Both mobs were rapidly recruited; the inflammatory utterances of the black speakers were carried abroad, and armed white men responded. The negroes outnumbered, moved slowly towards the negro quarters of the town. Even then a few vigorous officers of the law could have prevented the unfortunate saturnalia of murder and arson. The Adjutant-General of Oklahoma said that six uniformed policemen, or six deputy sheriffs, could have prevented the outbreak.

But when the negroes had been manouvered back into the quarters in which they lived, the battle was on in deadly earnest. Both white and blacks fell in the furious fighting. As usual, the negroes suffered most; it is to be hoped that their leaders who inflamed the situation, rather than pacified it, now realize what they had done. Their speeches may have been defiant, insulting and high sounding, but the ground was covered with the dead of the race and the homes of the colored people were but heaps of ashes.

The Oklahoma Adjutant-General alludes briefly to another cause of the outbreak —a yellow journal. This is a factor in practically every racial conflict. The last great race trouble in the South in several years was in Atlanta; it is known to all men that the sensational papers of Atlanta were largely responsible for the murder and blood letting of that riot. In inflaming the white public, these papers started a storm which they could not still.

It is for the northern papers to be cocksure and dogmatic over racial trouble. The intelligent white man of the South, who sees the two races living side by side, and who perceives the complexities of such a social order, knows no remedy for preventing conflicts, of one sort or another—no remedy he can put in a few words. The one remedy which offers some promise of effectiveness, is for the local officials to act courageously and promptly when the atmosphere of the community is overcast with the stormy threat of an outbreak.

FRANKFORT KY STATE JOURNAL
JUNE 5, 1921

### "AN OKLAHOMA DISGRACE"

Apparently the shooting was done more largely by the white citizens of Tulsa than by the negroes, but not because the negroes would not have been as active had they been as numerous and as well provided with arms.

The history of the State of Oklahoma is blotted with the disgrace of a free for all day of lawlessness which by no means expresses the feeling of Oklahoma as a whole or that of any State in the Union. Ruffians held sway for a time, as they have in former days in many places, as for example in Springfield, Illinois, where an aged and unoffending negro man was shot down within sight of the statue of Abriham Lincoln.

Springfield, Ohio, East St. Louis, Atlanta, many other places in this country have witnessed the staging of similar dramas of ruffianism. America will not be rated in world opinion a country wholly civilized and truly enlightened until such occurrences are defintely occurrences of an inglorious past.

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JUNE 6, 1921

### THE MENACE OF MOBOCRACY.

To the Editor of The World:

What chance has a law-abiding citizen to defend a home and a family against mob violence when the State militia, called out to protect life and property joins with the hoodlums to kill and injure the innocent?

I am constrained to ask this question after reading in the daily press of what occurred in Tulsa, Okla., and characterized by the papers as a "race riot."

To quote one despatch from Tulsa: "The main fighting centred on the negro district and ended when guardsmen went 'over the top.' They rushed a black stronghold where 200 negroes were intrenched."

Now what were these colored Americans doing? Merely defending their homes and themselves. As was the case in East St. Louis, Ill., Washington, D. C., and Chicago, white ruffians went to the colored residential sections looking for trouble. In none of these so-called race riots has the colored man been the aggressor. Invariably he has been on the defensive.

Another despatch, in giving a word picture of the riot, said: "The attack shifted to the 'Black Belt,' where the screams of terror by stricken negroes were heard above the sounds of the firing and the shouts of the mob. Frenzied bands of the whites were clearing negroes from the section. Houses were entered, the women ordered to the streets and men who failed to surrender were immediately shot down."

The reader is next told: "All blacks are being arrested; soldiers and deputy sheriffs are searching the houses of all blacks not yet destroyed by the flames." In other words, a colored man possessing the manhood to defend his home and his family was branded as a "bad negro" and dealt with accordingly.

Is justice dead in "the land of the free and the home of the brave"? Is there no such thing as fair play in this country? Is the influence of the church on the wane? Do the white Christian people in America believe there should be one kind of justice meted out to the white man and another to the colored? Or are they apathetic on such a vital question?

Does the Federal Government admit it is powerless to protect the lives of loyal citizens when the protection afforded by State militia is nothing more than a farce and travesty on democracy?—a term which the negroes of America, and in particular those who fought "over there," have come to regard as a figure of speech used in the main by the altruist.

Congress would render a valuable service to the country and to humanity were it to pause just for a short time in its deliberations over the Island of Yap and try to solve one of the burning issues within our gates.

No small wonder that when colored people throughout the United States, upon reading of the reign of terror at Tulsa, ask: "Where is the protection the law guarantees all of its citizens under the Constitution?"

A member of the old fighting 15th, heard discussing the Tulsa disgrace, expressed the negro viewpoint when he remarked: "It is safer on the battle-field than in such places as Oklahoma, for on the battle-field you get a man's chance to defend yourself, but in some parts of the United States you are deprived of all weapons and then shot down like a dog if you have the courage to protect all that is most dear."

It is time to make this country safe from mobocracy, and in the language of Cicero, loyal colored Americans are asking: "How long, O white America, will you abuse our patience?"

New York, June 2. LESTER A. WALTON.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

HOUSTON, TE HOUSTON TEX POST .....JUNE 5, 192
JUNE 5, 1921

# The Origin of Tulsa's Riot

As the preliminaries of the Tulsa affair come to light, the more it appears that the riot was no sudden flaming of passion, but the logical outcome of conditions that had been steadily forming since the end of the war. Indeed, the evidence goes to show it was generally understood that sooner or later something serious would happen.

According to Police Commissioner Adkinson, the police were aware that a group of negro radicals had been at work for some time. Negro citizens of the better class had been warned months ago that the entire responsibility for any trouble would rest upon them. Weekly meetings had been held.

O. W. Gurley, the wealthiest negro of the city, told what had happened in the negro section, declaring that the belligerent negroes established headquarters at the plant of a negro newspaper early Tuesday evening, where large quantities of guns and ammunition had been assembled.

There were not more than 40 or 50 men in the crowd of armed negroes who marched upon the court house, Gurley declared, and for the most part they were nearly all "dope users or jake-drinkers with police records."

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This testimony is exceedingly important, because omitting the actual riot itself, it is almost identical with what has taken place in half a hundred Southern communities since the end of the war.

The group of negro radicals, the weekly meetings, the bombastic and defiant newspaper, the idle dandies and sports who dress loud and subsist upon the bounty of negro workingwomen, the criminal ruffians who terrorize street cars, the self-conscious bullies who become insolent where their physical safety is not imperilled—the combination that brought matters to a crisis in Tulsa may be duplicated in many places, North and South.

And the combination, as well as each individual or group belonging to it, is about the greatest affliction the quiet, hardworking negro people of the South have to bear.

The evil these loafers do is not less harmful than the sorrowful circumstance that they render it almost impossible for generous and helpful white friends of the negroes to be of substantial assistance to the race. With militant and radical blacks boisterously and coarsely asserting themselves, strutting about with chips on their shoulders, and their newspapers teeming with incendiarism, white people who might otherwise lead, direct or influence movements seeking to secure for negroes a greater measure of opportunity and justice are silenced, and, since white is white, into the Caucasian mass they retire until there are better opportunities for true service.

Not only are the white friends of the race baffled and silenced by this group of noisy malefactors, the large number of good citizens of the negro race, both men and women, are completely suppressed. And in Tulsa it happened that these, too, who enjoyed the friendship and respect of the white people, were made the victims of the folly of the few.

If, as was said of Tulsa, the few radicals, dopesters, jake-drinkers and loafers, made up the greater number of agitators, is it not largely true elsewhere?

In Tulsa, they are now going to enforce the vagrant law. Why is not the vagrant law enforced everywhere?

How can we expect anything but lawlessness, when streets and the dark corners of the cities are thronging with cheap sports, gamblers, loafers and idlers who shun honest work? These negro haunts are known to the police, and so are similar haunts frequented by the white parasites.

The whole country ought to be swift to learn a lesson from Tulsa, for the lesson is there.

But the South especially must arouse itself to the problem, for the post-war phases of it are introducing conditions and situations that do not admit of indifference or neglect. What The Post has in mind is some way to reestablish, if possible, the friendship, harmony and mutuality of interest that have been so grievously impaired by the very element of negroes that made the Tulsa affair possible.

One of the first steps in this direction is for the responsible and self respecting negroes themselves to repudiate the new leadership among them that is making for strife and mischief. The continued activity of this pestiferous brood can result only in disaster.

# *Taft Calls for Preventive Measures Against Race Riots*

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE
JUNE 6, 1921

**By WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT.**

*(By Cable to The Brooklyn Eagle and Philadelphia Public Ledger; Copyright, 1921.)*

The accounts of race riots in Tulsa, Okla., are shocking. They create the same feeling of hoplelessness as the news from Ireland. That with a startling suddenness and without warning a bloody battle could break out in the center of a city of 75,000 and nearly half a hundred deaths follow is hard to credit or understand. There must have been many circumstances from which intelligent observers living in Tulsa ought to have anticipated danger. Steps should have been taken by prominent citizens, white and colored, to allay fear and suspicion on both sides. Committees of leading white and colored citizens in other cities where danger threatens have been active to spread among their respective constituencies assurances that there is no real danger of attack by the other side and that the only danger is from misunderstanding. In this way a riot at Birmingham was avoided.

In every such community there are in both races knots or groups of lawless and cruel men, who seize the opportunity of race trouble to gratify their natural instinct toward violence, murder and rapine, and become leaders of the contending mobs, into which are drawn by fear or excitment many otherwise law-abiding citizens.

No matter whether it was a negro or a white man who began the initial fight, one cannot escape the conclusion that the awful character of this cruel outbreak was largely due to the outrageous malevolence and cruelty of the whites who took part in the conflict. This is clearly indicated by the number of the negro dead as compared with the dead whites, by the wholesale destruction and looting of the negro settlement and business quarter, by the fact that the white men prevented the effort of the city Fire Department to put out the flames and by the present suffering and homelessness of the thousands of negroes of Tulsa.

This conclusion does not excuse, of course, the propaganda which some negro papers are pressing among their readers, inciting them to physical force in the assertion of their equality of right, and fanning their passion and their fears by detailed recital of wrongs to negroes in every part of the country. Race pride and confidence in the prowess of negro veterans of the late war have been stirred to aid the incitement.

In all communities in which such riots are possible there are majorities of whites and negroes lawabiding and anxious to preserve peace. If the leading men in these majorities in all cities where danger of outbreak is possible will form themselves into committtees to stop the outbreak and to take measures to clear away misunderstanding and unfounded fears and to secure proper police precautions, it will be possible to prevent in the future such a bloody murder of many innocents as this at Tulsa. It is a disgrace to our civilization, and everything possible should be done to prevent another such shameful and brutal exhibition. In a country in which we boast of constitutions securing the life, liberty and property of every individual we must blush at such a gross and demoralizing departure from our ideals, and should be profoundly moved to take effective measures to prevent its recurrence.

SAN ANTONIO TEX EXPRESS
JUNE 6, 1921

## THE TULSA RACE WAR

No persons who really believe in law and order will have difficulty in bringing themselves to condemn the members of the negro and white mobs who engaged in the race war at Tulsa.

It is stated that a negro mob started the trouble.

No blame can attach to white men who fought in self-defense.

But the severest kind of censure should rest on the heads of the negroes who began the trouble and on the heads of the white men who attacked innocent negroes and burned negroes' homes, in revenge.

A number of innocent white men and a number of innocent negroes are in the list of victims.

The negro mob's act in starting the trouble was a rank piece of insanity. The mob demonstrated in favor of a negro prisoner accused of attacking a white girl. it does not seem possible that any sane negroes—certainly not any thinking negroes—could expect to gain anything for the prisoner by mob action. They ought to have known that such a course would merely aggravate matters.

Every negro should realize that the American courts are the best friends the negroes have. The negroes can secure complete justice there. Courts do not punish negroes merely because their skins are black. As an instance, a jury in Arkansas recently acquitted a negro accused of attacking a white girl. In a court, there is every opportunity for the negro to present all evidence in his favor. his attorney has the privilege of arguing in his defense, and the judge and jury are bound by certain well-defined rules of law. The negro has an appeal to higher courts, where judges, entirely free from the excitement of a trial court, consider the evidence and the rulings cold-bloodedly and render a decision entirely in accord with the facts and the law.

The negroes who formed the mob that demonstrated in favor of the negro prisoner at Tulsa deserve and should receive a very severe punishment. So also should the white men who formed the mob that shot down innocent negroes and set fire to their homes.

The negro mob and the white mob are guilty of the murder of the innocent white people and innocent negroes who were killed.

It is true that, strictly speaking, this is a white man's country. But the law guarantees protection to all, and all should have it.—Daily Oklahoman (Oklahoma City).

## *Oklahoma Outbursts*

By OTIS ORTON

Tulsa Daily World
6/6/21

At any rate Mr. Chester did all that could b expected of mortal man to keep Kansas City o the map.

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The girl on South Main says the reason sh is unsophisticated is that she has always associated with people older than herself.

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Luke McLuke, known to the home folks a James S. Hastings, another noted paragrapher is dead. Ain't we getting scarce?

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Moreover, observes the Dallas News, there ar certain features of the joy ride that remind historians of the old-fashioned hay ride.

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As a sign of returning normalcy, we notice in the Shawnee News that Chickasha is remodeling her principal hotel. But which one is Chickasha's principal hotel?

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We don't see why so many people are excited over what Mme. Curie did with that gram of radium. Despite her loyalty to France she made no effort to risk any of the radium on Carpentier even at long odds.

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This colyum has no objection to the movement to make Sam Morley of McAlester the democratic candidate for governor except that it seems to be a case of cutting out Senator Hill of that town for attorney general.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

Riots – 1921

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

N Y C WORLD
JUNE 3, 1921

## OKLAHOMA'S CIVIL WAR.

The American negro is no longer "docile and easily lynched," as Mr. Dooley once described him. He is asserting his right to live under the white man's law and have the privileges and immunities and guarantees of that law. So long as he is denied that right in whole or in part the way is open to the repetition of such tragedies as that which cost so many lives and destroyed $1,500,000 in property at Tulsa, Okla.

The civil war that took place in that city between whites and blacks had its origin in lynch law. A negro had attacked a white girl in the elevator of a department store and was arrested. Immediately the rumor spread that he was to be lynched. Negroes with arms went to the jail to protect him. White men with arms followed them. The police did nothing. Then a white man tried to seize a gun from a negro, and what then took place is described for The World's readers by Richard Lloyd Jones, publisher of the Tulsa Tribune:

> The blacks were reinforced by other blacks. The whites hurried for arms. The city was in darkness. Stores having firearms in stock were smashed into. The blacks and the whites in growling groups began to parade the streets. Two hours before midnight the battle began.

Government ceased for the time being to exist and the streets of Tulsa ran with blood. But in vast sections of the country government has a habit of ceasing to exist where the legal rights of the negro are concerned. Had the offense in question been committed by a white man the law would presumably have taken its course. Although white men are sometimes lynched when accused of crime, the general presumption is that they will not be. Although black men are often not lynched when accused of crime, the general presumption in many parts of the United States is that they are likely to be. Out of that presumption came Tulsa's race war.

A great change has come over the American negro's attitude toward the white man's government during the last four years, a change for which the war was largely responsible. The negro was conscripted like any other citizen. He was put into a uniform, given a rifle and sent to France to fight for his country. He was good enough to die for the flag, and naturally he refuses longer to believe that he is not entitled to privileges and immunities for which the flag stands. He is no longer submissive but aggressive, and while this change has its grave dangers to the negro himself, it is an inevitable consequence of the failure of local and State Governments to administer even-handed justice.

It is the fashion to attribute most of the recent race riots to economic rivalry between whites and blacks, but economic rivalry is no new thing. For more than fifty years there has been an irrepressible conflict between the blacks and the so-called "poor whites," and this conflict is bound to go on as long as the two races compete for their daily bread. Rivalry, however, is not riot, and back of all these miniature civil wars which disgrace the Nation from year to year is the breakdown of government and the denial of due process of law to the negro.

Lincoln said that this Government could not endure half slave and half free. It cannot endure with one law for the white man and another law for the black man. There must be one law for both, and until there is one law for both every community of mixed population is living under the shadow of threatened anarchy.

# Anarchy Again Nears Its Head

Houston Observer

Although the full story of the tragedy at Tulsa has not yet been told, it seems probable that the bare truth of the matter is that Tulsa has been the scene of a racial clash of a more desperate nature than usual, and that it must bear the disgrace that inevitably attaches to any community which shows its lawless element to run amuck.

When the whole thing is sifted, it will almost surely be found that irresponsible and vicious racial agitators on both sides, have created a spirit of racial antipathy in Tulsa, while the better element of both races have looked on in ignorance or indifference.

While Tulsa thus stands disgraced before the nation, it is by no means an exception, perhaps, with reference to conditions prevailing among the two races. The same thing is apt to happen in any other city, North or South, where there are considerable colonies of antagonistic races. The race problem is not being solved in any part of the country, and such occurrences as this only serve to complicate it, and postpone its eventual settlement.

That such a tragedy could occur in an enlightened American city is striking evidence of the spirit of lawlessness and anarchy that pervades a portion of the population of the United States, and it comes as a dire warning that this trend must be checked by some means, if stable government is to survive.

Americans have been loud in the denunciation of the pogroms in Poland, of the massacres in Armenia and Rusia and Mexico, and they were ready to go to war to avenge the victims of the barbarous German war lords, but unless we can create a public sentiment in this country strong enough to restrain such intolerant outbreaks as Tulsa has just witnessed, we shall be unable in the future to protest with any moral weight against anything that may happen in less favored parts of the world.

The affair at Tulsa is pretty sure to result in a congressional investigation. If conducted in the proper spirit, with political animus and sectonal bitterness eliminated, perhaps it will be worth while. Especially so, if from the publicity given the affair the people of the country be aroused to the growing danger of racial animosity and the spirit of lawlessness prevailing among certain classes of citizens.

These are not sectional issues, but they are among the most important problems facing the whole nation today. No section is immune from a probable anarchistic outbreak upon the slighest provocation. The history of these affairs in the last three years is sufficient evidence of this.

They are problems that call for the thoughtful consideration

PHILADELPHIA PA INQUIRER
JUNE 4, 1921

## A Case of Social Dynamite

There will always be materials for a conflict between whites and blacks in this country—at least until the race problem is much nearer solution than it is yet. The freeing of the slaves was not a solution, though to many at the time it seemed to be. The negro now has political rights of which he cannot be deprived except by force. It is natural that he should also be insistent upon social rights. How to secure him these without an intimacy between the races which would not be expedient even if it were possible is a question it is peculiarly futile to theorize upon.

The disgraceful outbreak in Oklahoma was primarily due to the incapacity or cowardice of the authorities at a critical moment. A negro had attacked a white girl. Rumors of a lynching led a mob of armed negroes to the jail to protect him. A mob of armed whites followed. In this emergency the police failed to act efficiently. Lives were taken and property was destroyed, and order was not restored until the State militia had been summoned. Tulsa, the town where all this happened, is "dazed" at the outcome. Apparently the relations between whites and blacks were no worse there than in other places.

There is nothing to be gained by sentimentalizing over such an episode. It was an exhibition of elemental human nature, freed from those restraints that law and public sentiment customarily impose. There is no doubt that the negroes as a whole are more aggressive than they used to be. The war has done much to impress them with their standing as citizens. They fought for their country, just as the whites did, and it is not surprising that they should demand even-handed justice. But it should not be forgotten that the strain of savagery in the race is not yet eliminated. The writer of a vivid account of the Tulsa rioting says with truth that "there is a bad black man who is a beast," although he is in a minority. His existence is the heart of the problem.

It will never be solved by violence; that is sure. If there be a certain menace in a large negro population in a preponderantly white nation, it can be ended only by patient and sympathetic effort. The Tulsa business is a reproach to American civilization.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

BEDFORD MASS STANDARD
JUNE 4, 1921

## The Tulsa Riot

"An impudent Negro, a hysterical girl and a yellow journal reporter" is the diagnosis of the Tulsa race riot by General Barrett, commander of the state troops on duty in the Oklahoma city.

This obviously is a snap judgment delivered by a man a short time on the scene. It may be a pretty accurate judgment so far as concerns the proximate cause of this outbreak, as in all race riots some incident is as the match which sets off the powder, but it does not adequately explain the explosion that follows. Where negrophobia prevails, as it does in Oklahoma, the passions and fears of the whites are easily preyed upon, and a race war can be precipitated at almost any time. It may be that the motive in Tulsa was political; it has often proved so in other cases. There was obviously a failure on the part of the authorities to preserve order, due perhaps to a belief that there is always an open season on Negroes. One encouraging sign is that the better people of the city, who have taken hold to restore order, are emphatic in their condemnation of the mayor and the police, and their assertion that the Negroes who suffered losss must be indemnified.

Wherever Negroes in large numbers are found side by side with whites, competing with them in the labor field, seeking habitations in section which the residents wish to keep exclusively white, a riot is an ever-present possibility; and realizing that fact it often happens that there are people who take advantage of it deliberately to stir up trouble for their own selfish ends.

MAIL
JUNE 4, 1921

## The Lesson of the Tulsa Riots.

Of the immediate causes underlying the race rioting at Tulsa it is impossible from this distance to get an accurate understanding. When a powder mill blows up it is usually difficult to ascertain how the spark was applied. And Tulsa, like many other southern cities where there are large colonies of both white and black workers, many out of employment, has been a powder mine.

It is a mistake to suppose that such catastrophes arise only from race antipathies. At least half of the provocation is economic in origin. The North learned it in the black hegira of early war days, when racial and economic problems simply exchanged locations and there were battle, murder and sudden death in East St. Louis, Chicago and other northern cities.

Well-informed southern men frankly confess great uneasiness at the newest factor in the equation, the spread of communistic and anarchistic agitation among the negroes. How extensive the propaganda actually is nobody pretends to know. There is at least enough of it to afford a starting point for innumerable wild rumors, such as the one which recently spread through Texas that negroes were secretly arming and drilling in Houston, Galveston and other cities. Such a report did not need to be true to cause trouble.

It is easy enough to preach from afar patience and tolerance to both whites and colored people. It is a truism to insist that the organized forces of the law must protect both with rigid impartiality. The truth is that good citizens, white and negroid, are both patient and tolerant. The prompt action of the governor of Oklahoma in sending troops to Tulsa would seem to indicate that the state authorities are alert. Nevertheless, whites and negroes have been slain indiscriminately and a large section of a thriving little city is in ashes.

If the already difficult race problem is not to become immeasurably more menacing than it ever has been some way will have to be found to curb the industrial and political agitator. Northern friends of the negro who want to be of real help can serve mightily by assisting leaders of negro thought in the South to substitute propaganda of Americanism for propaganda of Bolshevism.

SAN FRANCISCO CAL EXAMIN'R
JUNE 4 1921

In Oklahoma, negroes were killed, herded in barracks to save them from murder. Some say the white men wanted their oil lands. More probably trouble started because white men out of work saw negroes working.

Senator Medill McCormick wants a committee "To report on race hatred" in this country. The committee should go to the Zoological Gardens, and report what it finds there. The dog hates the fox, his cousins, but doesn't hate the elephant, so different. Human beings are animals, and hate their brothers, as the dog hates the fox or the wolf. They will stop that when they stop being animals: that's a long way off.

## Results of ~~Negro~~ LEADERSHIP.

The Tulsa, Oklahoma, race ri~~o~~ is one to be deplored by the civilized people of America. It is the result of poor leadership on the part of both races in Tulsa. All are responsible and all will suffer from the effects.

Such a charge as was lodged against the Negro man who had been placed in jail should have been permitted to take its course through the channels of the courts. It is unusual for Negroes to do a thing of this kind, and for any group —large or small—to swarm around the jail predicted seriousness. Certainly no thoughtful or decent Negro attempted to hinder the course of the law when a Negro man had assaulted a woman.

We may learn something from the Tulsa, Oklahoma, trouble. How easy by thoughtlessness can we engulf our whole city in disgrace and cause many thousands of people to suffer. No doubt the Negro who caused the trouble in Tulsa was undisturbed and unscratched.

way be

BIRMINGHAM ALA NEWS
JUNE 5, 1921

## Responsibility For Tulsa Horror Rests With The Negroes Themselves—Solely.

Some sixty-five negroes lost their lives in Tulsa in the riots there. Hundreds of others were wounded and lost all their possessions in the fire which obliterated the negro quarter. Seven or eight white men were killed.

Tulsa is a cosmopolitan community. It is not predominantly Southern, so the occurrence there cannot be charged up as one of the "Southern outrages" any more than a somewhat smaller but similar affair in Springfield, Ill., a few years ago, or the one in East St. Louis, Ill., or the bombing of negro homes, and the riots in Chicago, or the riots in Washington. The reason must be looked for other than in so-called Southern race hatred, and very fortunately, two negroes give evidence. One of them, Barney Cleaver, a "veteran negro police officer and former deputy sheriff," of Tulsa, and the other, O. W. Gurley, described by the Associated Press dispatch as "probably the wealthiest negro in the city." Other responsible negroes say that "agitation by a few irresponsible negreos" was the cause.

The facts were that a negro man had been arrested for an attack upon a white girl. He was lodged in jail. There was no indication of any attempt at lynching, or any manifestation of violence of any sort. A few white men, said a newspaper reporter, were discussing the affair in small groups near the jail, but there was no excitement whatever, no move toward a mob.

A band of belligerent negroes "headed by a negro narcotic peddler began to assemble at the jail to protect the accused." Then they later moved to the offices of a negro newspaper, and sent out a call for armed men to rally—and were warned by Barney Cleaver that they were inviting trouble and liable to have the whole negro section wiped out—but, said Cleaver, they laughed at him and threatened to shoot him.

Then the storm of wrath burst—the negro section was wiped out, and how many have been killed and their bodies burned in the holocaust, no one can ever tell with absolute accuracy.

Now, in this affair is seen one of the principal causes for racial clashes—the savage, primal tribal instinct of the civilization-veneered African. Were those Tulsa negroes banding together to uphold the majesty of the law? No. Were they arming to see that processes of law should be safeguarded? No. Did they condemn the crime of which the prisoner was accused? No sign of it—rather they glossed that and approved that, in banding to "protect" the accused.

It is this attitude, this jungle instinct in the African which arouses the keen resentment of the whites. White people turn in and as a rule, assist the officers to apprehend one who is charged with crime: Many negroes will protect another negro, no matter what the crime he may be accused of, and even though he be a stranger! Any officer of the law can bear testimony to this as being a racial characteristic.

Until the real leaders of the race instil into their more ignorant followers the idea that they have responsibilities upon them; must cooperate in the enforcement of the laws, and must not condone crime by protection of accused merely because of the color of his skin, just so long will these outbursts occur. It is going to be a difficult thing to educate the people of African descent into this idea, because the tribal instinct of defense is a primal urge, but it must be done, and until it is done, that race will never be thoroughly civilized, no matter how much superficial polish it acquires. And there must also be instilled into the race some sort of idea of its obligations, and necessity for ceasing the constant protection of other members simply because they are racial.

NEBRASKA CITY NEB. PRESS
JUNE 5, 1921

## REPENTANT CITY.

The beast was unleashed at Tulsa the other morning and before he could be driven back into his cage thousands of people were made homeless, hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of property had been fed to the flames and scores lay dead in the streets. And it all started over such a trivial incident relatively. A black man had been arrested, charged with a serious offense. His friends, also black, attempted to rescue him. A policeman, upholding the majesty of the law, tried to interfere and was shot. Then the populace saw red and a carnival of hatred reigned for hours. Military law was established and the heated brains began to cool—with the usual result. Tulsa saw that she had made a mistake—just as East St. Louis and Springfield and Omaha did. But it is too late to rebuild the smouldering homes, too late to bring back life to those who were murdered. Isn't it about time for racial hatred in America to die out? Is it not possible for men to live together in friendship and accord? Shall there be pogroms in the United States?

A Word Killed
Thirty Men
New York News 6/9/21

Because the word "assault" long has been and is generally misused in the United States to mean rape Tulsa, Oklahoma, endured a ri which a million dollars in prop was destroyed and thirty per were killed.

A colored man in Tulsa stepped on a white girl's foot and she upbraided him for his clumsiness. The colored man answer back. A row resulted. The colored man was arrested and a newspaper said he was accused of assaulting a white girl. A few lawless fools took the word to mean rape, and started the trouble which, through weakness, stupidity or cowardice on the part of the authorities, culminated in arson, murder and the necessity for the imposition of martial law.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots - 1921.

# EDITOR CHILES ON OKLAHOMA BORDERS APPEALS TO THE HIGH POWERS FOR IMMEDIATE ACTION

## Gov. Robertson Replies That He is Pushing a Thorough Investigation of The Horrible Affair

6/3/21 Topeka-Plain Dealer

While out on the road we note from the press reports that white ruffians of Tulsa, Okla, and vicinity, have destroyed thousands upon thousands of dollars worth of property belonging to innocent Colored people aside from taking life. We immediately sent the following telegrams in this connection. It is the duty of every citizen irregardless of race, to assist these innocent people who have lost all they possess, which they have spent years in accumalating. Competent Attorneys should be employed to bring suit against the city of Tulsa and cause the taxpayers to reconstruct and build up the destroyed homes of each and every one who suffered loss, the equal of what they were before. The City is liable for these ruffians and reporation should be made.

COPY OF TELEGRAMS

June 1, 1921

President Warren G. Harding,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

Race riot at Tulsa, Oklahoma. Murdering and Destroying Colored People's property. State Government unable to stop it. - Two special agents and government troops would check it. As long as the government at Washington remains dormant on such outrages, the government of the southern states will never give protection to Colored citizens. In the name of God and Humanity, stop it, we pray you.

NICK CHILES
President, Kansas Defense Society,
Editor Topeka Plaindealer.

June 2, 1921

Governor J. B. A. Robertson
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

Have you any contingent fund which could be used in aiding the innocent homeless Colored people of Tulsa, who are suffering on account of riot. White ruffians have resorted to this since the Emancipation Proclamation. Not until the officials of the law compel all classes to obey the law, such crimes will continue. White people commit crimes and the courts try them. Colored people are charged of crime then the mobs also try them. We regret such affairs. It reflects on Christianity.

NICK CHILES
President, Kansas Defense Society
Editor Topeka Plaindealer

Tulsa (Okla.)

## Gov. Robertson's Answer

A18KS 93 NL 1 EXTRA 1-70
June 4th, 1921 5 44 A M
OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA
NICK CHILES, Editor Topeka Plain dealer, Pres. Kans. Defense Society. Topeka, Kansas.

THERE ARE NO STATE FUNDS AVAILABLE FOR THE AID OF TULSA RACE RIOT SUFFERING HOWEVER HAS BEEN REDUCED TO THE MINIMUM THROUGH RED CROSS AND OTHER ACTIVITIES. FUND OF FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS BEING RAISED THROUGH POPULAR SUBSCRIPTION TO REBUILD HOMES ACTUALLY OWNED BY NEGROES. I JOIN WITH YOU IN DEPLORING THIS OUTRAGE. I HAVE DIRECTED THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO TULSA MAKE A COMPLETE INVESTIGATION AND FIX THE RESPONSIBILITY. ALSO TO BRING OUSTER PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE PEACE OFFICERS IF IN HIS JUDGMENT THE FACTS WARRANT.

J. B. A. ROBERTSON,
Governor.

KANSAS CITY SENTINEL
JUNE 3, 1921

### THE CAUSE OF THE RIOT.

"An impudent Negro, a hysterical girl and a yellow journal reporter"—those comprised the basis for the loss of some thirty lives, the wounding of hundreds and the destruction of property valued at a million and a half dollars, in the view of General C. F. Barrett, in charge of the Oklahoma state troops on duty after the Tulsa riot. Thus the blot upon the Southwestern city grows blacker, the while the early estimate of the deaths shrinks. The mob did not have even the excuse that the accused Negro had been guilty of the offense that so many southerners have held to justify lynching.

And there, indeed, we have one of the chief arguments against lynch law. It is always so easy for the mob to be wrong in selecting its victim. The courts of law may often err, but at least the defendant has a chance to state his case. Because there are black beasts capable of the deepest of crimes against women, just as there are such white beasts, does not at all prove that every woman who thinks a criminal assault is attempted is correct in her supposition. Only too often has this been demonstrated after alleged assailant has been strung up. In the Tulsa case fortunately the accused man was saved—but consider the fact of thousands of his race who were not even "impudent," but who have been turned out of house and home and humiliated—those of them not slain or wounded—because of the exaggerated reports.

It is now said that the white residents of Tulsa in remorse are about to raise a large fund to rebuild the Negroes' homes and intend to do all in their power to induce the insurance companies to pay damage claims; also the city and county will be forced to make money compensation. But who will restore the dead to life and full vigor of those crippled? And will Tulsa and other like cities reverse their attitude toward their residents of dark skin to the end that such race conflicts will be eliminated for all time?

Editorials.

PHILADELPHIA BULLETIN
JUNE 3, 1921

### THE OKLAHOMA MASSACRE

The bloody scenes at Tulsa, in Oklahoma, including the burning of the negro quarters and the determination of the maddened mob to prevent the city's fire department from saving life or property within the lines of the segregated section, hark back to the days of Indian massacres. They are hardly conceivable as happening in American civilization of the present day.

It was an explosion of race prejudice, identical in kind, though greater in degree, with numerous riots in other parts of the country. It was a phase of the race problem. Yet the interpretation of the Tulsa tragedy must take into consideration some other important contributing factors. Tulsa is said to have a hundred thousand population. Ten years ago it had little, if any, more than ten thousand. Its negro population is now figured at from six to nine thousand. It probably has increased in about the same proportion as the white section. In any such abnormal growth, characteristic of the "boom town," an inevitable proportion of undesirables is certain to be attracted, both white and black. And even among what may be termed the desirable elements of that growth there is unavoidably a restlessness, a lack of that organized, adjusted communal life that relies on the regular processes of law and order and is not so ready to make appeal to Judge Lynch for correctives.

The last serious race riots in the Illinois industrial centres were due largely, in their spread and intensity, to the influx of new elements which had not reached the stage of adjustment. And it is more than likely when the Oklahoma affair shall have been thoroughly analyzed, it will be found that the important factor of exaggeration, which has been responsible for the degree of horror, has been its great increment of population, including flotsam and jetsam of both races, which, for the moment, overbalance the normal attitude of the community even as between the two races. The economic factors in these affairs are not to be ignored in their discussion as types of the race problem.

NO one can tell just how these things start, but we have our opinion and express as we see them, some using a cool head while some are using a hot head; but we must all confess that it is bad and there is no fun in such ungodly actions. It is the time ripened fruit of envy, jealousy and prejudice that gets the right season through a bad officer or bad set of officers or the community as a whole well worked by the wicked gossip of discrimination and discords for what they call race protection or superiority. Look with your mind's eye over the ruins, see the ashes of the innocent and of the guilty piled together, but only a God knows the innocent from the guilty while the people run mad. If the results ended here, then we could compromise and mourn no more of these ashes, but it moves in the hearts and minds of the people that we must triumph or sweep the just and the unjust into one heap of ruin and rejoice over the victory. Does it stop there? No! But on the other hand moves into the hearts of the mistreated, who prepared for a worse that must come some day and instead of preparing to make a world safe and free, it will make a people afraid of every form of the other fellow's democracy and begin to think life is to be protected by setting explosive mines and deadly weapons for his fellow-man. Is that the saddest of the scene? No! It means halt in progress of this Christian civilization; it means instead of striving to build all men up, that many times, we must struggle over the same ground; no new heights gained. It means a distrust and a final ruin. Now, you have passed your opinion, hear ours:—We believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. We believe in law and order,

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(From over)

and anything else is a mess and a disgrace to civilization. We believe that the end of the long lane is in sight and rough will be the latter end, because God and the law are forgotten. We believe that the right understanding between real men, Christian men, of both races or all races, will stop these painful things. We believe that even in the city of Tulsa, if the Christian forces had wanted to preserve the law and maintain order, that "The gate would have been closed before the horse walked out." We believe that instead of the Negro suspicioning destruction of a human life without the diction of the law, that all the citizens of the city would have been at the jail for the preservation of the law and equity. We can't believe in the Christians, who will go to rest while ruffians trample justice under feet. We believe, that each state ought to stop electing lawmakers and begin punishing these law breakers, or they should turn every fellow loose to "root little pig or die poor." Why would you puzzle your brain for systematic government, then break sacredness of your own vow? We don't know whether the man was guilty or not and according to your own law, you say, 'no man is guilty unless he has been tried and found so by the evidence given in the case,' then your law names the punishment for the crimes; then further than that, you make the law and if it is not strong enough, you have the power to change it; then in the face of all this authority, you run mad and say that the facts of law are not worth the paper on which it is written. We feel sorry for the dead nd their relatives on both sides, but ot as much as we do for the conditions of the minds of those left, because, there never will exist a feeling f brotherly love, nor the spirit of neighbors taught in our lesson last Sunday. No country can last long grappling at each others throats and still it is better to die in riot than be lynched single, because somebody and God will see that you desired prtection and did your best. But why should there be either? All are Christians or should be, and under same flag: the stars and stripes and King Emanuel's and neither demonstrates destruction for humanity, property nor rights and yet we organize to destroy. You may last at this work, but your iniquities will follow [redacted] you will be called a generation of vipers, fleeing from the wrath of God It is better to stop and counsel than fall and regret "God is not mocked, whatsoever a man sow, that shall he also reap."

## TULSA RACE WAR

New York Despatch 6/3/21

Tulsa adds another page to the already barbarous history of Oklahoma, when, on Wednesday, June 1st, State troops, using machine-guns, and police officers with pistols and clubs, beat and killed a half a hundred or more colored Americans, and the rough whites set fire to the colored section of that city. While we deceitfully acclaim "DEMOCRACY" and "LOCAL SELF-DETERMINATION" the dominant race in America treats colored people just about as the Russian treated the Jews and their women in "POGROMS" at Kishineff.

The only bits of irony and shame which Oklahoma has not wreaked upon the colored people of that State is that the POLICE and STATE GUARDS have not yet desecrated a colored Virgin at the very ALTAR before the eyes of its congregation, as the Russians are accused of having done to Jewish women. Whenever the whites go to a jail to take a colored prisoner the keys are turned over to the mob, but when one or two colored friends of an unfortunate lose their heads and demand some explanation in the Bourbon States the police power immediately call out reserves to hold their prisoner. If a State can hold a prisoner safe in one case it ought to be able to do so in the other. Probably 100 colored persons have been shot down and burned in Tulsa. Their property destroyed, while constituted authority offered little or no protection, but, in fact, took sides with the murderers and lawless. The Governor of Oklahoma ought to be impeached, and the National Guard of that State court-martialled, for their lying flimsy statements for their persecution and murder. It has never failed, and history is only repeating itself. Whenever a President of the nation "COW-TOWED" to the rebels of civilization, burning shame has followed in the wake.

N. Y. C. POST
JUNE 3, 1921

## The Lynching Spirit to Blame

As the smoke clears at Tulsa one fact becomes plain. The riot which caused thirty deaths and destruction of property of the value of $1,500,000 did not begin as a race riot. The outbreak was due to a rumor that a negro was going to be lynched. The rumor may or may not have been true. What counts is that it should have been started—and credited.

Here is the real cause of Tulsa's day and night of madness, the real fault which she needs to eradicate. It is of importance that the Mayor and other officials did not act with the vigor which they should have displayed, but the core of the situation is the existence of a latent spirit of lynching. By some means or other Tulsa and all other communities must rid themselves of that criminal tendency. The arrest or the confession of a negro must cease to be the signal for an attempt to kill him. The mere rumor of such an attempt can do no great harm in a community where the desire to take the law into its own hands has been superseded by respect for judicial processes. Tulsa's revulsion to-day over her deeds of yesterday will be of lasting value in proportion as it includes repudiation of the lynching spirit—a repudiation that should not be confined to either Tulsa or Oklahoma.

DETROIT MICH JOURNAL
JUNE 3, 1921

## Throwing Stones at Tulsa

We are too far from the scores of dead and the blocks of burned homes in Tulsa, Oklahoma, to be sure of analysis of the bloody race riots which have lifted that town out of obscurity.

All that seems clear is that two groups of men, of different race but of the same citizenship, took arms and formed themselves into bands, that there was much shooting, that there may be nearly 100 dead, that many homes in the Negro district have been burned.

Many suggestions will be made to explain the cause of this. It is rumored that a Negro had been placed under arrest, and that other Negroes feared he would be lynched and therefore made a demonstration. Some may think the aggressiveness of this body of Negroes might have been the fruit of radical agitation among them. Radical agitators have been busy among ill-informed colored people in America, as they have been busy among uneducated and over-educated white folks.

Whatever the cause of this upheaval in Tulsa, the upheaval is deplorable. We can be sure that no people feel more keenly its deplorableness than the law-abiding folk of Tulsa, of every race and nationality. Without doubt this clash of mobs has brought the usual mob result, in the suffering and death of non-combatants and of innocent people.

It is better for Americans outside of Tulsa, instead of throwing more stones at her battered windows, to take some general warning from this frightful event. Americans of every race, when they are normal, take pride in being judicial, tolerant, free from what we sometimes speak of as Tory prejudices, free from what we sometimes speak of as Parisian excitability. And the normal American, under normal conditions, is judicial and tolerant. His heroes are heroes of constitutional right, heroes of the square deal.

But—to hold ourselves strictly to American standards, we must at this time guard against many busybodies who are trying to divide our people, to make trouble between Americans, to plant in our twentieth century minds old seeds of distrust.

It is the Twentieth Century. But here is a disgruntled pro-German, trying to revive old anti-British feelings which ceased to flourish before the end of the Eighteenth Century. Here and there we see freakish but emphatic efforts to revive old religious prejudices, conflicts of the darkest ages. And of course there are always the agitators of the type of Mr. Haywood, now of Moscow, working for division, and preying upon the ignorance which prevails among so many of our unlettered and so many of our literary classes.

Tulsa, burning and bloody, shows what can happen when Americans of any race forget their tolerance, forget their constitution, forget the Square Deal. We must cling to Square Deal principles every moment, or we shall sink. We must be ruled by justice, or we shall be ruled by medieval religious prejudice, or prehistoric racial antipathy, or the claptrap slogans of a mythical class war. Instead of merely idly throwing stones at Tulsa, let us mourn with all the good white and black people of Tulsa, and see that we do not deserve to have stones thrown at us.

OKLAHOMA OKLA OKLAHOMAN
JUNE 3, 1921

## HELP THE REFUGEES.

AN appeal has been made to Oklahoma City negroes to contribute money or clothing to help the members of their race who emerged from the Tulsa riot as orphans or widows and those whose homes were destroyed in the conflagration that followed.

But why confine the appeal to the negroes?

Let the appeal go forth also to the white people of Oklahoma City and of the whole state.

If aid is needed by relatives of white victims of the riot, let funds be provided for them, also.

At this time, let us remember but one thing—human beings are suffering. Many of them are innocent victims of an insane rage.

It is true that the skins of most of the victims are black, but the victims are American citizens. They were not protected by the community which should have given them protection. Now that they are homeless, they surely should be helped.

The law-abiding citizens of Tulsa unquestionably deplore the tragedy and they no doubt realize that, strictly speaking, upon the shoulders of Tulsa should rest the burden of helping the refugees. But, just as the disaster was overwhelming, so also temporarily is the task of caring for the victims. Bartlesville and other cities not far from Tulsa are already providing for some of the refugees. But it would be well if every county in the state would help.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots - 1921

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla)

## THAT TULSA RIOT

Baptist Vanguard 6/2

Vanguard readers have read from the daily press dispatches what was going on in Tulsa, Oklahoma. We do not care to depict the awful scenes; it is enought to read about them and remember them. It is hard to believe that white people who know the Negro must live here with them as fellow citizens—fellow soldiers— fellow-sufferers— can wreak such vengeance upon a practically helpless race. When they do it, they show the brute and barbarism in them, worse perhaps than in the Negro.

Of course, this i snot the whole white race doing this; it is that floating element, that ruthless character, that Bolshevistic spirit now bent on orson, rapine and murder, whether upon prosperous Negroes or wealthy white people. The good wealthy white people are bearing the shame and paying the damages. We are told that the very best white people of Tulsa opened their bed rooms and dining roms to the best of our race who lost all their effects in the fearful blood shed and haulicost. We note white people have made a start already to rebuild the colored district and restore the great losses at the expense of the city.

But we too have to answer for our part in that untoward, unhuman affair. It is the general understanding that the "shooting up" was started by Negroes; while people kept quiet till the Negroes had practically shot away all their ammunition, shooting up into the air etc; that we too have a lawless element, and this element usually brings on the race troubles we have to face, along with the lawless element of the white race. Hence, the best white people and the best colored people are having to stand for a lot of trouble precipitated by the lawless elements on both sides. The Gazette dispatch said, one morning that the whole thing was brought on by an impudent Negro, a hysterical girl (white) and a yellow journal reported Volumes could be written and publization. We must contribute our share of the trouble and expect our share of the glory.

NEW BRUNSWICK N J HOME NEWS
JUNE 2, 1921

### THE TULSA RACE WAR

The whole country is shocked at the bitter fighting that has broken out between whites and blacks in Tulsa, Oklahoma, and which up to last evening had run up a total of eighty-five deaths. Incidents of this sort are a blot upon the name and reputation of the entire country and as such there is a universal interest in them.

Sentiment throughout the whole country has been growing more and more strongly opposed to lynchings and other persecutions of late, and even States which formerly were hotbeds of negro persecution have developed a strong sentiment in favor of fair play.

Reports from Tulsa, however, seem to indicate that the present rioting was not started by an attempted lynching or other persecution but by an attempt on the part of the negroes to rescue one of their number who had been arrested by duly constituted authorities for the alleged commission of a crime. If this be true, it will be one of the most serious blows that could be delivered to the movement for fair play for the colored race. Negroes who resort to such tactics are the worst enemies of their own race.

PITTSBURG PA. DISPATCH
JUNE 2, 1921

### A Clear Head Needed

The race rioting in Oklahoma is the natural product of racial relations common to Southern and Southwestern States and without admitting pessimistic influences may be defined as a forerunner of more serious disturbances unless racial relations are subjected to rational modification. While there is enough in the news accounts of the origin of the Tulsa outbreak to explain it as an incident of disorder, it is idle to blink the fact that were racial contact different, circumstances would not have shaped themselves so recklessly. In States and cities where law is enforced and where discrimination because of race or color is not habitual, there is an absence of demonstrations such as that in Oklahoma that is significant.

Negro mobs do not storm jails to rescue Negro prisoners charged with serious crimes as is charged against them at Tulsa. Nor do white men organize armed mobs and apply the torch indiscriminately to dwellings in Negro quarters because a few Negroes have momentarily disregarded their duty towards the law. There was a suspicious promptness about the organization of the mob to destroy the Negro quarters and the failure of the authorities to curb the insurrection. The Governor of Oklahoma has a solemn duty to pursue in addition to sending troops to the disturbed zone for the protection of the law abiding—to prosecute a stern investigation into every phase of what might easily have been a much more serious clash, although the loss of life and destruction of property marks it as desperate.

N. Y. C. POST
JUNE 2, 1921

### The Nation's Problem

Tulsa has added a ghastly chapter to the record of a national disgrace. Whatever may be the charges rightfully brought against the people of the South in connection with other phases of the negro problem, in this matter of sanguinary race wars the reproach and the responsibility bear down upon all of us. It is not at all in the solid South, but in Lincoln's own State of Illinois, that the worst record of race passion has been written—in Springfield, in East St. Louis, and in Chicago. The State of Pennsylvania has its own Coatesville to remind it not to point too readily the finger of scorn at the States of the solid South. Old Free-Soil Nebraska has had its Omaha. Oklahoma is much more a Northern than a Southern State. In 1910 it had over 1,500,000 whites against a little more than 200,000 negroes. Tulsa's shame is a national shame.

The disgrace and menace of race war are all the harder to bear because race war comes too often as the accompaniment of negro progress. The best friends of the negro have advised him that his future and security lie in the development of his own economic and cultural resources. As the negro prospered it was believed that the points of social friction with his white neighbors would be reduced. But that cheerful belief is hard to maintain. If the negro worker's increasing prosperity is only to bring upon him the jealousy of the white worker, and if the rise of prosperous negro communities, like the one at Tulsa, is to breed new economic jealousies and hatreds, we are evidently face to face with a new difficulty. It must be recognized, too, that with the negro's rise in prosperity and self-confidence he is less likely to accept what he may consider as harsh or unjust treatment. If the story is confirmed that the troubles at Tulsa began with the gathering of a negro crowd upon the report of the threatened lynching of a colored man, it is evident that we have here a new danger point in contacts between whites and colored people.

The problem essentially is one of efficient government and administration. Those States need the most efficient enforcement of public order where large and thriving negro communities exist, with an inevitable accentuation of racial rivalries. If State and local officials cannot work out a solution of the problem, an irresistible demand will arise for national action to deal with what is fast becoming a national menace and dishonor.

NEW HAVEN CONN COURIER
JUNE 2, 1921

### Race Prejudice In A Democracy.

OUTBREAKS between whites and blacks in American cities are now well defined and expected occurrences. Tulsa, Okla., where some 75 people of both races are reported dead in a city of some 72,000 people. It lies close to the southern district where the attitude of contempt is calculated to foster, not diminish outbreaks. One must read the journals of the colored people and attend their meetings to understand how changed is their view toward the white and toward the discriminations and injustices to which they are subjected. Whites have so insisted on defining and separating the blacks; and the rights of the latter, including political, have been so disregarded that the blacks are desperate. If a cry is raised by anybody that a black man has insulted a woman in a southern city, whether true or not the black's doom is sealed. It may be that the black has but protested tardy payment of wages. Often the charge is false or some trifling incident explains the assault which in turn may be trifling. And yet it means death for the unfortunate black. In Tulsa the reports say reprisals for a suspected crime took the form of armed automobile parties shooting up the negro districts. In the old days such shameless dealings were accepted meekly; it is important for whites to understand with the World War that day has passed. The black man feels he is against the wall and his newspapers, even his pulpit to some extent, tell him to defend himself. And into a carnival of violence the negro can throw himself with a good deal of effectiveness. He will be overpowered, but not without inflicting damage.

Race prejudice—nothing else—explains this bloody chapter into which we are now entering. It seems strange with our boasted democracy that whole cities should agree to make war, using the black skin as the mark of the foe. The only cure is a national sentiment and policy that ranks a man by what he is, not what his color is. We must do justice to this people; then there may be an approach, but not until then. Religion, American principles, freedom, kindness all call us to deal with black, even criminals, as with white men. To permit ignorance, hatred, the spirit of adventure to conjure up a devil whenever anything happens that can be laid to a negro's charge is to drive these 12,000,000 to a solid mass, that, working from their areas and cities, can greatly convulse the nation.

It would be well if in every city in preparation for the strained situations which are

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(From Over)

sure to arise, in view of the affirmative attitude the blacks are taking, there were committees, or better, permanent social and friendly groups which multiply points of contact, co-operate for the encouragement and organization of the colored people and endeavor to meet their reasonable wishes. New Haven might well make a beginning. There are injustices here that could be abated by a little intercession. There are well disposed colored leaders. Now is the time to set up the machinery of good will and co-operation. And even more urgent is the frowning down of him who wilfully insults or oppresses a colored man because he is not white. This is not only contemptible but it is un-American and it is fast becoming dangerous.

CHICAGO ILL JOURNAL—
JUNE 2 1921

## The Race Riots at Tulsa

In 1920, three persons, all negroes, were lynched in Oklahoma. The Tulsa riot has surpassed that death list twenty-fold already, according to the best accounts available, and whether the end of that outbreak has come or still lies far in the future, no one knows.

A negro brute, so the story goes, attacked a white girl. He was caught, and the authorities, mindful of our American tendency to form mobs, spirited him away for safe keeping until a trial could be held. But a mob formed, none the less. A white policeman tried to disarm a negro civilian, the colored man resisted, and was shot. In a little while, a white man was killed, probably in blind reprisal. Then the firing became general, about a hundred persons are reported dead, thirty blocks of the negro quarter, inhabited by persons against whom no charge is made, have been burned to the ground. Martial law has been proclaimed, and at the moment of writing, "order" of a sort has been restored. It may last while the presses are printing these lines—or may not.

No one defends or even apologizes for the black scoundrel whose crime started this outbreak—but why was it necessary to resort to civil war to punish a single criminal? The white race controls Oklahoma, fills the offices, makes and administers the laws. It has made rape punishable by death, and was perfectly able to assess and carry out the penalty in an orderly manner. Instead, survey the smoking ruins and count the corpses of men and women who had nothing whatever to do with the original crime.

It never seems to occur to our excitable crowds that, just as a matter of protecting one's own women, the resort to mob violence is a failure. The British West Indies have the same race problem that confronts our own south, and has spread during the last few years to every industrial part of the United States. In every one of those islands, the whites are a minority; in Jamaica, they are an insignificant minority. This is a much more difficult situation than is found in most of this country, even in the south—yet lynching is unknown in the British West Indies, and black assaults on white women are unknown too. The orderly enforcement of the law has proved an incomparably better safeguard to womanhood than all our orgies of wild vengeance.

In the light of recent history, Chicago has no right to point the finger of scorn at any community for race rioting. But as a city which has passed through a bitter and costly experience, Chicago is in a position to sound a warning against mob violence. The occasion to riot which came to Tulsa may come to other communities, north as well as south. The whole nation needs to take a vow of rigid self-control and stern, unsparing justice.

TOPEKA KAN CAPITAL
JUNE 3, 1921

## TULSA'S MOB BATH

Tulsa appears to have come out of its fit of mob rule more quickly and with a clearer sense of its disgrace than is ordinarily the case in a debauch of race hatred. Possibly national prohibition may have some relation to this quick recovery of sanity.

"Tulsa", the chamber of commerce thru its president announces to an on-looking world, "feels intensely humiliated, and standing in the shadow of this great tragedy, pledges its every effort to wiping out the stain at the earliest possible moment and to punishing those guilty of bringing the disgrace and disaster to this city".

It is unfortunate for a city to obtain fame for such orgies or savage rioting as convulsed Tulsa for two days. They do not pay. Race violence never has paid and no city has abandoned itself to such outbreaks without later paying a heavy penalty and realizing how costly such anarchy must always be.

If Tulsa is prompt in fulfilling the promise made by her chamber of commerce she will come out of the most unfortunate episode in her history with less discredit than many cities. Yet repentance and restitution are not a cure of the evil of race violence in the United States and of mob rule. Prevention is the only true remedy, and this is a hard problem in education.

## A Night of Blood and Orgy

St. Louis Argus 6/3/21.

As we read the account of the battle between the Negroes and the whites at Tulsa, Oklahoma, we can't but wonder what the future has in store for the two races if we are here to dwell. No one will say that conditions as they now exist can continue very long. The best minds of the nation see there is danger ahead. No groups of people can peacefully live together and hate each other. The only reason why that it has come as near so, relatively to the white and the colored in America, is because the colored people have failed to think for themselves. While it is true that we are few in number and as a rule, the mobs outnumber us a hundred to one, it is nevertheless a fact that we ourselves are largely responsible for allowing these mobs to feed in their lust and bloodthirst upon Negro quarters.

The Negroes in Tulsa are just like they are in most places. They were not prepared for such an attack. They had such few guns and other protection in their homes. At least we assume that to be the case, when we hear that members of the mob invaded their homes shot down in cold blood, many while their hands were in the air. We can't conceive that a Negro could have any kind of weapon of defense and allow a mob to walk into his castle.

A vivid picture of the whole scene comes rushing before our mind's eye. We see the innocent babies and mothers slain while holding up a flag of truce and we see the heartless coward of a bloodthirsty mob with no bowels of compassion. Yea, worst than the heathens. Then we wonder again, where is our God. As we thus pray, we think of the founders of this nation who prayed but kept their gunpowder dry. This ought to be a solemn warning to the Colored people. We are thinking of the words of Patrick Henry, who said, "Give me liberty or give me death." That's the spirit with which to meet a mob. Of course, a mob may very successfully take a prisoner who is handcuffed and chained from a faithless officer, with impunity, but when a mob comes marching up to your door, then is the time to show your manhood, for as a rule a mob is made up of cowards, and a few bullets in their midst have mighty persuasive power.

We are mindful of the battle of San Jaun. We are thinking of the cruelties that the Spaniards imposed upon the Cubans which caused Uncle Sam to open his bowels of compassion and send the "Maine" in the Spanish waters. We are wondering where is an Uncle Sam that will hear the cries of the innocent women and children at Tulsa. We are told that their cries rose above the roaring of guns and the buzzing of the airplanes. Where is an Uncle Sam that will say to American mobs "stop!"

We pray that the day will hasten on when some power will stay the hand of the American mob. In the meanwhile let the Negroes who are so cruelly treated think for himself. Think! Think!! Think!!!

N Y C EVE WORLD
JUNE 3, 1921

## THE HOPEFUL FIGURE.

RACE RIOTS in Omaha, East St. Louis, Chicago and now in Tulsa have occurred under all degrees of segregation of negroes.

In Tulsa the segregation was unusually sharp. Obviously, race segregation is not an adequate preventive of trouble.

Richard Lloyd Jones, a trained observer on the spot, who described conditions in The World yesterday, attributed the disgraceful riots to the failure of the police to act at the psychological moment when the "bad black men" might have been arrested and disarmed before serious trouble started.

Just one hopeful and encouraging paragraph differentiates despatches from Tulsa from accounts of similar disturbances in other cities:

> "Only one negro walks the streets of Tulsa to-night unhampered. He is Barney Cleaver, negro Deputy Sheriff, and well regarded by both whites and negroes. Not one of the rioters has turned a hand against the peace-loving negro, and he is the only one of his race who ventures on the street without armed guard."

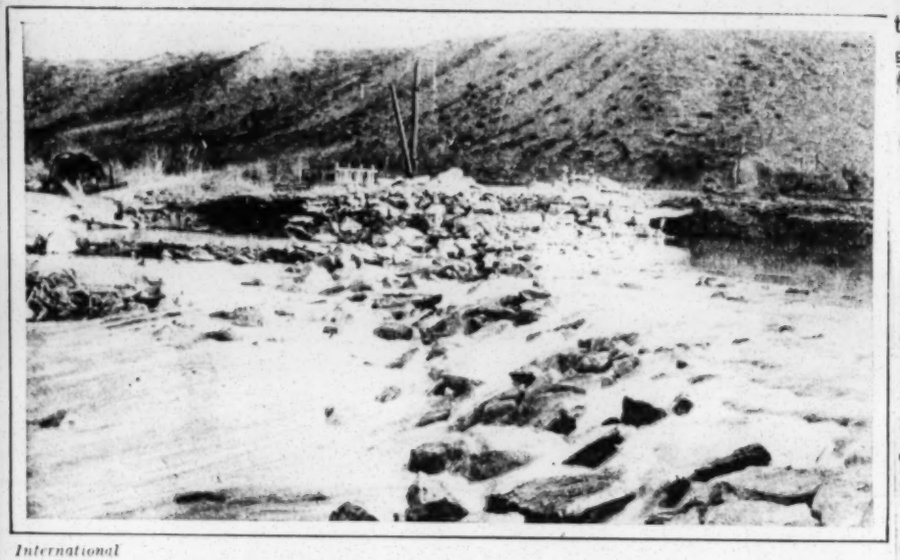
If America is ever to solve her race question Barney Cleaver points the way. There must be many "peace-loving" men, black and white, "well regarded by both whites and negroes."

They must stand guard always and prevent race war. They must provide centres of mobilization for moderate public opinion wherever and whenever race war threatens.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

Riots-1921

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.



*International*

**Hundreds are dead, thousands are homeless, and millions of dollars in property lost, in the floods that covered the city of Pueblo, Colorado. It started with a cloudburst, which was followed by the overflowing of the Arkansas River, and the breaking of dams that held irrigation reservoirs. The accumulated flood swept over the city**

*International*

**What is left of the once prosperous negro section of Tulsa, Oklahoma, when the rioters had done their work—a devastated area of a square mile, with a property loss of over $1,500,000, and thirty people known to be killed. The riot was the worst that has arisen from race antagonism in the history of the state**

MAN AND NATURE

Literary Digest 6/18/21

## MUSKOGEE, OKLA.

By J. E. Mason 6/24/21

Topeka Plain Dealer

Death is still with us. It took this week the following: Mrs. E. N. Earnest of this city, Messrs. Allen Lewis, H. Johnson and Hodges. Also Steve Lowery at Haskell.

The two agents that obstruct our progress, is our inability to interpretate the real purpose of the white man and the need of a race church.

We are the only race that allows the preacher to lead in all things. The white man has selected him to lead the Negro. This is because of this foolish, humble, cowardly meekness.

Now Muskogee, Wagoner, Sapulpa Okmulgee and other leading cities are to have organized armies of destruction, it may be that the Negro will understand his status in this country. Lead us in prayer, brother Eph.

Pueblo, had no providential bearing on the race riot at Tulsa. Just an old chestnut used by the superstitious and ignorant to make it appear that God is fighting the cause of the Negro.

Topeka Plain Dealer 6/24/21

The race problem will become intensified in proportion to Negro progress in this country.

No, the Negroes will not leave Tulsa. They did not leave Chicago, E. St Louis, Elaine, Longview now why should they leave Tulsa? They fought like men and won the respect of all red-blooded men. The greatest loss was the homes, otherwise, they are ahead.

Stradford is an innocent man. It town during the excitement that his was planned to scare him out of property might be confiscated. Indictment made and he be scooped into the electric chair.

Well, fellows; the course is plain Stay here and heed contention or go to another country. Say, Mexico, S. America or Africa. Take your choice. To stay means ultimate destruction, to go means to start all over again, but leave to your children a heritage that will enable them to stand among the races of the world. Take your choice.

Topeka Plain Dealer 6/24/21

The Tulsa race battle should teach the Negro his real status in this country, the cause of the race trouble is, the unscrupulous politician who has ever used the Negro to ride into power and the bovine submissiveness on the part of the Negro, caused by an ignorant conception of the Bible.

## SAYS 200 WERE KILLED IN TULSA, OKLA., RIOTS

**Investigator For National Association For The Advancement Of Colored People Returns From Oklahoma To New York**

Herald-Commonwealth 6/15/21

Walter P. White, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, returned today after a personal investigation of the recent race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, saying that between 150 and 200 Negroes were killed in the riots and at least 50 white persons.

Mr. White declared that the riot was largely due to a misuse of the word "attack" and "assault," the impression being given that a colored man had attempted rape upon a white girl, where as he had merely stumbled in an elevator and in attempting to recover his balance stepped upon her foot.

"Having been sworn in as a deputy sheriff and having been on patrol as such during the Tulsa riot," said Mr. White today, "I am able to state that the Tulsa riot in sheer brutality and wilful destruction of life and property stands without a parallel in America.

"Abuse and misuse of the word assault caused the entire conflagration. A white girl operating an elevator in a public building, declared that a colored boy had attempted to assault her. Without stopping to inquire, and without considering the utter imposibility of criminal asault being perpetrated in broad open daylight in the public elevator of a public building, on a principal street of a town of 100,000, a senseless mob set out to 'avenge the honor of white womanhood.'

"As a result between 200 and 250 white and colored citizens are known to have been killed, an unknown number of colored men and women and children were burned alive, 44 square blocks of business and residential property valued at a million and one-half dollars were destroyed and everlasting damage done to the name of Tulsa and of Oklahoma.

"In justice to Tulsa it must be said hat a large percentage of the white inhabitants conndemned in unmeasured terms the outrage which has been perpetrated. The Salvation Army, the Red Cross, local relief agencies and churches have done commendable work in providing food clothing and shelter for the destitute victims of the riot.

"Tulsa's experience is exceedingly important in that conditions which led to its night of terror exist in many other cities North and South and unless unusual efforts are used the gravest consequences are to be feared. Some of the white citizens of Tulsa are attempting to blame the riot on Negro 'radicalism.' When I questioned them regarding the nature of this radicalism I found invariably that it consisted of demands by Negroes that the Federal Constitution be enforced and that lynching, peonage, disfranchisement and jim-crowism be abolished.

"There will be a state investigation of the riot, but in the opinion of the citizens of Tulsa it will amount to nothing. The Tulsa riot has convinced me that the only hope of averting repetitions of it lies in federal interference."

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### CHURCH HELPS TULSA

St. John A. M. E. Church, Lexington street, near Pine, has sent the sum of one huidred dollars to aid the Tulsa, kla., riot victims. The new **A. M. E. Church, costing over $30,000, was one of the many fine structures belonging to colored people** that were destroyed. A letter from Bishop J. Albert Johnson has been **received commending the congregation** for its prompt response to the general appeal for help.

### JUSTICE VS "RACE EQUALITY".

Vanguard 6/23/21

We read a very interesting editorial in the "Tulsa Morning World" quite recently, on the recent riots in Tulsa, and what came of them "The World" took the position that the Negroes could have hardly expected anything less than what they got, in view of the fact that the white race is superior to the black race, and that such a thing as "race equality" cannot exist aywhere in the world, between any two races, whether black and white, or white and white.

The Vanguard does not contend for " race equality" nor "social equality". Right here is where the newspapers and the politicians beg the question in matters of race friction, race disputes, and even race riots, the question of "equality" and "inferiority" should not enter. In each case, it is purely a question of justice. There are no two people in the entire world who are mathematically equal from every standpoint. But justice is supposed to mete out equally for all men and all

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(From over)

races. It is by the standard of justice that "all creeds, conduct and opinions, should be tried". All matters of "social equality" should be settled per se.

The white race is a wonderful race in very many respects. It has given to the world the most of the world's modern civilization, discoveries and inventions. It has given the world the most of its freedom, laws, regulations, and improvements. That puts the white man ahead of most races of the world. But it does not excuse the white man from the laws and standards of justice which he himself has set. He too, should be as amenable to his own laws as any other race. This is all the Negro asks for in the race course of life, in the struggle of the races. It ought to be expected that a Negro will get nothing less than justice at the hands of the white man, whether that Negro is fighting or playing, whether he is boxing or wrestling. The white race, in view of its "superior" position among the races of earth, can hardly afford to be less than fair when these contests and trials shall come. That will do more to prove its "superiority" to the Negro than any possible unfair means that can be thought of, to settle these interracial questions.

We admit that the Negro race has its bad element. As a race, we are furnishing too large a quota of crime and criminals, as compared with other races, when we consider our inferior numbers, our inferior age, our inferior resource. In spight of our race-consciousness as to " who we are," we are beating the world in misbehavior, in certain parts of the world, and at certain times of the year. We are noisy, vindictive, "back-firy" and everything else bad that any other race is. But what of that when the test comes? It ought to be nothing more than a joke for the white man to teach the right lesson to the Negro at the last stage of the game; but he ought to be willing in every case to teach it by law. The white man's superiority, and the Negro's inferiority both demand that, and nothing less than that will satisfy justice; for justice is superior to any race, creed or color. In all interracial matters, the white man should be willing to ask, "What is written in the law?" "How readest thou?" He should be willing to ask these questions in any trial, because he made the laws; and because the Negro is "inferior?" to him. Should not the law, and even justice apply to all alike? Should the question of race parity be allowed to figure, when a white man burns the home of a Negro any more than if that white man should have done violence to the home of a white man? If so, then the white man's own law is seriously defective.

—N. Y. C. MAIL
JUNE 21, 1921

## Giving Negroes Bad Advice.

Wrong both in principle and policy is the advic which Editor W. A. Domingo, of the negro journa "The Emancipator," gives his people. "If it be gun we will reply with guns.' He urges retaliation as means of combating such injustices as that whic recently occurred at Tulsa.

This sort of talk should be discouraged, and b the wiser leaders of the colored people themselve most helpfully. We do not want race warfare i our country; it would be a hideous thing and run t conditions of suffering and massacre of which al humanity must be ashamed. Retaliation woul bring on race warfare and make bigotry genera where now it is only isolated, with its victims few in number compared with the millions who are living happily, possessing a fair chance of self-improvement under conditions steadily growing better.

The colored race, numbering but a scant tenth of our pulation and in most of the states a far less proportion, is not strong enough to engage in civil war even if there existed just cause. There is no such cause.

The influences behind race prejudice, even where the latter does its worst harm, have a source which violence cannot possibly overcome and which our laws and customs are more and more operating to ameliorate.

All the tendencies of peace, education and a higher standard of living for workers are in the direction of gradually adjusting a racial difference brought into America long years ago by the evil institution of slavery.

In this movement time is indispensable. Returning lawlessnes for lawlessness could only make yet more lawlessness, just as the ly[illegible]hings we have had to read about in Georgia and South Carolina do more to increase crime than to check it.

American public opinion, notwithstanding the outrages which individuals sometimes commit, stands strongly today behind justice for the negro. Why adopt a line of conduct that would inevitably break this fortunate situation? It would be suicidal toward all the hope we have for tranquil realization of Ezekiel's prophecy, "I will make them one nation in the land."

## What B. T. W. Said.

CINCINNATI OHIO UNION
JUNE 18, 1921

The Appeal states that the late Booker T. Washington in a speech before the National Business League in Oklamhoma in 1913 told the Colored people there not to worry about being segregated but to build up the sections which had been assigned to them and they would make friends and be respected by the whites"

The one great lesson to be learned from the horrible affair at Tulsa is that segregation and herding together ar dangerous. The Jews have found it so in Europe, because it makes the work of the mobs easier. The fate of a Colored people wipes out the theories of Washington, Moton & Company.

## THE TULSA, OKLA., MASSACRE.

Cotton —x— Farmer

Bishop Haygood, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, who years ago went to his Heavenly rest, in his book entitled: OUR BROTHER IN BLACK, among other things, wrote as follows: "This much to me is clear: until God's hand in this whole history is recognized, neither the men of the North nor the men of the South will or can make the right use of the negro's freedom.

"There can be no question, I think but that emancipation was set down in the order of divine providence..... If the hand of God were fully and devoutly recognized by all parties—by the people of the North—by the people of the South, and by the negroes—only the happiest results would follow. When this truth shines clearly upon us all there will be peace and brotherhood. This truth will drive out passion and prejudice .....When we of the south recognize, as we ought to, the providence of God in the emancipation of the negroes, most gracious results will follow in us The spirit of resignation to God's will in this matter will go further than anything conceivable by me to reconcile us to the instrument employed by that Providence. Such a spirit would go far to banish whatever "wrath and bitterness there may be in us. It will broaden our views; it will fit us to a higher plane of thought and sentiment and conduct.

"When the negroes come to see, as I trust they may, that God set them free, only using men and their counsels as his instruments, then a new and holier feeling will come into their hearts.....The emancipated negro can never have the right conscience in his freedom, can never realize in his inmost soul the responsibilities of his freedom. can never perform aright the duties of free citizenship, can never work out the divine plan of his destiny, until he sees clearly and feels profoundly that God, the Father and King of Men, bestowed upon him this fearful but glorious gift of freedom."

Good citizens everywhere deplore the recent massacre of our people in Tulsa, Oklahoma, as they deplore it everywhere it happens. **The trouble is the good people of both races in the United States undertake to sustain the evil doings of the vicious of each race—the white people sustaining the mean vicious white person—just as though all white people are angels on earth—and our people (negroes) sympathizing and foolishly undertaking to sustain the evil deeds of the vicious and sinful of our race. There must come a change on the part of the good of both races or else no community is safe from an eruption. When such eruptions come only the substantial citizens, white and black suffer loss for the others have nothing to lose. It is high time in eyes to the wrong of their own group and quit sacrifices valuable lives and valuable property for some individual of a group utterly worthless.**

We are going to need all our resources to defend ourselves against the common enemy. Other nations have designs on us and this paper believes that ere long the Southern tier of states will have to bear the brunt of the conflict between Uncle Sam and some foreign power. The Southern white and the Southern Colored man, will have to defend the air, the soil and the sea shore against the common enemy. We have nothing to waste.

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Riots — 1921.

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

# VIEWS and REVIEWS

By James Weldon Johnson, Contributing Editor

## A ROMAN HOLIDAY IN TULSA.

New York Age 6/11/21

Tulsa, Oklahoma went mad last week and sated its insane hatred of the Negro in murder and arson. It grew penitent the next day, according to press dispatches, but penitence however sincere cannot undo what has been done.

The press in general has condemned this orgy of hate and brutality but most of the newspapers which have condemned the mob have accepted without question the account sent out from Tulsa as to the origin of the trouble. For example, so fair a paper as the Chicago "Daily News" begins its editorial on the Tulsa race riot with the following sentences:

> "There was a repitition of the old story in the Tulsa race riot. An atrocious crime by a vicious Negro, rumors of a lynching, preparations to resist it, a collision between a few rough and lawless armed whites and a few blacks of the same type—and mob psychology did the rest."

The exact truth about how the trouble in Tulsa started is not yet known but it soon will be. But even now, before the real facts are known, I am willing to say that they are not the facts as laid down in the "Daily News" editorial.

The reports that came out from Tulsa stated that the original cause of the riot was an "attack made by a colored man on a white girl." What is this word "attack" supposed to mean? I have heretofore in these columns pointed out the loose way in which the word is used in similar reports. An "attack" on a white woman by a colored man may, in the South, mean anything from so-called insolence to rape, but the general construction placed upon it is rape or at least attempted rape. Perhaps it is for this very reason that this loose word is so generally used in these reports that come up from the South—because under it any sort of offense from brushing against a white woman on the sidewalk on up will be taken by the reading public to mean a criminal assault in some degree against a white woman.

The Associated Press dispatches stated that this "attack" by a colored man was made in the elevator of a department store. If this statement is true, the mere thought is absurd that there was anything like "an atrocious crime" involved in whatever the offense was.

Nor was there any ground to conclude that the fighting started from "a collision between a few rough and lawless armed whites and a few blacks of the same type." The probabilities are that the colored men who armed themselves and went down around the jail were not lawless and had no lawless intent. Even from the meagre details given in the newspapers it is more reasonable to conclude that they went to the jail armed for the purpose of upholding the law and to prevent a lynching.

This Tulsa riot falls in with the new class of race riots. It belongs in the class with Longview, Washington and Chicago. It differs from the old class of riots in that the Negroes who died in it were not killed by being shot in the back while they were running. Negro hunting has long been a sport in the South, but when the sport was introduced into Washington and Chicago it became more of a game than a sport, and both sides scored. It appears now that Negro hunting has ceased to be merely a one-sided sport even in the South.

There will be many people, and large numbers of them well wishers of the Negro, who will be greatly perturbed at this turn of affairs. We agree with these people that the situation is lamentable, but what are people confronted by a mob bent on murder and arson to do? Should they run to the cover of their homes only to have them burned down over their heads or should they make a stand and defend their lives and their property? The answer to this question is too apparent to need a second thought. There are friends of the Negro who sincerely believe that in such a situation he would more greatly strengthen his cause, create better sympathy for himself and eventually win out sooner by submitting to martyrdom than by defending his life. It is, of course, easier to hold this opinion if you are not called upon to be a martyr.

In another respect the Tulsa riot went beyond those of Washington and Chicago. There were not only pitched battles in which men shot at men, but there was the burning of almost the entire colored section of the town, destroying homes, churches and schools and bringing terrible suffering upon innocent women and children. Why could not these white fiends have been satisfied with an open fight in which they far outnumbered their opponents? We venture that there was no more hellish passion loosed against the Germans in the last war than was loosed by these white citizens of Tulsa against their colored fellow citizens.

They now talk generously about making restitution and restoring what they so wantonly destroyed. It is next to impossible for them to do this. Even if they carry out what they propose it will fall far short of restitution. If they build a lot of uniform shanties or cottages in places of the houses destroyed, some colored people may get more than they lost but it is certain that most of them will get less. A real home is a thing of growth. The mere building of a house is not the making of a home. Many of these colored people of Tulsa have spent years of thought and care as well as money in making their homes, and the white people of Tulsa, no matter how generous, cannot replace them.

But even in this promise for restoration there is scented a very suspicious note. The press dispatches state that a number of these generous white citizens are inclined to think that the Negro section should not be rebuilt where it originally was, that land should be purchased to the north of the city. This leads us to wonder how much and how long has the section of the city which was occupied by colored people been coveted by the whites.

This latter phase of the Tulsa riot puts a practical obligation

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on the people of the country, especially the colored people. Not only have men been killed in the Tulsa riot but this destruction of the homes of colored people means that there will be great physicial suffering. There will be need of clothing, need of food, need of common utensils of life, and it will take money to supply these needs. Colored people in every community should form a committee and secure funds for the relief of the Tulsa riot victims. There is, however, one word of caution:

Every time something of this kind happens it is taken advantage of by hoards of petty thieving grafters to make some "easy money." Generally these grafters are men without any visible means of support. Therefore, it ought to be easy to identify the majority of them. There are others, however, not so easily placed in that classification. The rules for contributing in this case and all other cases should be not to give a single cent to any person whom you do not know to be trustworthy or who is not duly authorized by some trustworthy group or organization. Furthermore, do not contribute a single cent to any person who has heretofore collected money and has not made a public accounting for the same. Finally, it is necessary to arrange that money collected is honestly and wisely administered locally at Tulsa. To raise money for the Tulsa victims and have it go into the pockets of any individual scoundrels or to fall short of doing the greatest good for the people for whom the money was contributed would be nothing short of a crime.

Louisville News 6/11/21

## TULSA.

Last week wepromised our readers a different version of the Tulsa outrage and disgrace than that given in the daily press. True to our word we publish this week the facts as gathered by the Associated Negro Press and by a special corespondent of the New York Evening Post, white.

Both of these reports show that the cause given by the Associated Press—that of a Colored boy raping a white girl—was a myth. The real cause of the trouble was the progress and prosperity of the better element of Colored people.

It was their property that was destroyed, it was the better element of Colored people that were shot and injured. Thus proving that the arguments of the pacifists of the race that wealth and property and education and culture will solve the problem or make conditions better is all wrong The fact of the matter being that the prosperity and progressiveness of Colored people are the things that rouse the envy and jealousy and hatred of the ignorant vicious poor white man. Ku Klux Klans with their proposition of "keeping the Negro in his place" mean by that the progressive and intelligent and prosperous Colored man. What the race needs more than wealth and the material evidences of progress is the right spirit. The spirit of manhood, the spirit that demands and does not beg for its rights the spirit that refuses to compromise, the spirit that does not fear to die for the things worth while.

That is what made the Cacausian what he is—proud and self-respecting. That is what has made Japan a respected power among nations.

And it is the sacred duty of preachers and teachers to instill that spirit in the young generation of the race.

## THE DISGRACE OF TULSA.

Birmingham Reporter 6/11/21

(From the Tulsa Daily World)

Proud, matchless Tulsa comes before the bar of Christian civilization this day, and, with head bowed, the mantle of shame upon her cheek, and we sincerely hope, with deep regret in her heart, asks that she be pardoned the great offense some of her citizens committed during Tuesday night and Wednesday morning.

There is not a man worthy of the name whose heart is not afire with indignation against that which has been done. Members of a superior race, boastful of the fact, permitted themselves to degenerate into murderers and vandals; permitted themselves to deal their home community the foulest blow it has ever received in its history.

Tulsa boasted that she was not Ardmore. And now a negligible number of men have plunged the reputation of the fair city into the depths of infamy. Language is incapable of painting the wrong which has been committed against the community and its peaceful, law-abiding citizens or of expressing the indignity one inevitably feels toward men incapable of controlling their passions and their prejudices.

It is true that the pride of race as well as its prejudices is a consuming fire in the veins of every nationality. On this ground one would like, if it were at all possible, to condone or excuse the hysteria of Tuesday evening and night, when the streets of the city were suddenly transformed into a raging torrent of hate-impelled men. The imprudence of the Negroes in arming themselves and visiting the county jail permits something to be said for those who responded to the riot impulse and set out to satiate the blood lust or racial pride.

But nothing that the mind is capable of conceiving permits a word of defense or excuse for the murderous vandalism which set in at daylight the next morning. Hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of property—the homes of women and children, black in color, to be sure, but guilty of no other offense—went up in smoke Semi-organized bands of white men systematically applied the torch while others shot on sight men of color.

The colored section of the city was wiped out, and a long line of hopeless, destitute, pitiful refugees fled northward from the burning town. The German invasion of Belgium with its awful consequences was no more unjustified or characterized with any greater cruelty. In the conflagration a splendid church but recently erected and one of the handsome educational edifices of the school district was lost. To such property the vandals applied the torch to make sure of their terrible purpose.

The entire "race war" was as unjustified as it was unnecessary. Because of it Tulsa is blazoned as a community where tolerance does not exist, where the constitution of the United States can be enforced or suspended at will; where prejudice and race bigotry rule, and where law and order haltingly flexes the knee to outlawry. Ten thousand citizens have been rendered homeless and made exiles on the face of the earth!

Will Tulsa accept such a reputation willingly? Will this city tolerate such injustice—accept meekly the sudden end'ng of its dream of primacy and glory? If not, then the substantial, constructive citizenship must immediately get into action. There is but not, there cannot, be a hesitating.

## THE OKLAHOMA SLAUGHTER

Richmond Planet 6/11/21

The latest news from Tulsa, Oklahoma, the scene of the recent tragic happenings shows that the whole affair was a massacre, a slaughter of inoffensive colored people. It seems that a colored man used disrespectful language to a white girl and she got angry and excited. He did not criminally assault her .In fact the matter was not worth the time it takes to talk about it. Negro-hating white men assembled to lynch the colored youngster and colored men assembled to prevent the lynching. The report was given out that these colored men were attempting to take the colored man out of the jail, when, as a matter of fact, they were attempting to do nothing of the kind.

When the lawless white elements got busy, they exercised their antipathy to colored people by shooting down colored people, wherever seen. They then applied torches to the houses in the colored district, burning millions of dollars worth of property, much of which was insured in white insurance companies. Even a church, recently completed at a cost of eighty-five thousand dollars was burned down. Many colored people were caught like rats in a trap and burned alive. Some were said to have been thrown into the river.

Then a reaction took place. White citizens, who were employing colored people found their help gone. Fair white ladies who had formed an attachment for their colored servants aroused their husbands and fathers to action and troops were rushed in by the Governor of Oklahoma and the Mayor and other local authorities discredited. Resepctful law-abiding colored people exerted their influence and the better class of white people came to their assistance. It was too late. The damage had been done. The good name of the community had been forever besmirched and the town is virtually in sack-cloth and ashes. Now comes the investigation and talk about the punishment of the criminals.

What far-seeing white and colored people and foreseen for months and days had come to pass. The blackened waste in Tulsa, emphasized the fact that such an occurrence was liable to take place again in many other localities with the result that white people would eventually suffer along with the colored. This condition of affairs cannot be chargeable to whiskey for during the worst days of King Alcohol, no such horrible holocaust took place. Killing of colored people, as a rule has been confined to the people charged with the crime, except in the case at East St. Louis, where the same kind of racial antipathy asserted itself.

But this happening was virtually in the North. There are many remedies being suggested. The Department of Justice, at one time known to some as the Department of "Injustice" has decided to investigate the happening with a view to deciding whether a federal question is involved. But this Department has no time for this kind of business. Seven million dollars have been appropriated to prevent whiskey drinking, but not one dollar has been appropriated to prevent down-right murder. It is a pitiable condition of affairs. Colored people are an object of pity in their helplessness. It may not do to say it, but the race will some day wake up to the fact that their future is in their own hand. They must learn to protect themselves and their property and after this is done, if it causes them to take the lives of their would be murderers, let them fight on to the end and then "go shouting home to glory."

A dying drove of sheep may excite sympathy; a dying herd of lions awakens admiration. Selah.

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Riots—1921.

Editorials (Tulsa Okla.)

# The Only Solution

Houston Observer 6/4/21

This editorial will naturaly begin with the disturbance at Tulsa, Okla., as it is the latest outrage, but only oneof the many that have been perputrated upon the Negro race. And it will not be the last. Of course we are not so foolish as to hope so, but conditions are ripe for such outbreaks wherever any number of the two races mingle.

The Tulsa trouble was far worse than any scribe has pictured an the Observer shall not burden your already aching heart with further description but better still, shall try to offer a solution (and the only one) to this ever increasing racial hatred. Prepare to go back to Africa. Begin immediately to become a citizen of Liberia or some other portion of that vast continent that gave our ancestors birth. You will naturaly wonder if the editor of this paper is crazy by saying such, but he is far from insanity and only speaks these words after careful consideration of all other remedies. No you wont find paved streets and electric lights throughout the jungles, neither did the white man find such luxuries here when he came but he felled the forest with our aid and fought the savages, famine and disease, all that he and his offsprings might be froo. If you ever intend to breathe the breath of Freedom, prepare to go back to Africa and that soon.

The grandest array of intellectual Negro giants that we may over have will not blot out one iota of race hatred as Intelligence is mistaken for arrongance by the majority of white people. — Wealth in millions will not suffice as the majority of poor whits feel it should rightfully be theirs. This old religious bugaboo has proven a farce for fifty years, not that christianity is wrong, far from it, but the white mans religion doesn't teach him to look into the sky but around him and especially at those whom he thinks deserve nothing. The efore in the absence of the power to take what is rightfully yours, do the next best thing. BACK TO AFRICA.

## THE LAW MUST BE RESPECTED.

Dallas Express 6/11/21

Tulsa has caused the civilized world once more to realize how thin is the dividing line between primitive man and enlightened culture. Men's hatred last week ran riot with their better judgment, love of law and progressive desires and for three days caused those, removed by distance from those conditions, to think hard in terms of the times in which we live and the state of mind which too generally prevails.

America has again been set forth before a critical world in an undesirable light. And a lack of respect for constituted authority in the last analysis is blamable for it.

To deplore such an occurrence and to stop there proves all concerned impotent and lacking in the ability to more nearly control themselves and the conditions in which they find themselves.

The occurrence of Tulsa is only another proof of the fact often seen but seldom fairly-faced constituted authority must make itself respected. Representatives of the people must be allowed to do their duty by the people, they must administer for the people those laws which time has proven efficient.

The times in which we now find ourselves, demand the soberest of thought and the exercise of an over-abundance of that consideration with others which we would demand for ourselves.

Ill-considered or rash actions by all are to be deplored as unproductive of the best results for all concerned. It has been repeatedly proved that when men take the law into their own hands, it matters not what men they are, chaos and disorder result and they and their communities lose in their respect for themselves and the great nation of which they are a part.

American institutions have attained their present state of growth and development because the people whom they have served have respected and revered them. They could have grown in no other way. This fact cannot be denied nor ignored.

Law, in order to be supreme, must be just and strict in its dealing. But this strictness and justice can come only in that proportion as society by its public opinion makes it necessary.

But it must exist.

In order that this condition may maintain, it is necessary that each of the individuals, classes and races concerned, seek to lessen rather than increase their hatred of each other. A greater respect each for the rights of the other will result in a common respect for the law which should govern both.

All lose when this fact is ignored. In the light of the suffering, misery and shame which has resulted from every loss of respect for law, it behooves us all to work actively, not passively for a greater love of constituted authority which has its reason for being in the fact that America and society must progress and that each, working toward that end, is expected to contribute only his best effort.

## The Causes Of The Tulsas

Afro-American 8/24/21

(By William Pickens, The Associated Negro Press)

What earthly good can the white preachers of Tulsa, and its grand jury, hope to accomplish by solemnly declaring that "the colored people caused the riot?" They may help to unite the colored people in an awful faith in the unitedness of white people in oppressing other peoples. One of the preachers declares that the riot was caused by "the appearance of armed Negroes in the white business district," just as if he did not know that something else "appeared" before those Negroes appeared. The appearance of the Negroes was an effect, more than a cause. The riot appeared when armed white men, thousands strong, appeared around the jail to lynch an innocent colored boy. If the armed colored men (only 25 or 30 of them, mind you) had appeared before this mob appeared, then the appearance of the Negroes could be put down as the first cause.

But what is the use of arguing with preachers, who are used to proving things by solemn declaration rather than by facts and logics.

There was another cause, which is even more primal than the appearance of that mob of white men.—and that is the 3,000 colored men whom other mobs had murdered and got away with it, while the officers of the law shirked and the preachers apologized. That others had "got away with it," is what really emboldened this mob,—and we might better say that the shirkers and apologizers for lynchings, caused that riot. To say that "armed Negroes" who were only trying to defend themselves against a riot, CAUSED THE RIOT, reminds me of the child who dropped the pitcher on a stone, and declared that "the stone broke the pitcher."

If to fight for your life DURING a riot is to cause the riot, the Negro can be written down right now as the cause of all the anti-Negro riots that are going to be.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots – 1921. Oklahoma (Tuls

## Negro Finds $600 In Melted Gold In Ruins of His Home

TULSA OKLA. TRIBUNE
JUNE 2, 1921

The first negro shack north of the Frisco railway station on Boston avenue played an important part in the battle between whites and blacks Tuesday night and Wednesday morning as it was used as an ambuscade for the negroes. From there they poured volleys into the whites around the Frisco station until the building was fired.

Five negroes were shot down there as the building burned to the ground. Mose, the owner, was taken to Convention hall where he remained a very restless negro all day.

'I'se jes got to go look after my business," he pleaded with the guards.

Finally he gained his release with a police protection badge across his breast. Mose didn't waste any time but headed as fast as his legs could carry him for his shack.

Scraping around in the ashes Mose finally found what he was looking for and raked up a mass of gold coins melted together. It was all of Mose's wealth and amounted to about $600.

"I sho' is glad gold won't burn," the negro said as he made his way back to convention hall content to go to the fair grounds with the other homeless negroes.

## Bad Negro, Inefficient Police, Sum Up Reason for Race Riot

N Y C WORLD
JUNE 2, 1921

### Old Story of Trying to Apply Lynch Law for Black Man Where Jury Would Try White Man, Declares Tulsa Publisher.

*By Richard Lloyd Jones.*
Formerly of Collier's Weekly and Publisher of the Tulsa, Okla., Tribune.
(Written for the United News.)

TULSA, Okla., June 1—It is the old story over again. Ancient as time. Race prejudice.

A negro attacks a white girl. This occurred in a department store elevator. But the where and when does not enter into the case.

A negro attacks a white girl. That's the case. A white man attacks a white girl, and the crime of rape takes its course of law. A black man attacks a white girl, and the Governor of Georgia has described the degeneracy of the mob rule that results.

Either a fool or any enemy of law and order spreads the story that a mob is going to get the negro out of the County Jail and lynch him. Such a story spreads faster than a dry grass fire. A mob, more curious than resolute. A mob which is on the whole good-natured, gathers about the Court House to see what there may be to see.

**All Kinds Are Found.**

In all the negro sections of all our cities we find negroes who are good, bad and indifferent. The good are respected. They are kind and courteous. They are helpful, and the Southerner has an affection for them. The indifferent are in the twilight zone, and the white people are indifferent to them.

But there is a bad black man who is a beast. This is a physical fact which the traditional New Englander, for instance, does not know and cannot comprehend. The bad black man is a bad man. He drinks the cheapest and the vilest whiskey. He breaks every law to get it. He is a dope fiend. He holds life lightly. He is a bully and a brute.

And a dozen of such collect at the Tulsa County Court House with fire arms when they hear the lynch rumor.

As is too often the case in just such situations, the police are derelict of duty at the psychological moment when they have the power to prevent. As soon as this small band of armed black men came upon this scene, the Tulsa police, with or without the aid of county officials, should at once have thrown a line around them and marched them to jail. But they stupidly let the psychological moment pass. Then a white man struck a match to the incendiary mob-powder by trying to take a gun away from a negro.

**Both Sides Reinforce.**

The blacks were reinforced by other blacks. The whites hurried for arms. The city was in darkness. Stores having firearms in stock were smashed into. The blacks and the whites in growling groups began to parade the streets. Two hours before midnight the battle began.

When day dawned the State militia was in action. Machine guns rattled and the crack of the sharp-shooters echoed across the valleys and the city's hill top to hill top.

When the sun came over the eastern horizon it was hidden from view by the great cone-shaped cloud of smoke that rose like an outburst of Vesuvius over the negro section, which to-day is either red with flames or broken brick walls burned [illegible], and shanties lying low in their black and white ashes.

Nor were the flames confined to the black belt, where the incendiary hands laid the torch. "to smoke the demon out." The lapping flame does not recognize the color line. It does not discriminate between the white man's modern house and the poor black man's rude shack.

**Thousands Lose Everything.**

The Fire Department lent itself to keep the flames along the black border. They were not obedient flames, and the white man in many instances has suffered along with the black man because some loose-mouthed, shallow-minded, blundering creature last evening spread the lynch alarm and twelve base, brutal black men set out to show 'em and if need be to shoot up the town.

Thousands upon thousands of innocent blacks to-day suffer the loss of all the little things that were theirs. They are camped on the hills about the city, in the great city convention hall and in the ball park, where the national game has been suspended that the high fences might be used as a cordon around the refugees, who are held under guard.

The Humane Society is busy distributing food and water to those poor people. The number of dead and wounded is slowly climbing higher as the flames force out the facts. Every street intersection is policed by deputy traffic officers brought from behind the counters to clear the way for the ambulances and fire apparatus that are constantly hurried from place to place.

**Militia Has Full Authority.**

The State militia has full authority. Squads of black prisoners are seen marching through the streets under soldier guard. Automobiles filled with colored people, literally pale with fear, are being hurried here and there under guard.

The town is dazed. It all came so quickly. It came so quickly that the southern part of the city hardly yet realizes what happened last night in the centre of the town, and what the great cloud of smoke at the north end of the city represents.

But they will learn, as the world will learn, that that vast cone-shaped cloud probably represents the worst race war conducted in the shortest span of time in the history of race wars in this land.

It has been a hideous thing. It is not Tulsa. It is not Tulsa's way. It is not only national but it is international and it is the human way. It cannot be condoned, and the splendid constructive spirit of Tulsa manifested itself as soon as the city beheld the awful scene by the light of day. Then as rapidly as the lynch word had spread the night before the word was spread:

"Be men. Be white men, all white, white clean through. Keep a cool head. Be on the level. Mind your own business. Keep away from any mobs. Be part of no mob. Do not think mob, feel mob or act mob. Restore order."

# 12-HOUR BATTLE AP

N Y C CALL
JUNE 2, 1921

## Negro Wealth in Okla. Main Cause of Massacre

—JAMES WELDON JOHNSON

### Secretary of National Association Says Blacks in Tulsa Are Most Prosperous in United States.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in this city, through its secretary, James Weldon Johnson, yesterday sent a telegram to the Governor of Oklahoma, urging him to use the full power of his office to suppress the bloodshed and disorder at Tulsa. The association, which has 12 branches in Tulsa and vicinity, offered its most energetic co-operation in assisting to restore order.

Johnson said last night that, although he believes the newspaper reports from Oklahoma are exaggerated, there can be no question that the present outbreak at Tulsa is the worst of its kind that has happened in this country.

"The only reason which I can ascribe for such a frightful outbreak of racial feeling in Tulsa," said he, "is that the colored people of the 'Black Belt' of Oklahoma, of which Tulsa is the center, are probably the most prosperous and cultured body of Negro people in the country judging by race standards.

"It has been one of the most unmistakable facts in the history of the Negro people since the civil war that where they become economically successful in the smallest degree and when they begin to assert themselves as citizens it is in that place that they are most likely to be lynched."

"The Negroes of the Tulsa region are largely employed in the oil industry and many Negroes have actually become owners of oil wells and have made neat sums.

"As to the reports that the Negroes were responsible for starting this fight, I would simply say that I do not believe it, as there has never been an authenticated case of a Negro initiating violence against whites. The story is deliberately issued to discredit the colored people of Tulsa. It will be remembered that when the race riots in Arkansas occurred the papers carried stories to the effect that the colored people had met in a church and were plotting to wipe out the whites. Later on it was proved that the Negroes had met to make plans to hire a lawyer who would assist them in finding some way out of the conditions of peonage under which they were forced to work. The attack on the Negroes had its inception in that move of the exploited colored workers to free themselves from economic slavery which was forbidden by the laws of the state and nation."

Although W. [illegible] Bois, president of the association, had been in Tulsa within the past six weeks, and the branches there keep the New York office informed of events, no reports had been received here, Johnson said, prior to yesterday's outbreaks, which would indicate any special cause of trouble between the white and colored population in Tulsa or that section. to settle within limits clearly defined

UTICA N Y DISPATCH
JUNE 2, 1921
TULSA RACE RIOT.

Tulsa, Okla., Tuesday night and yesterday, was the scene of the most serious race riots of any in the history of the country. It is estimated that at least 60 negroes and 25 whites were killed, while 10 blocks of homes in the negro quarter were burned, the firemen being prevented from fighting the flames.

The trouble is stated to have started Tuesday night when a negro charged with attacking a white orphan girl was arrested, and attempts were made by negroes to rescue him. The fighting spread to various parts of the city, including the business section. At one time 2,000 armed white men were reported to have been engaged in fighting the negroes. Railroad stations were the scenes of several encounters and a number of casualties resulted when trains were fired upon. The arrival of four companies of the National Guard and the declaration of martial law finally restored order. Many negroes were rounded up, but no white men appear to have been taken into custody.

That such a demonstration of lawlessness should be possible in any community is a grave reproach on our boasted American civilization. And the worst of it is that there is no guarantee that like demonstrations of mob violence will not occur elsewhere than at Tulsa.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

# TULSANS, WHO REACH K. C., BITTER IN CONDEMNATION OF THOSE JOINING IN RIOTS

KANSAS CITY MO POST
JUNE 2, 1921

BRIGADE HEADQUARTERS, OKLAHOMA NATIONAL GUARD

CITY HALL, TULSA, OKLAHOMA.

June 1, 1921

Permission is hereby granted to Louis Newman to pass throughthe restricted or guarded area of Tulsa in the performance of his duties as traveller out of town

Chas F. Barrett

Chas. F. Barrett

Brig. Gen. Commanding.

**Passes similar to the one reproduced were necessary before persons were permitted on the streets of Tulsa, after military rule was established. The pass reproduced was issued to Louis Newman.**

## Witnesses Declare Tragedy Unjustified and Has Placed Stain On Name of City; Place Responsibility for Outbreak Upon Negroes and Blame Whites for Destruction of Property.

A stain has been placed upon the name of Tulsa, Okla., through the devastation wrought by race rioting Tuesday night and Wednesday morning in the opinion of disinterested witnesses.

Hundreds of persons, fleeing Tulsa Wednesday night on the first trains that had left there since the beginning of the rioting, were bitter in their condemnations of the Negroes who started the trouble and of the devastation wrought by the inflamed white people.

Many of these refugees came to Kansas City, arriving Thursday morning, and all told disinterested stories of the race rioting.

Louis Newman, a resident of Tulsa for a year, and formerly of Denver, was on the first train that arrived. Newman, an eye witness, told how the rioting started, and of the most important movements made by whites and Negroes that led to the tragic conflict.

Newman brought with him early morning editions of the Tulsa newspapers, and also an extra edition of Wednesday, that contained a bitter editorial, complaining of the deeds of the white men in their destruction of the Negro settlement and the killing of individuals. The editorial was "killed" in later editions.

**Trouble From Clear Sky.**

"The rioting came literally from a clear sky," Newman said Thursday morning in Kansas City. "I was walking along the business streets, as were hundreds of other persons, when we heard reports of rioting.

"We went to the police station to hear more about it, and had scarcely arrived there when the whole town seemed to break into a flaming rage of hatred.

"Men emerged from doorways carrying revolvers, rifles and shotguns. They ran wildly about the streets, shouting, cursing and shooting into the air. That was Tuesday night, and the rage lasted well into Wednesday morning. After awhile, the rioters engaged in concerted drives against the Negro district.

"For hours flames shot into the air from burning homes of Negroes, and the staccato crash of gunfire was always in the air. Several earlier attempts were made by small bands of white men to enter the Negro district, but each time they were repulsed by gunfire, with slight casualties.

"A railroad separates the main part of Tulsa from the Negro district. This was made a battle line.

**Set Homes on Fire.**

"They fought over the railroad for several hours. At last the whites swept over by thousands. Fire after fire was set against the homes of Negroes until not one was left untouched. Wednesday afternoon, only empty shells of what were once homes were standing. A great church, erected only recently, was virtually destroyed.

"At one place six Negroes barricaded themselves in an old warehouse near the railroad. From there they 'sniped' white men, until one man, more courageous than his fellows, applied a brand to the rear of the building. A machine gun had been brought up and, as the Negroes tried to escape from the burning building, it was turned on them. Five of the blacks were killed.

"When the militia arrived, there came a swift transformation. Two hours later the streets were quiet.

"The first hint of trouble came after the Negro boy, accused of attacking a white girl, was arrested and safely lodged in jail. The girl said she had not been injured, but that the Negro had been frightened away.

**Failed to Heed Rumors.**

"The girl was an elevator operator. The Negro, a bootblack, employed on a lower floor of the same building in which the girl worked, entered the elevator and seized hed. She screamed and the Negro ran. Later he was captured and taken to jail.

"There was some talk of lynching, but the rumors were only whispers, and the police thought little of it. Negroes heard the reports, and, arming themselves, congregated about the jail building, which is included in the courthouse.

"Several hours later, when white men and Negroes were gathered about the jail, an intoxicated white man seized a gun carried by a Negro. Fighting started and resulted in several deaths.

"The Negroes appeared armed long before the actual rioting started," Newman said. "Where they obtained their weapons has not been determined. After the fighting began white men broke open stores and pawnshops, confiscating thousands of firearms and ammunitions.

"The general impression of citizens of Tulsa, after the rioting ceased, seemed to be that proper measures were not taken by officals to prevent the rioting and that the militia was not called in time," Newman said. "It was said that the militia could have been obtained many hours before it was, and before the more serious rioting.

"The Tulsa World printed a bitter condemnation of the rioting, and called it 'The Disgrace of Tulsa.' The editorial was printed in only one edition."

## Deputies Picked For Daring and Nerve by Hurley

What is regarded as one of the most formidable organizations that have been brought about as a result of the race riot is the one headed by Major P. J. Hurley, and known as the special deputy sheriffs' force.

Hurley organized this force at the request of the executive committee of the central welfare board, and picked his men for their known ability and courage to face mobs—and disarm them.

Major Hurley saw active service overseas. The experience he gained there has stood him in good stead in selecting those who compose the force of which he is the director and commanding officer. As his first assistant he picked Horace Barnard, now a prosperous local business man, but who at one time was a cowman who had to deal with a criminal and lawless pioneer element.

"I believe this force is capable of dealing with virtually any body of lawbreakers that might be disposed to 'start something' in Tulsa," Major Hurley declared. "There isn't a man in the bunch who hasn't faced death in probably a dozen different ways, and a mob would hold little or no terrors for them."

Headquarters of the newly organized force is in the sheriff's office in the county courthouse, where the members are to congregate immediately at the first sign of trouble.

BROOKLYN N Y TIMES
JUNE 2, 1921

## The Tulsa Race Riot.

Tulsa, a thriving town in the State of Oklahoma, has contributed another of those race riots that constitute such a menace to the peace and good order of our cities. The primary cause seems to have been a common one. A rumor was spread among the negro population of the city that a man of the race, arrested for an attack on a white girl, was to be turned over to a mob for lynching by the authorities, and a crowd of the more violent gathered in the streets. They were ordered home by the police, and one of them shot at a detective. The whites seem to have been as combustible as the negroes, because the event that followed constitutes one of the darkest stains on the enforcement of law in American cities. As in all such cases there was no attempt to discriminate between innocent and guilty. The alleged crime of an individual spread until it became a war between negroes and whites. Undoubtedly, there was a majority of the respectable and law-abiding of both races to whom the affair was utterly repellent. This is indicated by the stories that have come out of Tulsa of the destruction of negro families in their homes in the fire in the negro quarter set by incendiaries, and by the efforts of the civic organizations to calm the frightened colored people and care for the homeless when the violence of the mob had abated.

The news from Tulsa will send a shock of horror throughout the country today. It is all the more deplorable because there does not seem to have been an antecedent exciting cause in the labor antagonism that caused the race riots in East St. Louis some years ago.

The occurrence forces the conclusion that there must be some method found of stopping these tragedies that are the result primarily of vicious deeds by individuals that are conducive to mob action. It has been found in other cities that peace between the two races can be preserved. In New York, for some years there were race riots, but although the negro population has immensely increased, police efficiency and the knowledge on the part of the negroes that mob action against them is no longer to be dreaded, has caused them to be forgotten. Likewise the efforts of the better inclined of both races have been fruitful.

The activity of the civic organizations of Tulsa is a hopeful sign. It is very likely that with their aid and with the prompt action of Governor Robinson, peace will be restored in the Oklahoma city and a recurrence of race riots made impossible.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# RACIAL CLASH IN TULSA, OKLAHOMA; ONE NEGRO DEAD

Mountaineer

6-1-21

TULSA, OKLA., May 31.—One negro was killed and two whites and three negroes wounded in race troubles here tonight when a score or more white persons armed, clashed with about two hundred armed negroes who had gathered in the vicinity of the courthouse after a negro had been arrested for an alleged attack on a white girl. Scattered firing continued near midnight while the body of the dead negro still lay in the street.

Three units of Oklahoma National guard were called out by Adjutant General Charles F. Barrett late tonight to assist police officers of Tulsa in handling the race trouble there.

Governor Robertson said tonight that following a call from the Tulsa chief of police he had given Adjutant General Barrett full authority to proceed at his own discretion.

Shortly before midnight a crowd of white men estimated at from five hundred to one thousand were marching through the business section here, some of the men stating they were on their way to the negro district.

The first company of National guardsmen on the streets was greeted with cheers from crowds along the sidewalks. The guardsmen were in motor trucks and headed for the courthouse

## SERIES OF FIERCE COMBATS

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
JUNE 2, 1921

## Angered Whites Surround Negro Quarter and Set It on Fire.

## THOUSANDS FLEE IN TERROR

## Passing Trains Hit by Volleys in Battles at Railway Stations.

## TROOPS RUSHED TO CITY

### Governor Comes to Investigate —Arrest of Negro for Attack on Girl Started Trouble.

TULSA, Okla., June 1.—Eighty-five or more persons slain, including probably 25 whites and 60 negroes, and ten blocks of homes in the negro quarter destroyed by incendiaries are the results of a series of fierce race riots which started in this city late last night, waxed and waned through the early morning and forenoon and extended into the afternoon.

At an early hour this evening new fighting broke out in the negro district, according to a fireman just from the district. He stated that firemen attempting to check the flames in North Greenwood Avenue were being made the targets of negroes and that State troops, acting under Adjutant General Barrett, who has proclaimed martial law in the entire county, also had been fired upon.

Governor Robertson arrived tonight to make a personal investigation of the race riots here. He refused to make any statement other than to say he was looking about, but said a statement would be forthcoming tomorrow.

At one time during the day of fighting 2,000 armed white men, it is said, were engaging armed negroes who were themselves numbered at fully 1,000.

Railroad stations were the scene of several encounters and a number of casualties resulted when trains were fired upon. Women and children huddled together in the stations, seeking safety behind marble wainscoating.

Major Charles W. Daley of the Police Department believes that many negroes have been burned to death in their homes.

**Nine Known White Dead.**

Of the nine white men known to have been killed, eight have been identified as follows:

BARKER, F. M., of Haviland, Kan.
CLYNE, HOMER S., 16, of Tulsa.
DAGGS, WALTER, local manager of the Pierce Oil Corporation, formerly of Leroy, N. Y.
JAMES, ARTHUR, of Wyona, Okla.
LOTSPOICH, CARL D., 26, of Tulsa.
SHUMATE, CLEO, 24, of Tulsa.
WITHROW, S. J., 19, of Tulsa.
UNIDENTIFIED MAN, about 40 years old.

Following the firing of the first shot last night at Sixth and Boulder Streets as the outcome of the arrest of a negro for alleged assault on a white girl, the fighting spread to various parts of the city, including the business section.

Driven out by the flames, started by whites in the negro quarter, 6,000 colored men, women and children fled in terror from the district and tonight are housed in detention camps.

Guardsmen with machine guns are stationed all through the city, ready to prevent any more outbreaks, and all citizens have been ordered to disarm.

Only one negro walks the streets of Tulsa tonight unhampered. He is Barney Cleaver, a negro Deputy Sheriff, who is well regarded by both whites and negroes. Not one of the rioters turned a hand against the peace-loving negro, and he is the only one of his race who ventures on the streets without an armed guard.

Cleaver has been instrumental in getting hundreds of his race to disarm and seek refuge under protection of the troops.

Rumors of aerial activity in connection with the race clash were rife throughout the day, it being reported that several airplanes armed with machine guns had taken the air. Later, it was learned that several sightseeing ships had been up, but that neither city, county nor State authorities had resorted to the use of airplanes to restore order.

**Swift Movement of Events.**

Events developed fast in the city's day of tragedy.

Dick Rowland, a negro, was arrested late yesterday afternoon, accused of assault upon an orphan white girl. He was taken to the Court House and lodged in jail on the upper floor.

Apparently rumors of an attempt to lynch him got about, for about 7 o'clock motor cars containing armed negroes appeared on the principal streets, headed for the Court House, and soon 200 negroes were around the building.

Thereupon armed white men also began to gather in the same neighborhood. Soon the streets were filled with shouting, gesticulating men.

Suddenly there was a rush for sporting goods houses and hardware stores, where the crowds broke in and armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find.

The first shooting affray came soon after dark, when a negro was stopped by a police officer and his gun taken away. He attempted to resist, according to the officer, and was shot dead.

Meanwhile a great crowd of whites gathered about the Court House steps, nearly all of them being unarmed. The 200 armed negroes, afoot and in automobiles, paraded the streets and marched past the Court House repeatedly, apparently in the belief that the whites intended to lynch Rowland.

As the minutes passed, the white men obtained more guns and began to assume a belligerent attitude themselves. Finally a verbal altercation between the factions began. E. S. MacQueen, detective, attempted to intervene.

Suddenly a shot rang out and instantly the firing became general and the crowd scattered in haste, while armed negroes began training their guns on the fleeing forms. At least one white man was killed in this affray.

This first encounter was about 10 o'clock at the corner of Sixth and Boulder Streets.

The negroes finally retreated slowly up Boulder Street, the alley back of the Court House, which is on Boston Street, firing as they went. When they emerged on Fourth Street hot skirmishes ensued.

Apparently the negroes met again by a prearranged plan, for those of the whites who followed them engaged their full strength again when they made a stand at Second and Cincinnati Streets. After a brief stand the negroes once more retreated north across the Frisco tracks to the negro quarter.

A second white man was killed about this time, according to the police, when a party of whites, passing in a motor car, mistook him for a negro, and shot him. He died almost instantly.

**Guardsmen Rushed to Scene.**

Soon after the Court House outbreak the authorities realized their inability to control the mobs with police alone and at 11 o'clock a call was sent to Governor Robertson for troops.

The Governor promptly directed Adjt. Gen. Charles F. Barrett to take any steps necessary to handle the trouble. The Adjutant General ordered out three companies of guardsmen here and sent instructions to commanding officers in several nearby towns to be prepared to rush men here on immediate notice. The local guardsmen were thrown about the Court House to prevent the crowd from breaking through.

The mob in this vicinity was finally dispersed early in the morning without any shooting. Rowland, the negro prisoner, was spirited away from the jail early in the day by deputies from the office of Sheriff McCullough, who refused to divulge his whereabouts.

Guardsmen were used to disperse the rioters at the stores and a military order was issued confiscating all stocks of arms in the city until the disturbance could be put down. National Guardsmen patrolled the downtown streets and every effort was made to induce the crowds to disband.

Although it was comparatively quiet in the centre of the city at that time, firing could be heard from various sections around the negro quarter. This lies in the northeast part of the city and roughly forms a letter "L," extending quarter of a mile east and west and half mile to a mile north and south. It is estimated that about 10,000 of the 13,000 negroes in the city live in this area, which begins within two blocks of the business district, just south of the Frisco Railroad Station.

**Armed Forces Face Each Other.**

Throughout the early morning hours 500 white men and a thousand negroes faced each other across the railroad tracks. It was reported early to Police Headquarters that the bodies of six to ten negroes could be seen lying in a space described as "no man's land." The police also had a report that three railway switchmen and a brakeman had been shot to death.

The trainmen were killed, it was said, because they refused to permit members of the opposing crowds to ride upon a switch engine passing between the lines. The engineer was reported to have escaped.

Attempts by white rioters to burn the negro quarter began early and were persistent. The first efforts to fire negro houses was made at 1:30 o'clock in the morning when whites openly threatened to destroy the entire locality.

Two houses at Archer and Boston, which were being used by more than fifty armed negroes, were set afire at that time and an alarm was turned in. Attempts of the fire department to lay hose to quench the flames were stopped by a crowd of armed whites and the department returned to its station, leaving the fire to burn out.

**Incendiarism and a New Battle.**

As the dawn broke sixty or seventy motor cars filled with armed white men formed a circle around the negro section. Half a dozen airplanes circled overhead. There was much shouting and shooting.

About this hour (6:30 o'clock) incendiarism by wholesale was resumed. Almost simultaneously fire began to burst forth from the doors and windows of frame shacks along Archer Street. Soon dense clouds of black smoke enveloped the location.

The invaders were apparently supplied with inflamables. According to the police they set altogether more than 25 separate fires.

Lack of wind prevented the flames from spreading rapidly. White riflemen were shooting at all the negroes they saw and firing into houses. The negroes were returning the fire disspiritedly.

As the fire enveloped houses, negroes would dart out with upraised hands, shouting "Don't shoot!" As they dashed through the smoke they were ordered to surrender and were quickly removed to detention camps.

In an outbreak at 7:30 o'clock in the Stand Pipe Hill district in the extreme northern end of the negro quarter, Mrs. S. A. Gilmore, a white woman, was shot in the left arm and side. She was standing on the front porch of her home when she was shot by a negro.

At this time hundreds of whites invaded the district. Scores in automobiles drove to the north side of the district while hundreds of pedestrians advanced from the south and west. Hundreds of shots were fired and many were killed and wounded on each side.

The heaviest fighting was in the northern section, where hundreds of negroes were concentrated in a valley. Fifty were barricaded in a church.

Several massed attacks were launched against the church, but each time the attackers had to fall back under the fire of the negro defenders. Finally a torch was applied to the building and the occupants began to pour out, firing as they ran. Several of the negroes were killed.

As the maimed blacks were ordered out of their homes members of the mob invited friends and sympathizers to help themselves to the property of their victims.

Apparently the negroes were either expecting or preparing for trouble with the whites. In almost every second house burned there were explosions of boxes of shells. The police say that the I. W. W. and other malcontents had been stirring up animosity between the blacks and whites for months.

**Seven Engagements Up to Noon.**

Fires continued to rage all the morning in the negro section. Up to noon there has been six distinct engagements between whites and blacks since the first one at 1 o'clock last night.

The situation was aggravated by persistent reports that armed negroes were coming to Tulsa from Muskogee and other towns. Automobiles filled with armed whites guarded the roads leading into Tulsa, to offer resistance, but no one appeared, so far as could be learned. At Muskogee, it was stated, the officials guarded all highways to prevent the departure of negroes from that city.

At noon the Fire Department Chief, speaking of the continued spread of flames, said:

"We can't use the equipment we have, and for that reason we have not asked for more apparatus from other cities. It would mean a fireman's life to turn a stream of water on one of those negro buildings. They shot at us all morning when we were trying to do something, but none of my men was hit. There is not a chance in the world to get through that mob into the negro district.

"We have fire lines protecting the warehouses on the Katy Railroad, and think we have them saved. If the wind should change, the white residence section east of the negro district would be menaced."

**Herd Negroes in Detention Camps.**

It was found necessary very early to establish detention camps for the negroes who had fled from the blazing section where they had been living.

Convention Hall was thrown open to accommodate the terror-stricken fugitives. Throughout the early morning long lines of negroes streamed westward along the streets leading to the hall. Many wore their night clothes and were barefooted. Their sunken eyes told of a sleepless night and their ashen faces bespoke gripping fear.

Men, women and children carried bundles of clothing on their heads and backs. The articles they saved were varied and in many cases would have been ludicrous but for the gravity of the situation. Here an old woman clung to a Bible, there a girl with dishevelled hair carried a wooly white dog under her arm and behind trotted a little girl with a big wax doll.

In one case an aged negro woman supported an old man, wrapped about with quilts and blankets and apparently very ill. He was immediately placed in an automobile and hurried to a hospital.

Not all who came to the hall were noncombatants. Repeatedly white men, heavily armed, whirled up to the hall directly from the scene of fighting under a big hill on North Greenwood Street. With them, closely guarded were negro prisoners captured with guns during the

(over)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

From Over

fray.

Civic organizations and private citizens who volunteered for the work, cared for both refugees and prisoners. Ice water and sandwiches were served and the wounded or sick received medical attention.

By 9 o'clock 2,000 negroes had been gathered at Convention Hall, all being under guard. Soon the edifice was filled, as was also the police station.

The rest of those gathered up as fugitives or combatants were taken to the baseball park. By mid-afternoon there were about 6,000 negroes in the various camps, all under armed guard.

In view of the continued serious condition in Tulsa, martial law was put into effect at noon throughout Tulsa County, following receipt of orders from Governor Robertson directing that the military take over control. It was then estimated that six whites and fifty negroes had been killed in the fighting, with scores wounded.

All available National Guardsmen, including companies from Muskogee, Oklahoma City and Wagoner, who had arrived at 9 o'clock, were stationed in the negro quarter. All persons not deputized as special officers, were ordered to disarm by a proclamation issued by Mayor Evans. Persons carrying guns were to be arrested instantly.

Detachments of guardsmen were scattered throughout the city with machine guns ready for action. Guards surrounded the armory, while others assisted in rounding up negroes and segregating them in the detention camps. A commission, composed of seven city officials and business men, was formed by Mayor Evans and Chief of Police Gustafson, with the approval of General Barrett, to pass upon the status of the negroes detained.

**Scores Treated for Wounds.**

Despite the placing of the city under martial law, desultory firing continued during the afternoon. An unconfirmed report reached Mayor Evans that two more negroes and a white man had been killed.

A check of the hospitals in early afternoon showed that nearly two score whites were being treated for injuries. More than fifty white patients left the hospitals, following treatment, without giving names. Most of the patients had arm and leg wounds and only a few were reported in a serious condition. Many of the injured, it was said, were hurt while engaging in hand-to-hand street fights.

Among the seriously wounded was A. B. Stick, City Clerk of Sapulpa, Okla., who was struck by a stray bullet while he was standing on the steps of a leading hotel.

Another of those severely injured was run over by an automobile filled with armed negroes.

## WOMEN SUFFERERS IN TULSA RACE WAR

N. Y. C. TELEGRAPH
JUNE 2, 1921
(By United News to The Morning Telegraph.)

TULSA, Okla., June 1.—Mrs. Sarah Paige, the girl elevator operator at the Drexel Building, who was alleged to have been attacked by Dick Rowland, negro, which act precipitated the race rioting, could not be found to-night.

She had not reported for work and was not at her rooms in North Boston street.

The story of the attack on Mrs. Paige, however, was corroborated by Mrs. Anna Green, who saw and talked with her about an hour after the alleged attack.

Mrs. Green says Mrs. Paige showed her bruises on her arm where the negro had grabbed her and also the purse she broke when she struck her assailant.

In all Tulsa there was just one negro who walked the streets openly and unafraid, molested by no one and greeted with a cheery smile by all who knew him. He was Barney Cleaver, deputy sheriff and veteran police officer, who, through years of unquestioned service, has come to be known in the city as "a man to be relied upon."

In a fresh outbreak in the Standpipe Hill district in the extreme northern section of the "black belt," Mrs. S. A. Gilmore, a white woman, was shot in the left arm and side. She was standing on the front porch of her home when she was picked off by a negro sniper, one of a score or more barricaded in a church. She was hit six times.

A man who gave his name as Claude Thomas rescued a white woman from a group of blacks at the corner. The negroes were dragging the woman along the street when Thomas, with drawn gun, rushed the blacks. He rescued the woman, whose name could not be learned, after receiving a severe beating and a cut over his eye which, it was feared, might result in the loss of his sight in one eye.

"Right after the trouble started at the Courthouse, negroes in cars started to run past the Tulsa Hotel, shooting indiscriminately and without much damage," J. W. Calvin, assistant manager of the hotel, said. "They carried every kind of guns and came thick and fast. One of them shot A. B. Stick, City Clerk of Sapulpa, who was standing on the east steps of the hotel, as a car rushed by. Guests in the lobby scattered to the floors above when the shots were fired in front of the Tulsa. There were no guns in evidence in the lobby and no firing there by whites at that time.

In the midst of Tulsa's sordidness there was one humorous aspect. Prominent oil men spent hours searching through the crowd of negroes herded into McNulty Park and Convention Hall for "Mandy" or "Sarah" and other serving maids and serving men.

## NEGRO OFFICER IS HEAVY LOSER IN RACE RIOTS

TULSA OKLA. TRIBUNE
JUNE 2, 1921

**BUILDINGS BURNED, WIFE GONE, CLEAVER HAS ONLY TRINKETS LEFT**

Barney Cleaver, colored deputy sheriff, who sought to persuade the armed members of his own race to leave the courthouse and return peacefully to their homes just before the outbreak took place, was one of the heaviest losers when the negro section burned.

During years of service as a police officer, Cleaver had saved and invested his money until he owned property worth $20,000 on Greenwood avenue, consisting of three two-story business buildings, one brick and two frame. All are a total loss.

Although other colored people were kept interned yesterday until the guardsmen secured absolute control of the situation, Cleaver was permitted to go and come as he pleased from the first because of the confidence the white people have in his integrity and the valuable assistance he was able to render in persuading his race to surrender and enter the refuge camps for their own safety.

While engaged in this work he saw all that he had labored a life-

## NO GRAVES DUG, BODIES OF 18 NEGROES HELD

**CONFUSION AMONG OFFICIALS LEADS TO DELAY**

The bodies of 18 negroes, killed in the rioting Tuesday night and Wednesday morning, are awaiting burial at two local undertaking establishments until somebody can be

## Free Interned Negroes; Red Cross Is in Charge

TULSA OKLA. TRIBUNE
JUNE 2, 1921

Between eight and nine thousand negroes were released from the military detention camps this morning by order of Adjutant General Charles Barrett who informed Mayor T. D. Evans that the city must assume the responsibility of feeding, clothing and housing these homeless people. Mayor Evans at once placed the entire responsibility on Clark Field as general director of the relief work.

The work is under way with headquarters at the Red Cross office, Fourth street and Cincinnati avenue.

Money, clothing, tents, cots and trucks are needed as well as volunteer workers.

**Send Funds to Field.**

All contributions should be sent direct to Clerk Field instead of being sent through round-about channels which will cause delay in getting them to the sufferers.

At a meeting held in the Red Cross office this morning Mr. Field placed responsible persons in charge of every phase of the work. He established general headquarters at the Red Cross office, a central Red Cross relief camp at the fair grounds where between 5,000 and 6,000 negroes were detained by the military authorities last night, a Red Cross hospital at the old Cinnabar hospital on North Main and Easton streets, and a relief and supply depot at Booker Washington school where the negroes who return to their homes may obtain food, clothing and medical supplies.

**Try to Get Tents**

A hurried effort is being made today to get tents and cots sent here from St. Louis, Kansas City, Oklahoma City and other Red Cross centers. These will be loaned to the negroes in order that they may return to the lots where they lived and pitch the tents over the ashes of their homes. Lumber will also be furnished them so that they can put floors in the tents and board up the sides, or build temporary shacks to live in until more permanent homes can be built.

Many of the negro families have been separated and a bureau has been established in the Y. M. C. A. lobby for the registration of all those who are seeking friends or relatives.

Every downtown church has been turned into a temporary relief station for the negroes. They will be cared for there as long as necessary, but the Red Cross is making an effort today to get all of them removed to the fair grounds as soon as possible. Some of them are still being cared for at the ball park.

Between 5,000 and 6,000 negroes were cared for at the fair grounds last night where the women had cots and the men slept on the ground or in the buildings. By tonight the Red Cross workers expect to have cots for all of them. Hot plates are being installed in the main building where the women can cook their food. Last night it took five hours to serve supper to them. One thousand loaves of bread, 15 gallons of soup, eighty gallons of goulash and hot coffee was served to them at noon today. The food was cooked in downtown hotels and restaurants and the coffee prepared on the grounds.

**Those on the Job.**

The faithful Red Cross workers who were on the job last night and today included Ed Salrin, Mr. and Mrs. O. J. Berend, Mr. and Mrs. J. Bauman, Mrs. Tom Roselle, Mrs. O. L. Chancellor and Miss Marion Black. Other workers are being solicited. The camp at the fair grounds is to be a permanent camp where the refugees will be cared for indefinately.

The organization formed by Clark Field today is as follows:

Mrs. Jennie K. Beam and L. C. Murray, assistants; railroad transportation, J. A. Hull and W. L. Walker, 1012 Kennedy building, Osage 7100; bedding supplies, Mrs. Lilah D. Lindsay, First Baptist church; clothing relief, Mrs. J. A. Hull and Mrs. H. L. Heinzman, boys division, Y. M. C. A.; automobile and truck transportation, J. C. Anhony, Red Cross headquarters; food supply, Ora Upp, Mrs. A. W. Roth, Mrs. John Wheeler, Booker Washington school; bureau of identification, Y. M. C. A. lobby, Robert H. Woods, Osage 2589; Medical supplies and relief, Miss Richardson, Y. M. C. A.; director of relief station, Booker Washington school, E. L. Connelly; stolen and lost goods, warehouse B, Pickering Lumber Co., 703 E. Archer st., A. C. Doering; shelter, H. L. Heinzman; nursing, Mrs. W. D. Godfrey, Red Cross office; Relief camp, fair grounds, N. R. Graham; Cinnabar hospital relief station, Dr. Paul Brown.

While funds have not been supplied the Red Cross is guaranteeing everything and is going ahead and getting what is needed in the present emergency on the faith that Tulsa citizens will raise the necessary funds as soon as possible.

## SEARCH GETS KNOWN DEATH LIST TO 27

TULSA OKLA. TRIBUNE
JUNE 2, 1921

**Nine Whites, Eighteen Blacks Found**

Despite persistent rumors that scores of negroes were killed in the one night and one day of race rioting a thorough investigation by The Tribune failed to substantiate these reports. At 2 o'clock today available figures indicate that not more than 25 negroes were killed. Wild rumors were delivered a telling blow when Major Daley, police inspector, and Major Forrest Dutton completed their search of the devastated area. According to their report not one charred body was found in the debris.

It had been expected, according to police, that a search of this area would reveal the burned corpses of several negroes. Only 18 negroes are known to have been killed. The bodies of 18 are held at the Stanley-McCune morgue, while the bodies of three are being held at the Mowbray morgue.

The white death list stands at nine, all but one identified.

A sanitary survey of this burned district is being made by Dr. L. C. Presson, city health superintendent, assisted by health department employes and relief officers.

Doctor Presson said this morning that immediate steps will be taken to remove all dead animals and to clean up insanitary conditions which are likely to prove a menace to the health of the citizens. A permanent survey also is contemplated which will provide for sanitary sewer lines in this district when it is rebuilt, thus eliminating many of the unsanitary conditions that have prevailed in the negro section.

Negro porters worked at many of the rooming houses on Main, First and Second streets this morning as usual as their employers had secured their release yesterday. Negroes in other occupations also were on the job down town and the only indication that anything had occurred was the police protection badges all of them wore.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots - 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# FLAME SWEPT TULSA

Defender 6/11/21

View or Archer street after Boy Scouts had applied torches to business houses and homes. Special officers held firemen at bay with revolvers while flames devastated the entire block. Picture on lower left shows three-story structure owned by Wesley Williams, destroyed by liquid fire from aeroplane. Center—Mrs. Willie Williams, who fled through shower of bullets to escape burning in her home. She walked several miles to Claremore, Okla. Right—Home of Dr. Thompson, 521 N. Detroit street, in front of which Dr. A. C. Jackson was killed by white rioters. Picture on page 3 shows home after fire.

## Personal Letter Describes Suffering of Women in Riot

Chicago Defender 7/11/21

Sunday Afternoon.

Dear Leora: Why, oh, why, do we have so much trouble? I am sorry I was not here Friday night when you called. It was surely sweet of you to do it. I thought of calling you last night, but then I knew I could not talk long or say much. Leora, Julia is here—came yesterday morning with a percale house apron, nightdress, kimona, her suit and sweater coat, bottle of toilet water, comb and brush—all she had—in her traveling bag. She was driven out of Mrs. Smart's with Mrs. Smart and another roomer there at the point of four guns. They were told to drop their traveling bags and Julia refused. They told her three times to drop it; the other women did and she told them she would not. One brute told her she'd drop it or he'd shoot her and she told him to shoot then, and a policeman was near and asked if she wanted it. She told him she was going to keep it; then he said "March" and she marched with the others with those dogs at their heels with guns drawn on them. I can't see how she stood up. But she was so scared she didn't have sense enough to know she was in so much danger of losing her life. She said she was awakened about 4 a. m. by loud talking. Mrs. S. came to her room and told her to dress—there was something wrong for soldiers were all around, and she looked out of the window and saw them driving the men out of the houses in Detroit. Saw Mr. Wood running with both hands in the air and their 3-month-old baby in one hand up in the air and three brutes behind him with guns. She said her legs gave way from under her and she had to crawl about her room, taking things from her closet, putting them in her trunk, for she thought if anything happened she'd have her trunk packed, and before she got everything in they heard footsteps on their steps and there were six out there and ordered Mr. Smart to march, hands up, out of the house. Then she says she seemed to get her strength again all at once and dressed and dropped her nightdress and kimona in her bag and put on a waist to one of her wash dresses and her suit and she thought she was putting on black hose and got her brown ones and a pair of bad looking oxfords that she was just wearing in the house. All women from Detroit, Frankfort, Elgin and Easton were first driven out and over to the high school and later, after all the men had been rounded up, they were taken in cars up to Convention hall. And Julia said it was awful in there—so hot—and such a crowd. And one poor woman who was pregnant had tried to walk out of Tulsa and was ten miles out when some of the dogs marched her and the others who were along all that distance back and up to Convention hall and when she got there she had the baby right at the entrance. Just think of it!

Another cruel instance was when they went to the home of an old couple and the old man, 80 years old, was paralyzed and sat in a chair and they told him to march and he told them he was crippled, but he'd go if some one would take him, and they told his wife (old, too) to go, but she didn't want to leave him, and he told her to go on anyway. As she left one of the d—— dogs shot the old man and then they fired the house.

### Dr. Jackson Shot

Thursday morning she and Miss Woodford, Miss Wims and three other teachers went back to look at their places and Julia said there wasn't anything but hot ashes. She don't know whether her trunk was burned or whether the hounds stole it and broke it open. All her clothes were in it, Leora, and I had just sent her last Saturday a white waist to match her skirt for a reception they were to have had on Wednesday night. Now that she is home she is all to pieces and foolike says she is going back. In fact, all the teachers said they were going get back and get some money for what they lost. But they will never do it. Oh, it is horrible! She said Mrs. Julia Jackson is about crazy. He fired from inside the house, so he must have got some of the dogs as long as he had ammunition. Then he had to come out and they shot him three times, once in the stomach as he came out of his door and twice in his legs, I think, or chest, and then made him march to Convention hall, wherever that is, from their place in Detroit. A white doctor saw him as he fell on the pavement and ordered an ambulance to take him to the hospital, but he died on the way. Julia says Motely place is gone and everything on Greenwood—not a business place left. I think she said A. M. Bankhead's and one of Goodwin's places is left because these men got some white men to stand in front of their places. Isn't it awful? I just can't write you. And Julia is so nervous. She was so restless last night that often she sobbed and would say, "Oh, my clothes!" She wishes now she had stayed and looked for her things because some of the dogs had plundered the house and sold the stolen stuff to the rich up on the hill. Now it seems they could be pinched for buying stolen property. But everybody was anxious to get away that had a home to go to. She had a razor of papa's and they took that from her and of course that pretty old gold locket and chain grandma gave her was in her trunk and all her books and notes, but with all that what did she do but take a berth from K. C. home.

### Has Breakdown

No matter what misfortune overtakes us, as a Race I mean, we will put on a bold front and act like they do, anyhow. Really, the more I think of it I feel like screaming and I get deathly sick. Different ones have been in all afternoon to learn the particulars and Julia is just worn out and nervous, too.

Mamma says your voice surely did sound good. I hope you are all feeling well. Remember us to your mother and father, also Strad. I know you are glad you all were not there. But there would have been a few Pecks less if he had been there, and I know it. They didn't do a thing to the high school building as it was city property, but the grade school burned. I think it caught from houses near by.

Yet while the devil made so many of us homeless, see, not three days later God sought vengeance and not only made them to be homeless in many numbers, but even 500 are reported dead from that flood in Colorado, as I guess you read in the papers. It looks that He permits awful sorrows and sufferings to befall us. But at that He is merciful. She didn't know of any women or children being killed or mistreated badly. And in the St. Louis riot they say they took babies and small children and brained them against telegraph posts. The whites opened their homes—those of the white school faculty—to the teachers of the Colored school. Julia and others stayed Wednesday night and Thursday at the domestic science supervisor's home. Maybe you heard Julia speak of her.

### Well Planned

Really, it seems they had the thing all planned, for they worked

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

by streets and so systematically and in groups. Isn't it strange they are such cowardly brutes? They knew enough not to go one man, or even two, to a house, but go six and seven, some eight, all armed, too. Well, I must close now. Dr. and Mrs. Covington are coming. So bye, bye. Write soon.

Much love. E. A.

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How are you and all? I'm here and that's all. Leora, I just can't express my feelings. I don't know what would be best for me—to express my feelings, running like some one mad or screaming. All I can say is it is horrible! Not a decent home left in Tulsa, and the men look so forsaken! All those fine churches are destroyed.

I've got not a thing left but my bag and suit. All my clothes were destroyed or stolen. I wish now I had stayed long enough to see if I could find any of my clothes at all. I can't write any more, Leora, although I saw so many horrible things.

Love to all. JULIA.

Oh, yes, Leora, I shook hands with Mr. and Mrs. Strad and he began to cry and I left. I think she had on her nightdress. As poor as all of us are now, I along with the rest of our party took a berth to Bloomington and I knew I didn't have a change of clothes. I was more fortunate than some—I managed to get my suit out.

# SHIELD RIOTERS; HUNT CITIZENS AS CRIMINALS

## Ridiculous Situation Stirs the Outside World to Demand Fair Play

Re'under 6/4/21

Tulsa, Okla., June 10.—The Jews in Russia suffered little in comparison to members of our Race here during the recent riot. The best the Race offered to the city of Tulsa was humiliated, beaten and shot to death, while officers stood by and laughed with glee.

The cry went out, "Let's get the rich niggers."

Policemen, boy scouts, guardsmen and aviators from a local concern joined hands to murder and pillage. It appeared as if the attack had been planned for months, as everything worked in unison. Taxpayers who gave their money to pay the salaries of policemen were shot indiscriminately. Prof. Woods, principal of the Booker Washington high school, was forced to walk several miles with his hands in the air. Guardsmen robbed him. Dr. Wayne was shot at several times and the ministers of the various churches were sought as if they were hardened criminals.

### Aviators Burn Church

An airplane hovered above the Mt. Zion Baptist church. Supply large lumps of gould for [illegible] Tenth ca airyman, prominently known here, fired on it with a Winchester rifle. His bullets gave out and within a few hours the church went up in smoke. White boys between 14 and 18 years old broke into homes on Detroit avenue, hurled furniture in the street and set it on fire. Although they are known and can be identified, the chief of police has failed to order their arrest.

The most ridiculous aspect of the whole situation is that instead of placing the rioters under arrest, the city authorities are seeking such men as A. J. Smitherman, editor of the Tulsa Star; J. B. Stradford, owner of the Stradford Hotel, and other prominent men who had nothing whatever to do with the rioting, but fled to points of safety to escape death. The aviators, who committed arson, are permitted to go about free and are said to have discussed how they "killed bunches of niggers."

Women were driven like cattle and those in a delicate state were forced to walk miles with hands upraised. Three babies were born in Convention hall, mothers being without medical attention for hours. Men were driven to the fair grounds by white boys ranging from 18 to 20 years old, who had been commissioned as "special officers." These lads used automatic revolvers and shot whenever they felt like doing it.

### Fortunes Ruined

Men who labored years to accumulate wealth lost it within twenty-four hours. The city of Tulsa is indifferent as to their welfare. White real estate men see the chance to wax fat on the ruined area. Insurance companies are seeking to dodge payment by declaring that the policy does not cover "damage by mob violence."

The whites took advantage of the fact that our Race was segregated in a district where the system of riot slaughter was easily carried out. This was the fatal move, made by the Race many years ago—having a segregated district. Unless the government orders a probe by a committee composed of members of both races nothing will ever be done. The city officials here simply "don't care."

## The Turk in Tulsa

NOT riot, but massacre was the Tulsa crime.

The Turk massacres the Armenian because a subject race, once denied civil rights, has gained freedom, prosperity and created envy by his ownership of the good things of life.

The single lynching of one criminal may be an outburst against the crime; but when a prosperous negro quarter is attacked, fair dwellings are set aflame and slaughter dealt to men that have done no wrong but that of rising from the lowly level to which they once were held by law, by custom and by prejudice—this is massacre and nothing but massacre.

The men who committed this massacre put the American in the same public international pillory as the Turk.

World public opinion does not draw the distinctions we would like. Exactly as we hold Turks as a whole responsible, when massacre succeeds massacre, so Americans are held responsible, as a whole, when negro massacre succeeds massacre, as for two years past.

Tulsa is, at least, to pay the cost of the dwellings destroyed. This is just, lawful and salutary. The payment ought to include damages for every life lost, paid to the family left without support. Nothing checked riot in Northern cities like the heavy sum taxpayers in Allegheny County and Pennsylvania were forced to pay for the damages caused by the railroad strike of July, 1877, in all, $4,014,022. Responsibility for damage done and lives lost by massacre or riot needs to be made more immediate and direct.

No possible question exists that in the streets of Northern cities as well as Southern, the negro, a "citizen of the United States," by birth and by every constitutional right, has again and again lacked "the equal protection of the laws," pledged by the Fourteenth amendment. If Congress were to enact a statute mulcting city, county and state in heavy damages for every instance where this "equal protection" did not exist, "our best citizens" in cities, counties and communities, North and South, would do something more than "express regret" for these "lamentable occurrences" and make sure their property was not cast in damages for American citizens slain in race massacre.

Race prejudice is treason to humanity. When it brings massacre, it also lays bare the criminal failure of all American communities to provide adequate force to keep the peace and thereby afford "the equal protection of the laws" to all. Our city police is too small for emergencies, in all our municipalities. So is our National Guard. Our countryside is undefended. States are without an efficient constabulary.

If the States continue to fail in their duty the American people will place the task in Federal hands.

"The poor shall not alway be forgotten; the patient abiding of the meek shall not perish forever."

# TELEPHONE CO. HELPED WHITES IN TULSA RIOT

L H Afro American 7/24/21

### All Colored 'Phone Subscribers Were Cut Off And Whites Only Given Service

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### TULSANS HERE

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### Committee Of Three Touring East Collecting Funds For Relief Work

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How the Telephone Company in Tulsa, Oklahoma, aided in rendering the colored people of that city helpless and defenseless during the recent riot, was told by G. A. Gregg, Secretary of the Tulsa Y. M. C. A., who, together with Horace S. Hughes, teacher in the high school and S. D. Hooker, a merchant in the same city, were in Baltimore this week, raising funds to releive 12,000 colored people who are homeless or living in tents following the riot.

According to Mr. Gregg, who is a brother of the president of Wilberforce University, Wilberforce Ohio, the Tulsa Telephone Company has all of its colored members segregated, also colored subscribers were only put on party lines with other colored people When whites in the city enlisted the aid of the soldiers and police, in order to burn down the colored section and pillage it, all the phones in colored homes were cut off the switchboard by white operators and only phone calls between white persons were permitted.

For several days colored people in Tulsa strove frantically to call up each other, and friends outside in other cities vainly tried to get connections. The only way any colored person could use the phone was to ask permission of his white neighbor, at the time when race relations were practically disrupted.

A booklet, "Tulsa Then and Now," issued by the Colored Citizens Relief Commission of Tulsa, of which Mr. Hooker is chairman, shows incomplete statistics of the property of colroed people that has been destroyed, reaching the enormous total of $1,772,681.

Included in the total losses were Paradise Baptist Church, worth $85,000; Mt. Zion Baptist Church, worth $6,500 and several Methodist and Baptist Churches, worth about $3,000 each. Mr. Hooker's dry goods store, worth $45,000; Jackson, undertaker, worth $15,000; Mrs. Lula T. Williams, $85,000; J. B. Stratton building, $125,000; Mrs. Annie Partee, $35,000; Mrs. Jennie Wilson, $25,000; Welcome Grocery Store, $50,000, and hundreds of others.

According to Mr. Gregg, as soon as the property was burned down, the white people of the city attempted to prevent the colored people from rebuilding, declaring that the land was needed for a new Union Rairoad station and for the extention of other white business paces. The people who are able are at once building on their old property. Twelve thousand, he said, are homeless, most of whom live iin tents.

Dr. W. T. Carr, of this city, is in receipt of an appeal for aid from the physicians, pharmacists and dentists, who lost everything in the riot.

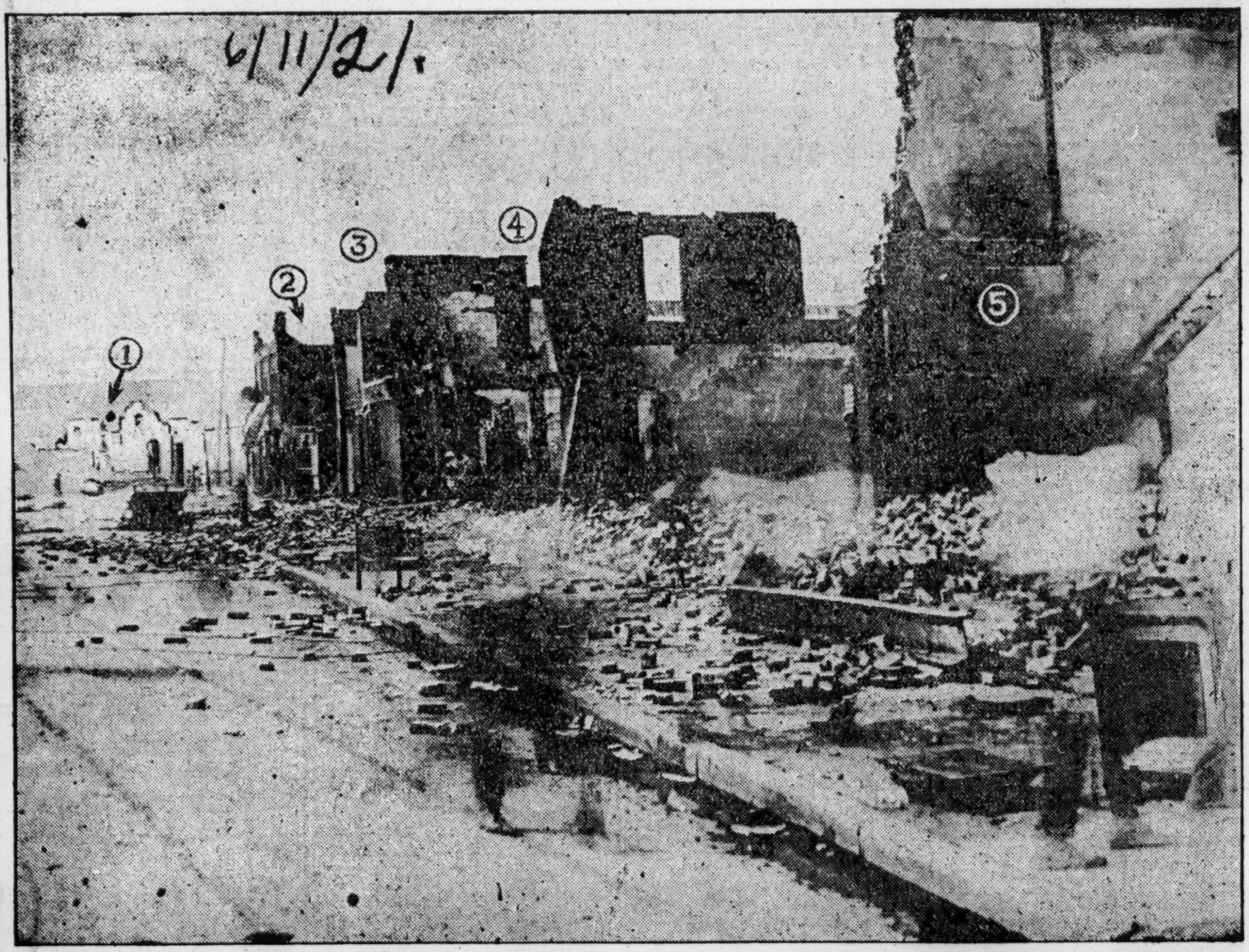
DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots – 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# HOMELESS TULSA RIOT VICTIMS TELL S

6/11/21.



Business district on Greenwood avenue after white rioters had applied torches to building. (1) Ruins of Stradford hotel, owned by J. B. Stradford, and valued at $65,000, containing 68 rooms. (2) Dreamland theater, owned by Wesley Williams. (3) Gist grocery store. (4) Ed. Howard's barber shop. Howard was killed when he sought to protect a woman and child from a burning structure. As he fled from the house with the baby in his arms a "special officer," previously armed by the policemen, shot him to death. (5) Woods building, occupied by Earl real estate office. Boys were seen to enter this building with kerosene cans. The safe was dragged to the street and torn open with an ax. Valuable mortgages were lost, and considerable money stolen. Aeroplanes from a local aviation company hovered over this district, dropping liquid fire on the brick structures to increase the flames. Beds from the Stradford hotel, fixtures from the grocery store, barber shop and real estate office were removed in trucks to the homes of poor white rioters. That which could not be stolen was burned. It is thought that influential white men urged the burning of the business
fact that they desired it for a manufactu
erty values had increased three-fold.

Three brick pillars, only surviving
Thompson's home at 521 N. Detroit str
tion Hill. The home was valued at $7,5
by Rev. W. H. Woods, pastor of Mt. Sin
Chicago, Ill. Dr. A. C. Jackson's home i
post. He was shot to death by mili
claimed, when he rushed terror-stricken

# TORIES OF HORROR

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ary guards, it is
from his home to

escape the flames. The residence of Dr. J. J. McKeever, also adjacent to the Thompson home, was looted and destroyed. It is said that the rioters invaded the best residential district of the Race first in order to rob the homes of valuables. Every prominent man was marked, and attempts were made to murder them. The danger of living in segregated districts was experienced here. Machine guns rained bullets on the segregated area, killing men and boys like rats in a trap. The actual dead may never be known. Rumors are that many slain were buried at night.

# TULSA REFUGEE TELLS STORY OF BLOODY RIOTING

Chicago Urban League
6/11/21.

## Knew Men in Crowd Which Burned Houses and Shot Defenseless

Below we publish the story of one of the victims of the Tulsa outrage. He fled to Chicago and gave the following account of the riot to Mr. Thayer of the Chicago Urban League. Another one of the victims also speaks, Mrs. Williams, a daughter of Mrs. James McNeal, who had one daughter, two daughters-in-law, a granddaughter and a son in the city during the riot. Mrs. McNeal has been living in Chicago, but was the owner of the Red Wing Hotel, which her son, J. T. Presley, managed. She received a telegram from her son at Claremore, 32 miles from Tulsa, stating: "Lost everything, but we are all safe. If you can send some money today we leave tomorrow." The account of G. D. Butler, who is a friend of Mrs. McNeal, follows:

Mr. Butler: The riot started about 8:30 Tuesday night. I live quite a distance from the Colored business section. I went out to my home about 12 o'clock that night when I heard the shooting. I had no idea it would be very bad and thought by the morning everything would be quiet and I could go back to work. When I looked out in the morning I saw a mob of about 400 or 500 people coming over the hill and I saw them shoot a Colored man. Several people ran out from their homes and caught a jitney and left the neighborhood, but I thought I would stay, as I was the only one in our house. I did not leave town because my uncle lived near the business part of town and I thought I would wait until I saw him to hear whether or not he was injured. About 8 o'clock they came into the residential district and began ransacking the Colored homes. I went up in the loft when I saw them coming. After setting fire to several homes around, they came into our house and after turning on the gas they piled furniture on top and lighted a match. As soon as they left I went down and turned off the gas and managed to put out the fire and went back into the loft. About an hour later another bunch came along and when they saw this house was not burning they came in and started a fire. I went down again and succeeded in putting it out and returned to the loft a second time. By this time the smoke was so bad that I decided to go out and started across the street toward the iron foundry when four fellows caught me. They said, "Where have you been, Nigger?" and I told them I had just come from work. Then they said, "Well, we are going to kill you." They took my watch, money and stickpin, when I saw some soldiers about a block away. They saw the men take my watch, and when they came up they asked where my gun was. The men told them I did not have any, so they ordered them to give me back my watch and put me in the automobile and carried me to the ball park. I found my uncle that evening in the ball park. We had planned on getting away, but my uncle owned a barber shop and some other property which was destroyed and he had to stay and put a valuation on the property.

G. D. Butler

Mr. Thayer: What did you say about the head of the St. Clair Oil Company?

Mr. Butler: They sent the Colored employes out of town. But now that things are quiet they are still using them. When they put us in the ball park, unless some responsible white person was there to identify you, you couldn't leave the park. Whenever you were allowed to leave they gave you a badge like this (displaying) white ribbon with "Police Protection" written on it.

The Boy Scouts set fire to the Colored district, broke open trunks and looted in general.

Mr. Thayer: How do you know they were Boy Scouts?

Mr. Butler: The whites have an organization in town by that name composed of young boys around the age of 14. They have uniforms and are used at the High School and around town to police the town and clean up the city. They used them to line up the people in the ball park for food and clothing, because most of them left their homes without much clothing on, to keep them from blockading.

Mr. Thayer: How did the militia act?

Mr. Butler: The militia only acted as guards. They also have a Home Guard, and they set fire to the Colored district.

Mr. Thayer: How do you know that?

Mr. Butler: I stayed there until 10 o'clock that morning and I could see them. I had been in Tulsa four years and know a number of white people by sight, but do not know their names.

Mr. Thayer: What was their method of setting fire?

Mr. Butler: They threw something like white lead against the walls and it left a streak like a match.

Mrs. Williams: That morning about 5 o'clock airplanes circled the houses and shots were fired from them at the Colored people. They came so low that we could see the people in them.

Mr. Thayer: Did you have any protection in your homes?

Mrs. Williams: Not anything. We never thought that any trouble could occur. The Colored people were doing so well and we never thought of anything of the sort. It must have been that the poor whites were jealous of the way the Colored people were getting along.

Mr. Butler: There were two distinct sections, business and residential. The Frisco railroad tracks separated the Colored district, although the iron foundry was in the Colored district. There were two pictures shows, two new parks, one ball park and one amusement park.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

Riots - 1 wl.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# HARDING INVOKES AGAINST RECURRENCE OF RACE WARS IN ADDRESS AT LINCOLN, U.

## PRAYS COUNTRY MAY NEVER WITTNESS ANOTHER TULSA

The Call 6/11/21

LINCOLN UNIVERSITY, PA., June 10. — President and Mrs. Harding motoring from Valley Forge, Pa., to Washington, stopped at Lincoln University shortly after 10 o'clock and were cordially greeted by the Rev. John M. Randall, president of the instituiton, and 400 Negro students. In a brief speech the President expressed his pleasure at the reception.

Before speaking the President was shown the granite arch efected in memory of Negro soldiers who died in the World War, and in his talk said the Negro soldiers earned this honor by their efforts. The President also sopke of the great benefits of education in furthering the welfare of the Negroes, and contrasted the fine scene presented at the university with those enacted in race motorcycles.

**Problem of Races.**

The President was cheered as his automobile left to cross the Maryland state line preceded by three Pennsylvania state policemen on motorcyces.

The President spoke only a few sentences to the small crowd gathered about the memorial arch, erected to Negro soldiers who lost their lives in the World War.

"It is a very great pleasure," said Mr. Harding, "to stop for a few moments and offer a word of greeting to such an institution on such an occasion. The colored citizenship of America in the World War earned its right to be memorialized.

**"Never Again."**

"Much is said about the problem of the races. There is nothing that the government can do which is akin to educational work in value. One of the great difficulties of popular government is that citizenship expects government to do what it ought to do for itself. No government can wave a magic wand. The colored race, to come into its own, must do the great work itself; the government can only offer the opportunity.

"Nothing is so essential as aducation; I am glad to commend the work of such institutions as this. It is a fine contrast to the unhappy and distressing spectacle we saw the other day in one of the western states. God grant that in the soberness, in the justice, and in the fairness of this country we shall never see another such spectacle."

The President in his address deplored the recent race riot at Tulsa, Okla., and all similar outbreaks of race feeling. "God grant," he said in referring to the riot, "that we may never have another spectacle like it."

## NEGRO DEAD AND WOUNDED AT TULSA.

Kansas City Sun 6/11/21

**Identified Negroes.**

John Wheeler, Negro porter, First National bank, killed while on his way to work Wednesday morning. He was struck by a stray bullet and killed instantly.

Dr. A. C. Jackson, shot to death while running from his burning home. He was one of Tulsa's most prominent Negro physicians and surgeons.

William Turner, 35, shot through abdomen! died at Morningside hospital.

George Jeffery or Jefferies, 36; shot through abdomen; died in Morningside hospital last night.

Sregg Alexander, 26; shot in back; died at Morningside hospital.

Following is a list of Negroes injured and taken to the Morningside hosiptal:

Lonie Foster, 619 Exter avenue; Commodore Knox, 801 E. Haskell Ave.; R. T. Evett, 1610 E. Archer Ave.; who was seriously wounded in the abdomen; Bob Rivers, 416 Archer Ave.; also wounded in the abdomen. His chart at the hospital shows that he worked at the Fred Harvey stand in the Frisco station. Tony Lewis, 404 E. Brady, wounded in arm; William Turner, 623 N. Exter Ave.; was wounded in the abdomen, condition serious. He was one of the Negro janitors working in the Daniel building Vance Arnold, 404 S. Elwood ave.; not serious; H. Johnson, 512 N. Frankfort, slightly wounded; Miranda Glaze, 61^ E. Archer, not serious; Chester Meadows, 112 N. Hartford ave.; slightly wounded; Alex. Stevenson, 501 E. Archer, not serious; S. Jackson, 1028 E. Middleton ave.; wil' recover; Porter Williams, 23½ N Cincinnati, will recover; ——— Lindsley, slightly wounded; William Gurner, slightly wounded; Clarence Griffin, who gave his address as Boley, Okla., will recover.

Dan Davis, 417 N. Exeter ave.; not serious; T. J. Bryant, 8½ E. Archer ave.: will also recover; Ruth Moore. 811 Easton ave.; and Ruth Carr, 1329 Crust street, slightly wounded.

J. L. Abernathy, 620 E. Hiel St.; shot through the back, very serious; Ben Montgomery, 129½ N. Greenwood, slightly wounded; Howard Barren, no address, was slightly wounded, released; Willis Maynor, not giving any address, was shot in the neck; he will recover; Celia Whitty, 600 N. Greenwood ave.; slightly wounder; Florida Smith, giving her address as 18 Kalamagor street, at Muckogee, was slightly wounded; Ora Woodard had his wounds treated and left yesterday; Leroy Lasley was also released after treatment; William Epps, gave his address as Muskogee, was not badly wounded; Andrew Neel, not serious, living at Locksbury, Ark., Lena Robinson, 621 E. Williamson ave.; not serious; Marie Johnson, 501 W. Seventeenth street, not serious; Sam Tyson, 22 N. Cincinnati ave.; slightly wounded; Tom Nelson, 510 N. Elwood ave., released after treatment; Will Moore, no address, slightly wounded; Tony Lewis, 404 E. Brady, ave.; slightly wounded; P. A. Chapple, released after treatment; Cal Arnley, 712 E. Easton ave., not serious; George L. Denny, 319 N. Hartford ave., not serious; Ed Ingram. allowed to leave after treatment; Willie Brown, given first aid; Johnny Baker, 23½ Cincinnati ave, not serious; Ed Baskin, 410 E. Easton ave., not serious; Ruth Oliver, 522 N. Elgin ave., was shot in the foot and will recover; Letha Rentis, Muskogee, not serious; Charles Johnson, released after treatment; James Barry, 518 Elgin ave., not serious; Franklin Smith, 114½ N. Greenwood, will recover; Shirley Wofford, allowed to leave after receiving first aid; Oiver Lane, released after treatment; Ulysses Jackson, 901 E. Easton ave., not serious; G. W. Lewis, 607 E. Archer ave., not serious; J. S. Hodo, allowed to leave after treatment; Arthur Jones, 1415 N. Denver ave., will recover; Lily Talliafirio, Perry, Okla., not serious; L. Washington was stabbed in the arm and was allowed to leave after treatment; William Bentley, head wound; released after treatment.

## COLORED TULSA FOUGHT

Guardian 6/11/21

**SAYS OKLA.. LAWYER—WERE OUTNUMBERED AND AMMUNITION GAVE OUT—THEN CAME RUTHLESS SLAUGHTER BY WHITE MOB—200 DEAD, $2,000,000 PROPERTY LOSS—COLORED DISARMED AND WHITES ALLOWED TO KEEP ARMS**

(Washington Colored American Daily) Muskogee, Oklahoma, June 2nd, 1921 —On June 1st a Race War broke out in Tulsa, Oklahoma. The cause was the attempted lynching of Dick Rowland, a nineteen year old Colored lad, who was charged with assaulting a white girl. The entire Colored section of the city was destroyed by fire and the mob looted the dwelling houses and the business houses stealing everything that could be carried away.

**Colored Outnumbered**

The Colored men fought bravely but were out-numbered and had only a small amount of ammunition; the properay loss is over two million dolllars and there are more than two hundred lives lost (White and Colored). Colored were disarmed by officers but the white mob were permitted to keep their weapons. Men, women and children were ruthlessly slaughtered by the mob At six o'clock A. M., Gen. Barrett, the Adjutant General with a machine gun company arrived and took charge of the city, and then the murdering ceased.

**Whites Offer Aid After Colored Ruined**

Tulsa City and County are now under martial law, many of the refugees came to Muskogee "The City of Refuge." Gen. aBrrett is credited with saying: "Most of this damage was done by white criminals who should have been shot and killed." The best white citizens of Tulsa have organized a relief committee and are doing much to assist the destitute. This is the bloodiest Race riot that has ever occurred in this State. The lowest element of the white people were urged on by corn whiskey, of which there was an abundance are responsible for the massacre.

The Tulsa World, a white paper, has donated a thousand dollars to the relief fund, and a committee headed by Mayor Evans haye started a movement to rebuild the homes, and see that the people get their insurance and claims against the city and county. uiet now reigns in the devasted district.

H. H. TWINE Phone 3959

## HARDING, IGNORING TULSA HOMELESS, PLEADS FOR PUEBLO VICTIMS

Chicago Whip 6/11/21

WASHINGTON, June 11.—Immediately following the Pueblo, Colo., floods, President Harding made an appeal to the nation at large for aid for the victims. The President failed however, to make public any plea regarding the victims of the Tulsa race riots.

# EXPOSE PLOT OF REALTY MEN IN TULSA RIOT

Chicago Defender

**Oppressed and Neglected Victims Fight to Save Their Property**

9/3/21

Tulsa, Okla., Sept. 2.—As in the case of Cy Williams, theatrical operator, Tulsa citizens, although torn and beaten down by the cruel hand of oppression, have demonstrated a spirit to stick to their property at whatever cost.

Williams owned a beautiful theater on North Greenwood that the white people wanted. He had expressed the idea that it was for sale. In order to defeat the white people in their plans for the purchase of the property sufferers from the riot put their individual money together and through the East End relief committee bought the property, thus saving the devastated district from white invasion. Tulsa riot victims are determined to hold their land and rebuild homes.

City Attorney Duncan (white) recently went into court on the hearing of the petition of Rev. Whittaker for a permanent injunction to restrain the city from enforcing an ordinance that the commission of Tulsa delegate its authority with reference to the government of the burned district to the white reconstruction board, and it is known that the passage of the fire ordinance that restricted our people from building in the burned area was at the instance of the real estate exchange through the white reconstruction board.

Members of the real estate exchange had made statements to the effect that large manufacturing interests wanted the district in years past for business purposes and the district was a "marked spot." Attorney Elisha Scott of Topeka, Kan. representing the riot victims, has affidavits to support this allegation.

The new ordinance passed by the city of Tulsa following the riot which extended the fire limits to restrict building in the burned area has been declared void by court ruling.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 1/

# Federal and State Inquiries at Tulsa

## Authorities Begin Investigations To Fix Blame For Recent Outbreak

Work Monroe N Comp

## Get White Looters

### Thirty Prowling Ghouls Arrested---List of Dead Totals Only 21 Negroes and 10 Whites---$1,500,000 Damage

New York Age 6/11/21

(Special to The New York Age)

Tulsa, Okla.—An apparent return to normalcy, following the riots of Wednesday, June 1st, was indicated this week by the withdrawal of the state troops, following the order issued by Governor J. B. A. Robertson restoring civil law, the inaugurating of both Federal and state investigations as to the cause of the riots, and development of plans for the rebuilding of the homes of colored citizens destroyed by the incendiaries' tortures.

In addition, more than thirty whites have been arrested for looting the devastated district, and are being held pending investigation into their connection with the rioting. More than seventy-five have been arrested altogether, but many have been released. Chief of Police Gustafxson has made a statement declaring that drastic measures would be taken against all looters. "We are keeping a close record of all property recovered," he said, "and as Negroes identify their belongings we will demand that they swear to warrants for the arrest of the vandals. Prosecutions will follow."

**Starting an Investigation.**

The start of the state's investigation has been put in motion by District Judge Valjean Biddison, who received a letter from Governor Robertson, asking that an investigation be started which would include also the Police Department and the Sheriff's office, which the governor strongly condemned. Judge Biddison ordered a convening of the Grand Jury for Wednesday, June 8th.

Instead of the excessive numbers first reported killed, latest reports show a total of only twenty-one Negroes and ten whites. The property damage will probably exceed $1,500,000. Representative citizens of Tulsa, in a public meeting, were unmeasured in their deunciation of city and county officials, holding them responsible for the outbreak, and a committee formed to care for the 3,000 homeless Negroes would not accept the mayor, T. D. Evans, as a member.

Former Mayor E. J. Martin, who was elected chairman of the Emergency Committee, declared that most of the damage was done by white criminals who should have been shot and killed. "As the final outcome, we must rebuild these houses, see that these Negroes get their insurance and get their claims against the city and county," said chairman Martin.

**$500,000 for Rebuilding.**

For this purpose, a fund of $500,000 is being raised. The committee announced that only homes owned by Negroes would be reconstructed. Buildings owned by whites, and business buildings, will not be rebuilt. The district burnt is more than a mile in area. More than twenty substantial brick buildings were destroyed, and a new church edifice costing $85,000, just completed was totally consumed by the flames.

Attorney General Freeling has been ordered by Governor Robertson to come to Tulsa and take charge of the investigation, preserving all evidence submitted to the Grand Jury.

The Emergency Committee has decided that the restoration fund is to be raised locally, and that no money will be accepted or used that comes from the outside. Such funds are to be turned over to the Red Cross for relief purposes only. The committee has also sent out a request that no campaigns for funds be started by outside friends.

# SKILLED NEGRO MECHANIC BRINGS TALE OF TERROR

Washington Eagle 6/18/21

Clarence Williams is in town. He came from Tulsa. He is glad to be here, but he is not yet sure that he is far enough away from the scene of carnage and conflagration and gruesome barbaric plunder and execution perpetrated by Anglo-Saxons of the Southwest.

Skilled as a mechanic, he was working in the canning factory of the H. A. Ring Company, at Tulsa, when the riot broke out. On May 29, he states, a colored girl, Lucile Higner, spilled a pail of milk. Her employer, a white man named Burns, beat her to death. Williams was the first to see her where she was thrown out on the road near the gate in a mutilated condition.

Meeting the father of the girl at the corner of Adams and Pine streets Williams caused the elder Higner to hasten to the Burns dairy to make inquiry concerning his daughter. The dairyman attacked and killed him. After being absent from home for two hours, the wife became alarmed.

**Mother Killed, Too.**

When Williams called at the Higner home to see how things were going, he found that the mother, becoming worried, had gone to make inquiries, concerning, husband, and daughter. She met the same fate as the others. At 5:30 in the morning of May 30 Adams Street, containing fifteen blocks of houses, had been roped off and fire had been set to the frame houses of Negro residents.

CLARENCE WILLIAMS

In the meantime, all colored persons showing their faces or trying to escape, were shot. Soldiers, arriving at 6 o'clock to help the Negroes, joined the mob and shot down all who attempted to flee.

**Want Negro Property.**

The white Tulsan, Mr. Williams says, has long envied the locality occupied by Negro residents. For petty sums they had offered to buy Negroes out, but they would not sell. The whites determined to burn the Negroes out. The burning continued from May 29 until June 4, the date of Williams' escape from the city.

Williams states that he was working in a canning factory located in a white section at 133rd and White Avenue. After regulating his engine, May 29, he delivered boxes by truck until 5 o'clock. On returning he was told by his boss that he would have to stay on until 12 o'clock at night as two men were home sick.

Later Williams found out that these men had been killed downstairs in the factory where he was at work. His parents, getting uneasy concerning his safety, because he always came after them with his truck to bring them home from work, came over to the factory to find him.

**Parents Murdered.**

While talking to him in the boiler room on the third floor, the white employes of the plant, including the boss, having killed the sixteen other Negro employes, proceeded to attack the Williams family. The boss cried: "Kill 'em all." Williams tells the story:

"They first killed my mother by hitting her with the butt end of an axe. Then they shot my dad. They threw my brother in the furnace. They hewed and hacked my sister's shoulders off. My other two sisters were burned to death at home.

"By hitting my sister such an awful blow, I being behind her, was knocked down in a mass of boxes. In such a general murder they thought they had killed me. I laid under my sister's body. She, though dead, continued to bleed, and her flesh continued to tremble from 12 o'clock the night of May 30 until 10 o'clock on the succeeding night.

**Makes His Escape.**

"Then I sneaked out of the back exit and attempted to reach the freight yards. While skirting the town in the wooded hills I could see the place where my home had been and the homes of my friends smouldering in flames. The air was filled with fumes of burning flesh.

"On my way to the freight yards I passed close to the last half dozen houses. I could see forms writhing in the embers and hear groans of the dying. I knew I could be of no service. I reached the freight yards at daylight. One white brute grabbed me, but I slipped out of my coat and let him have it. Several wild shots were fired, but I continued to run until I came to a carload of lumber.

"Chased out of that, I escaped to a refrigerator car, then to a watermelon car. Finally I escaped to another refrigerator car. There I stayed from the morning of June 2 until June 9, when I found myself in what I was told was Acton, North Carolina. Chased out of the car, I slept in a peach orchard. Next I caught a coal car and came to Richmond, staying there about eight hours.

**On to Washington.**

"Realizing that I was still in the South, I caught another freight train and lay under the car on the rods until I arrived in Washington, June 14, about 4 o'clock. Finding myself somewhere in the neighborhood of the Monument, I was directed by friendly colored people to the office of The Washington Eagle."

Williams lived formerly at 1835 Adams Street, Tulsa, Okla. He is a world war veteran and fought in France as a member of the Red Hand Division. He states that large crowds of Negroes attempting to escape were driven into the flames in droves. Babies were snatched from their mothers and their brains dashed out. In some cases oil and gasoline was poured on women's heads and set afire.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots—1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# Feeding Negroes in Ball Park

JEFFERSON CITY MO. NEWS
JUL 17, 1921

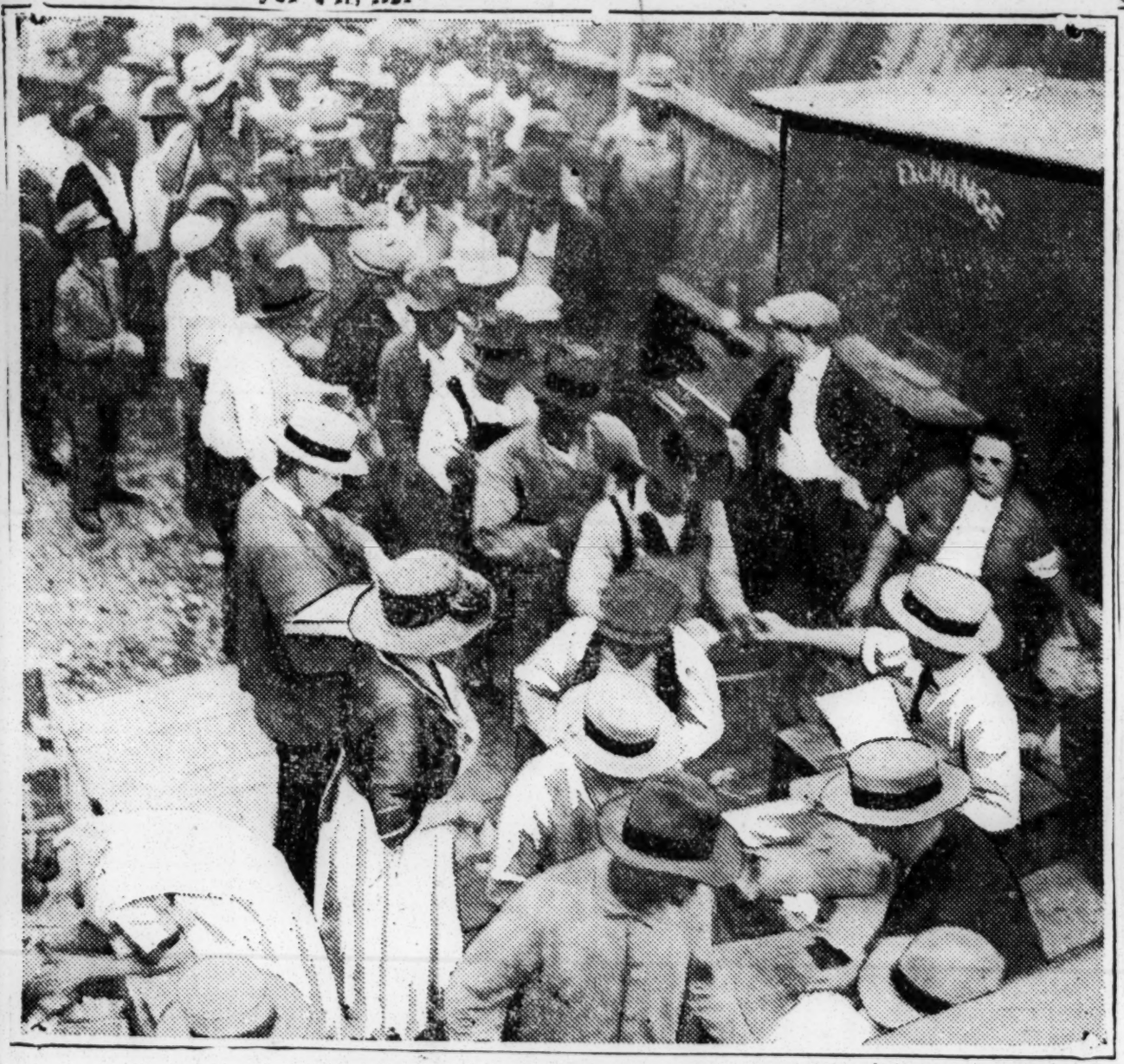

Photo by Alvin C. Krupnick for The Newspaper Enterprise Association.

The mob spirit died quickly when National Guard troops took command at the Tulsa, Oklahoma, riots and the city turned to taking care of the homeless. Negroes, who were rushed to the ball park for protection, are shown receiving food at kitchens set up in the open-air...

## PLAN WHOLESALE SUITS AGAINST CITY FOR RIOT

Chicago Defender 7/23/21

Tulsa, Okla., July 22.—With a loss of property running into the millions and families homeless, business completely demoralized, Tulsa's Race citizenry is pushing resolutely forward in the effort to reconstruct their fortunes. City authorities and bankers have refused loans or aid. The people have organized to rebuild under the leadership of O. W. Gurley, president of the East End Welfare board; S. D. Hooker, chairman of the relief committee; John Tyler Smith, treasurer, and Mrs. D. L. Bush, secretary. Attorneys I. E. Sadler, G. W. P. Brown, R. Emmitt Stewart and Elisha Scott have been employed to aid, advise and protect legal interests. Many suits are to be brought, all of which will necessitate a large expenditure of money.

## JURY BLAMES HIM FOR TERRIBLE DEATH TOLL

Chicago Whip 7/30/21

### Class Him As Modern Nero; He Laughed While Tulsa Burned

TULSA, Okla., July 30—After deliberating six hours the special grand jury empaneled to sift the facts around the Tulsa riot, found John A. Gustafsen, suspended Chief of Police of Tulsa, guilty on two counts.

Gustafsen finds himself guilty of being the indirect cause of the greatest horror in American domestic history.

He was indicted on five counts. The jury deliberated only on two of them, the other three having been dropped since the trial started two weeks ago.

**Guilty of Negligence and Conspiracy**

The two counts upon which Gustafsen was found guilty were failing to take the proper precautions for public safety on the night of the riot, and conspiracy to free automobile thieves and collect rewards.

Conviction on the first count carries with it dismissal from his office as Chief of Police. Conviction on the second count carries with it a jail sentence.

**Responsible for Loss of Life and Property**

It has been definitely established that the terrible loss of life and property came as a direct result of Gustafsen's failure to act at a time when bloodshed might have been averted.

Rioting which broke out on the night of June 1 continued with unabated fury until four o'clock the next afternoon, with little or no interference from Chief Gustafsen.

Adjt.-Gen. Barrett, of the Oklahoma Guard, was emphatic in his charges that a complete fall-down of the local police was responsible for the rioting.

Gen. Barrett said that he came to Tulsa with 100 uniformed men from Oklahoma City and in short time pacified 25,000 armed, milling men, and said the chief could have done it with equal facility if he had used his power. The General said the presence of six uniformed policemen or a half dozen deputy sheriffs at the county building when whites, bent on taking from the jail Dick Rowland, would have prevented the riot.

**Other Counts Dropped**

Counts of the indictment which were dropped included not enforcing the liquor law, not closing disorderly houses, and of having used his city office to further the interests of his detective agency.

# TULSA UNMASKED!

Chicago Whip 6/18/21

New York Age 7/16/21

# Oklahama Refugees Refuse To Accept Good Paying Position

On June 4th, 1921, THE NEW YORK AGE carried a story which told of the coming to New York of three Oklahoma families, their exodus being actuated by certain alleged unbearable conditions existing particularly in Ocmulgee, that state, their former home.. In connection with the development of the Tulsa riot, the story of which appeared in the same issue, the statements of the refugees were given utmost credence.

Fom various sources, especially from Orlando Swain, Commissioner of Public Safety of Ocmulgee, came charges that the stories told by these Ocmulgee refugees were not based on truth...These insinuations and allegations were not considered at the time, in view of the serious nature of developments at Tulsa. The people coming from Ocmulgee, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Claude Harris and Mr. and Mrs. Allen Gatling, were received in good faith by all elements of New York's citizenry, and aid of all sorts was extended them.

But there has come to light certain facts concerning their acts that tends to raise a doubt concerning their good faith and honesty of intention.

Through THE AGE story, the Rev. S. Douglas McDuffie, owner of a farm recently acquired just outside of Oswego, N. Y., became interested and made an offer to Charles Johnson and wife, Lizzie, that they go to this upstate farm and take over the management of it at $50 per month and all expenses paid, with a good, well-furnished home in which to live. The editor of The Age immediately transmitted this offer to the Johnsons and they agreed to accept, provided Mr. McDuffie furnished transportation, as they claimed to be entirely out of funds.

This was communicated to the Rev. Mr. McDuffie, at that time conducting a series of evangelistic meetings at Macon, Ga., and promptly a money order for $20 was forwarded to the Johnson people. Inquiry at railroad ticket office showed that the sum was insufficient to cover transportation charges, and a telegram to Mr. McDuffie brought by return mail a check for $10 additional, which gave a total several dollars in excess of amount actually needed. Complete arrangements were made for the farm owner's agent to meet Mr. and Mrs. Johnson at Oswego and take them to the farm, and the owners cousin, temporarily in care of the property, had been instructed by wire to make all necessary provisions for the comfort and well-being of the new farm manager and his wife.

To all of this Mr. and Mrs. Johnson gave their assent, but as they had, according to their statement, already paid their board in advance for the current week, they did not care to leave the city until Sunday night, these developments coming on Friday.

But when an AGE representative called to complete arrangements for transporting Mr. and Mrs. Johnson and their belongings to the Sunday night train, these folks had undergone a change of mind. Mrs. Johnson declared they were not going off into the country, as she had secured some day's work, and her husband could get a job, and they were intending to remain in New York.

Developments since then indicate that these people are continuing to trade upon their alleged Oklahoma sufferings and find it easier to subsist upon the charitable outpourings of the public than to apply themselves to honest hard labor. Just last week, according to information received by THE AGE they were the beneficiaries of a benefit tendered by a race musician.

In the meantime, Rev. McDuffie has been disappointed, and the editor of THE AGE has returned to him the money order and check which he sent to Mr. and Mrs. Johnson for their railroad fare and incidental traveling expenses.

Their action in this matter gives body to the declaration made by Orlando Swain, Commissioner of Public Safety of Ocmulgee, who wrote concerning the Johnson party, that —"The refugees were formerly residents of Ocmulgee, some of them having been there for the past fifteen years. Their purported statement that they had been warned to leave Ocmulgee by white people and the statement of Harris that her house had been set on fire three times . . . . are all pure fake and lies, . .made for the purpose of getting a shakedown from some sympathetic New Yorkers."

# HE LAUGHED AS TULSA BURNED

The Chicago White 7/30/21

Photo Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

**Chief of Police John A. Gustafsen of Tulsa, Okla., is said to have laughed as the city was reduced to ashes is shown here in a characteristic pose. Gustafsen was kicked out of the Department last week.**

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots – 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# 75 Dead in Tulsa Race War; Negro Quarter Is in Flames; County Under Martial Law

JUNE 1, 1921
N. Y. C. POST

## Whites and Negroes Waged Fierce Battle

## Former Used Motor Cars and Scout Planes

## Guardsmen in Control—Thousands of Fugitives in Convention Hall and Ball Park

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla., June 1.—Seventy-five persons, whites and negroes, have been killed in the race outbreak in Tulsa, according to a telephone message to Gov. Robertson here to-day, from the Chief of Police at Tulsa.

An order for martial law was extended to include all of Tulsa County. The order placed the Adjutant General in command of the city and county.

Martial law in Tulsa was ordered by Gov. Robertson at 11:15 A. M., and Adj. Gen. Barrett was placed in command of the city. The order was given over the long distance telephone.

His conversation with Adj. Gen. Barrett, who is at Tulsa, Gov. Robertson said, was to the effect that it was impossible for the fire department to enter the negro section, and that the flames were raging there with no successful effort toward getting them under control.

### Negro Section of Tulsa in Flames

TULSA, Okla., June 1.—Nearly ten square blocks of the negro section of Tulsa, where an armed conflict has been in progress between white men and negroes since early last night, resulting in a reported death list of at least six whites and fifty negroes and a rapidly increasing list of wounded, were in flames to-day. The fire was spreading and threatening to wipe out a white residence section in the Stand-Pipe and Sunset Hill additions.

State troops under the command of Adjt. Gen. C. F. Barrett arrived at 9 o'clock to take charge of the situation, augmenting local units of guardsmen who were called out last night. At this time there was intermittent shooting and the situation seemed to be easing.

Detachments of guardsmen were scattered throughout the city prepared to meet all emergencies with machine guns ready for action. Guards surrounded the armory while others assisted in rounding up negroes and segregating them in the jail, Convention Hall, the baseball park, and other places which had been turned into prison camps.

### Shooting Resumed at Daybreak

Continuous gun-fire broke out soon after daylight this morning near the negro quarter. The firing came from a spot where throughout the early morning hours 500 white men and 1,000 negroes faced each other across railroad tracks. First reports to police headquarters said that the bodies of from six to ten negroes could be seen lying in a space described as "No Man's Land." The police also had a report that three railway switchmen and a brakeman had been shot to death.

The trainmen were killed, it was reported, because they refused to permit men in the opposing crowds to ride upon a switch engine passing between the lines. The engineer was said to have escaped.

### A White Woman Shot by Negroes

In a fresh outbreak at 7:30 o'clock in the Stand Pipe Hill district in the extreme northern end of the negro quarter, Mrs. S. A. Gilmore, a white woman, was shot in the left arm and side. Mrs. Gilmore was standing on the front porch of her home when she was shot by a negro, one of a score or more barricaded in a church.

Hundreds of armed white men are being rushed to the district in automobiles.

At 9 o'clock 2,000 negroes had been gathered in at Convention Hall under guard. It was filled, as was also the police station. The remainder of those rounded up are being taken to the baseball park, all under armed guard.

### Motor Cars and Airplanes Used

As the dawn broke sixty or seventy motor cars filled with armed white men formed a circle completely around the negro section. Half a dozen airplanes circled overhead. There were much shouting and shooting. A row of houses along the railroad tracks was set on fire, but lack of wind prevented the flames from spreading. A party of white riflemen was shooting at all the negroes they saw and firing into houses. The negroes were spiritedly returning the fire.

The trouble is said to have had its inception over the arrest late yesterday of a negro for an alleged attack upon a whie girl.

The negro was taken to the Court House and lodged in the jail on the upper floors of the building. Early in the night motor cars containing armed negroes appeared on the streets headed for the Court House. A crowd of 200 negroes surrounded the building. Armed white men soon began gathering.

The crowds soon reached such proportions that the authorities realized the situation was beyond their control and a call was sent to Gov. Robertson for troops. The Governor directed Adjt. Gen. Charles F. Barrett to take any steps necessary to handle the trouble. The Adjutant General ordered out three companies of guardsmen here and sent instructions to commanding officers in a number of nearby towns to be prepared to rush men here on immediate notice.

The local guardsmen were drawn up about the court house and prevented the crowds from breaking through. National Guardsmen patrolled the downtown streets and every effort was made to induce the crowds to disband.

### Negro Quarters Twice Set on Fire

The first attempts to set fire to the negro quarter were made about 1:30 o'clock this morning. White men openly threatened to destroy the quarter. Two houses at Archer and Boston Streets, used by more than fifty negroes, were set afire at that time, and an alarm was turned in. Efforts of the Fire Department to lay hose were stopped by a crowd of armed white men, and the department returned to its station.

The attempt to burn the negro quarter was resumed five hours later, when almost simultaneously fire began to burst from the doors and windows of frame shacks along Archer Street. Under cover of the dense smoke armed men in motor cars and afoot formed a cordon about the place where the negroes were stationed, and occasional shots were heard.

As the fire enveloped the houses negroes were seen to dart out from flaming doorways with upraised hands, shouting, "Don't shoot." As they dashed through the smoke they were ordered to surrender and were quickly removed to the prison camps.

The negroes assembled as refugees and prisoners were being cared for by civic organizations and private citizens who volunteered for the work. Ice water and sandwiches were served and the wounded or sick were receiving medical attention.

### Refugees From the War Zone

Throughout the morning long lines of negroes streamed westward along the streets leading to Convention Hall. Many wore their night clothes and were barefooted. Men, women, and children carried bundles of clothing on their heads and backs. The articles they saved were varied and in many cases would have been ludicrous but for the gravity of the situation. Here an old woman clung to a Bible; there a girl carried a woolly white dog under her arm, and behind trotted a little girl with a big wax doll. In one case an aged negro woman supported an old man wrapped about with quilts and blankets and apparently very ill. He was immediately placed in an automobile and hurried to a hospital.

But all who came to Convention Hall were not non-combatants. Repeatedly grim-faced men, heavily armed, whirled up to the big hall directly from the scene of fighting under a big hill in North Greenwood. With them, closely guarded, were negro prisoners captured with guns during the fray.

Negro domestics were taken from their quarters and moved to the ball park.

### Firemen Prevented From Acting

"We can't use the equipment we have. For that reason we have not asked for more apparatus from other cities," R. C. Alder, fire chief, said. "It would mean a fireman's life to turn a stream of water on one of those negro buildings. They shot at us all morning when we were trying to do something, but none of my men was hit. There is not a chance in the world to get through that mob into the negro district.

"We have fire lines protecting the warehouses on the Katy Railroad and I think we have them saved. If the wind should change the white residence section east of the negro district would be menaced.

"The fire has swept Greenwood Street, where the negro business section was located, and is sweeping around the hill to the north. So far the white residence section on the north has not been touched."

Fires continued to rage all morning in the negro section, but at noon it was believed that the white residential quarters, which were imperilled, would escape.

### Negro Prisoner Is Removed

Dick Rowland, the negro charged with assault, was removed from the county jail during the night to an unrevealed place of safety, it was learned this morning.

Rowland was taken out of town at 2 o'clock this morning by deputies from Sheriff McCullough's office. They refused to divulge his whereabouts. They said the negro would be given a speedy trial as soon as the situation quieted down.

Soon after the first appearance of the negroes last night the streets were filled with shouting, gesticulating men. Suddenly there was a rush for sporting goods houses and hardware stores, where the crowds broke in and armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find. Guardsmen dispersed the rioters at the stores and a military order confiscated all stocks of arms in the city until the disturbance could be put down.

### Siren Call Alarms Muskogee

MUSKOGEE, Okla., June 1.—Sounding of the fire siren here to-day threw the city into a pitch of excitement. It was some minutes before quiet could be restored through the announcement that the call was for the purpose of calling out National Guardsmen for duty at Tulsa. The siren was mistaken for a riot call.

At the offices of the Missouri, Kansas & Texas Railroad here it was said no passenger trains were being moved out of Tulsa.

# 35 KILLED, IS REPORT FROM OKLAHOMA RIOT

N. Y. C. SUN
JUNE 1, 1921

## Whites and Blacks Battle Desperately in Tulsa Streets.

## STATE GUARDSMEN AT SCENE

## Trouble Starts When Negro Mob Attempts to Free Another From Jail.

TULSA, Okla., June 1.—This city was the battle ground of bloody race warfare to-day.

Three units of National Guardsmen were trying this morning to hold armed bands of whites and negroes in check, but in spite of the presence of the troopers volley after volley of shots rang out in the black belt.

Two white men and one negro were known to be dead. Scores have been injured by rifle and pistol shots and by bricks. Unconfirmed reports placed the death list of five whites and thirty negroes.

The trouble started when 200 armed negroes last night attempted to storm the jail and free Dick Rowland, who had been arrested and charged with maltreating a white girl. The first negro was killed by a policeman when he resisted arrest.

White men swarmed to the black belt early to-day vowing to burn the dwellings of the negroes. Airplanes circled over the negro section. They were said to carry bombs. Negroes were fleeing from Tulsa by the hundreds to escape death. Armed whites were doing their best to cut off the escape.

Renewal of the riots to-day made probable the calling of additional troopers. The downtown section was heavily guarded.

Three hundred negroes were reported

(over)

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From Over

at 9 o'clock to have been captured by the whites.

Twenty-six lines of captured negroes, eight or ten abreast, were marched down North Main street with white civilians carrying rifles and revolvers, taking them to the convention hall. All negroes had their hats off and their hands high above their heads. The whites men held their rifles and pistols at the negroes' sides.

# FIFTEEN MEN ARE KILLED IN RACE RIOT AT TULSA, OK'LA.; AIRPLANES USED IN FIGHT

N Y C EVE WORLD
JUNE 1, 1921

## Negroes Attempt to Rescue Arrested Man—Mob Shootings and Street Conflicts Follow—Houses Set on Fire—Machine Guns on Way and Three Companies of Guards.

TULSA, Okla., June 1.—Continuous gunfire broke out to-day shortly after daylight in the negro quarter of Tulsa, the scene of all night race disturbances, in which hundreds of armed white men and negroes took part and which resulted in the death of at least fifteen persons and the calling out of Oklahoma National Guard units to put down the disorder.

The firing came from a spot where throughout the early morning hours five hundred white men and a thousand negroes faced each other across railroad tracks.

First reports to Police Headquarters said that the bodies of from six to ten negroes could be seen lying in a space described as "No Man's Land."

The police also had a report that three railway switchmen and a brakeman had been shot to death.

The trainmen were killed, it was reported because they refused to permi members of the opposing crowds to ride upon a switch engine passing between the lines. The engineer was reported to have escaped.

None of the persons killed had been identified to-day. Officials were uncertain as to the exact number of persons injured last night, but they declared it probably would be large. Many of the injured, it was said, were hurt while engaging in hand-to-hand street fights.

Occupants of the last car to go through the negro district this morning reported that fully 1,000 armed negroes were still to be seen.

Soon after the first appearance of the negroes last night the streets were filled with shouting, gesticulating men. Suddenly there was a rush for sporting goods houses and hardware stores, where the crowds broke in and armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find. Guardsmen were used to disperse the rioters at the stores and a military order confiscated all stocks of arms in the city until the disturbance could be put down.

The situation was further aggravated this morning by reports from Muskogee that crowds of negroes there were arming themselves and preparing to come to the assistance of those of their race in Tulsa. Muskogee advices said that the officials there were guarding all highways to prevent the departure of negroes from that city.

As the dawn broke sixty or seventy motor cars filled with armed white men formed a circle completely around the negro section. Half a dozen airplanes circled overhead. There was much shouting and shooting. A row of houses along the railroad tracks was fired, but lack of wind prevented the flames from spreading. A party of white riflemen was reported to be shooting at all negroes they saw and firing into houses. The negroes were said to be returning the fire dispiritedly,

Late reports placed the number of dead in the neighborhood as fifteen.

OKLAHOMA CITY, June 1.—Adjutant General Charles F. Barrett, in charge of Oklahoma National Guard, left early to-day on board a special train which took one Oklahoma City machine gun company to Tulsa. Gen. Barrett will retain charge of the situation until crowds are dispersed, he said.

The trouble is said to have had its inception over the arrest late yesterday of a negro for an alleged attack upon a white girl. The negro was taken to the Court House and lodged in the jail on the upper floor of the building. Early in the night motor cars containing armed negroes appeared on the streets headed for the Court House. A crowd of 200 negroes surrounded the building Armed white men soon began gathering.

The crowds soon reached such proportions that the authorities realized the situation was beyond their control and a call was sent to Gov. Robertson for troops. The Governor directed Adjutant General Charles F. Barrett to take any steps necessary to handle the trouble. The Adjutant General ordered out three companies of guardsmen here and sent instructions to commanding officers in a number of nearby towns to be prepared to rush new men here on immediate notice.

# OKLAHOMANS USE 'PLANES, AUTOS AND GUNS IN BATTLE

## Five Hundred White Men Encircle Negro Quarter of Tulsa, Set Fire to Houses and Shoot Down Tenants.

N. Y. C. MAIL
JUNE 1, 1921

Tulsa, Okla., Today.—Continuous gunfire broke out early oday near the negro quarter of Tulsa, the scene of all-night race disturbances, in which hundreds of armed yhite men and negroes took part, resulting in the death and injury of an unknown number of persons and the calling out of three local units of the Oklahoma national guard.

As the dawn broke, sixty or seventy motor cars filled with armed white men formed a circle completely around the negro section. Half a dozen airpalnes circled overhead. There was much shouting and shooting.

A row of houses along the railroad tracks was fired, but lack of wind kept the flames from spreading.

A party of white riflemen was reported to be shooting at all negroes they saw and firing into houses. The negroes were said to be returning the fire dispiritedly.

Late reports placed the number of dead in the neighborhood of fifteen.

Five hundred white men and a thousand negroes, who faced each other across railroad tracks began continuous firing with the dawn. First reports to police headquarters said the bodies of six to ten negroes could be seen lying in a space described as "no man's land." The police also had a report that three railway switchmen and a brakeman had been shot to death.

The trainmen were killed, it was reported, when they refused to permit members of the opposing crowds to ride upon a switch engine passing between the lines. The engineer was reported to have escaped.

Officials had hoped that with the coming of dawn the trouble, which began over the arrest of a negro late yesterday for an alleged attack upon a white girl, would die out.

### BREAK INTO STORES

None of the persons killed had been identified today. Officials were uncertain as to the exact number of persons injured last night, but they declared it probably would be large. Many of the injured, it was said, were hurt in hand-to-hand street fights.

Occupants of the last car to go through the negro district this morning reported that 1,000 armed negroes were still to be seen.

Soon after the first appearance of the negroes last night the streets were filled with shouting, gesticulating men. Suddenly there was a rush for sporting goods houses and hardware stores where the crowds broke in and armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find.

Guardsmen were used to disperse the rioters at the stores and a military order confiscated all stocks of arms in the city until the disturbance could be put down.

The situation was further aggravated today by reports from Muskogee that crowds of negroes there were arming and preparing to come to the assistance of those of their race in Tulsa. Muskogee advices said that the officials there were guarding all highways to prevent the departure of negroes from that city.

### TROOPS CALLED OUT

The negro was taken to the courthouse jail and lodged on an upper floor. Early in the night motor cars containing armed negroes appeared on the streets, headed for the courthouse. A crowd of 200 negroes surrounded the bcilding. Armed white men then began to gather.

The crowds soon reached such proportions that the authorities sent to Governor Robinson for troops. The governor directed Adjt.-Gen. Charles F. Barrett to take any steps necessary, and the adjutant-general ordered out three companies of guardsmen here and sent instructions to commanding officers in nearby towns to be prepared to rush more men on immediate notice.

The local guardsmen were thrown about the courthouse, and they prevented the crowds from breaking through.

National guardsmen patrolled the downtown streets and every effort was being made to induce the crowds to disband.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

Riots – 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# WORST RACE RIOT IN HISTORY OF THE COUNTRY ABOUT OVER

afro-american

## Casualties Include 25 Whites Killed, 100 Injured, 60 Colored Killed, 100 Injured.

6-3

## Dead Lie In Street

## WHOLE COLORED SECTION BURNED

### J. O. Midnight Telegraphs, Every Colored Church, Business House And Home Destroyed. Damage Estimate Of $5,000,000

(By telegraph) Tulsa, Okla., June 1.—Every Negro church, business place and home has been destroyed during the riot. A number of prominent citizens have been killed including Dr. Jackson. The city is under martial law. The deaths will exceed 100. Signed J. O. Midnight.

### Equal Rights League Protests" Wholesale Colored Arrests" in Tulsa

Boston, June 1.—Officers of the National Equal Rights League, a Negro organization, in a telegram sent today to Governor Robertson, of Oklahoma, protested against wholesale arrests of "colored and not whites, giving the whites an unfair fighting advantage," in connection with the race riots at Tulsa. The telegram asked the Governor to direct the Adiutant General "to give the colored a fair chance to protect lives, families and remaining property."

(Special to the Afro-American)

Tulsa, Okla., June 2.—At least 100 persns have been killed, 200 wounded and the colored section of this city is in ruins following a two day race riot here. Damage to property is estimated at $5,000,000. Dead lie in streets awaiting burial.

Tulsa casualties include 25 whites killed and 100 injured; 60 colored killed, 100 injured.

Trouble started when Richard Rawlings was arrested on the charge of "impudence and impertinence" to a white girl in an elevator. Police said he "assaulted" her and there were threats of lynching.

A dozen colored men hearing of the rumor armed themselves, marched to the court house and asked to be sworn in as deputies to protect the prisoner. They were later reinforced by others and a crowd of whites collected on the opposite side of the street. A white man started the riot by trying to take a gun away from a Negro. He was instantly killed.

The battle began. Colored men were outnumbered three to one and fell back into the colored section which attacking whites immediately set on fire. The state militia was called out and the city put under martial law. Police disarmed Negroes by the hundreds leaving whites their arms. Militia also aided the whites. Firemen took a stand on the edge of the black belt in order to keep the flames there and prevent any white homes from catching fire.

Flames were not obedient, however, and hundreds of white people lost their homes. Ten thousand colored people it is estimated lost everything that they had. They are camped on the hills about the city, in Convention Hall and in the ball park, where the high fence enables them to be kept under strict guard.

Thousands of colored people have left Tulsa, for neighboring cities. To stay here means to be arrested for being colored, put in one of the detention camps on bread and water under guard or the chance of being shot at by sniners in the public streets.

How many colored homes in white sections remain cannot now be stated. Most of those in the ten blocks devasted were frame and burnt like tinder.

## Tulsa, Ashamed, Shows Desire to Redress

N. Y. C. POST
JUNE 3, 1921

### City Police and County Officers Condemned by Local Press

[Special Dispatch to the Evening Post]

OKLAHOMA CITY, June 3.—Shame and a desire to redress the wrong done to the negroes of Tulsa are the major chords struck by the leading newspapers of the State in their editorial comment on this week's race war at Tulsa. Criticism of the Tulsa police force as "incompetent or indifferent" and the Sheriff's office as "none too vigilant" is voiced by the Tulsa *Tribune*, while the Oklahoma City *Times* and *Oklahoman*, published here, attempt to condone the whites' conduct in the riots by placing responsibility for their origin on the negroes who attempted to protect from lynching Dick Rowland, a young negro lodged in the county jail.

It is not denied that a party of whites assembled at the county jail on Tuesday night, intending to lynch Rowland, who was accused of assaulting Sarah Paige, a white girl. Some say, however, that a band of negroes, fearing for Rowland's safety, arrived first, but only to uphold the law against mob action, then threatened or begun. No other condition is involved as a cause in the origin of the riots.

### Condemned by Local Press

Both the Tulsa *Tribune* and the Tulsa *World*, whose offices border the city's "black belt," are the least reserved in their condemnation of city officials and white citizens. The latter declares in its Thursday edition:

"Proud, matchless Tulsa comes before the bar of Christian civilization this day, and with head bowed, the mantle of shame upon her cheek, and we sincerely hope, with deep regret in her heart, asks that she be pardoned for the great offence some of her citizens committed during Tuesday night and Wednesday morning.

"There is not a man worthy of the name whose heart is not afire with indignation against that which has been done. Members of a superior race, boastful of the fact, permitted themselves to degenerate into murderers and vandals; permitted themselves to deal their home community the foulest blow it has ever received in its history."

The *Tribune* editorial places especial emphasis upon what it considers the ineffectiveness of the law-enforcing bodies. It says, in its Thursday edition:

"Acres of ashes lie smoldering in what but yesterday was "nigger town." This is an exhibition of one conspicuous and hideous fact: that there is an element here in Tulsa that has not been taught to respect the law. An incompetent or indifferent police force and a none too vigilant County Sheriff's office for years past have not taught some of our Tulsans, both black and white, to respect the law. The result is that Tulsa to-day has thousands of colored people, most of whom are innocent, who are homeless, without a bed on which to lay their heads, who have been robbed of their clothes, robbed of their shelter by those who put the firebrand in their homes."

The inculcation of industry and good behavior in the negro is advocated by the *Oklahoma City Times* as the preventive of mob rule. The *Oklahoman* assures its colored readers that they should trust implicitly in the operations of American courts, condemning equally the white and negro mobs that participated in the rioting. The *Oklahoma Leader*, of this city, speaking for labor closes its comment thus:

"The dead we cannot bring back to life, but we can build the great social consciousness; that deep reverence for law, and that high esteem for order which will bring peace and se[illegible]"

# GRAND JURY TO INVESTIGATE TULSA AFFAIR

Mont. Advertiser, 6/3/21

## District Judge Calls Special Term of Inquisitorial Body at Request of Governor; Police and Sheriff's Departments Condemned by Executive

## OFFICIAL COUNT PUTS DEATH LIST AT THIRTY

## Property Damage Will Run Above Million and a Half; Committee Appointed to Care For Helpless Negroes. Subscription of Half Million Is Asked

(Associated Press)

**TULSA, OKLA., June 2—District Judge Valjean Biddison called a special grand jury today as the first step in an investigation of the Tulsa race riot which, breaking out Tuesday night and extending well into Wednesday resulted in many casualties and much property damage. The grand jury calling of which followed the receipt by Judge Biddison of a letter from Governor J. B. A. Robertson will convene June 8. In his letter asking that an investigation be started the state executive also asked that the conduct of the police department and the sheriff's office, which he condemned, be investigated.**

According to the latest authentic report, nine whites and twenty-one negroes are known to have been killed during the race clash. An estimate places property damage at $1,500,000. All this, according to General C. F. Barrett, commanding the state troops, called here to maintain martial law, was incited by "an impudent negro, a hysterical girl and a yellow journal reporter."

Representative citizens of Tulsa met today and condemned the city and county law enforcement officials, holding them responsible for the disastrous outbreak. In address this meeting General Barrett stated that while he was ordering the withdrawal of the National guard from Tulsa, there was no intention to remove the martial law edict until such time as it was shown the city could care for itself.

A committee, on which Mayor T. D. Evans was denied a place, was appointed to care for the helpless negroes, estimated to number more than 3,000 and to expedite the work of rebuilding the burned negro quarter.

"Most of this damage was done by white criminals who should have been shot and killed," E. J. Martin, former mayor, said after he was selected chairman of the emergency committee.

"As the final outcome, we must rebuild these homes, see that these negroes get their insurance, and get their claims against the city and county," the chairman said.

A final check of the morgues today definitely established the number of white dead at nine. Among these most of whom were residents of this city, is Ernest Austin, 39 years old, formerly of Houghton, New York, in which city an aunt, Mrs. Carry Worden, lives. Walter Daggs, manager of the Pierce Oil Corporation of Tulsa, was also numbered among the dead.

Five of the negro dead have been identified. Among them is Dr. A. C. Jackson, shot to death while running from his burning home. He was one of Tulsa's prominent negro physicians and surgeons.

Many negroes left Tulsa today. The Red Cross offered to provide transportation for any destitute who wanted to leave, although no effort was made to have the negroes leave.

It rained today and added to the handicap of the negroes whose homes were destroyed.

Linemen were busy in the mile square devastated district today restoring power and communication wires. The downtown district tonight will be patroled by the regular police force, according to General Barrett, and

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PEL 14

troops will be stationed out in the country.

**A subscription of $500,000 will be asked, the committee announced tonight and the homes owned by the negroes will be reconstructed. No attempt will be made to rebuild the business buildings, many of which were owned by white persons, or homes which were rented, members said.**

The committee also voted to employ immmediately as extra policemen, fifty members of the American legion. A sum for their pay for thirty days was appropriated after which efforts will be made to continue them with city funds.

Thirteen bodies of negroes were buried in the city cemetery here today

The act was without ceremony, it being said that feeling possibly might flare up if the burial were attended by any ostentation. The bodies were interred in plain wooden boxes.

Tulsa tonight had regained its normal appearance, the regular policemen patroling the downtown district, and the martial law declared yesterday was relaxed sufficiently to permit business houses and theatres to operate as usual.

About 250 National gaurdsmen were returned to their home stations tonight, leaving approximately 300 men in control of the area.

Several thousand negroes today were released from supervision of the military, given badges inscribed "police protection" and sent about their accustomed duties.

Whereabouts of Dick Rowland, 19 year old negro boot-black, over whose safety white men and negroes clashed initially, still was unknown publicly. The negro was spirited away during the rioting. There is a police charge of asault against him in connection with alleged attentions to a young white woman elevator operator here. Thirteen white men arrested by the military this aftrnoon were released after General Barrett examined and concluded that they had not been looting negro homes.

Mayor T. D. Evans tonight issued an order revoking all special police commissions. The mayor acted under instruction from General Barrett, who stated that many of the ringleaders among the white rioters and men who did most of the shooting carried arms as special officers.

A military order tonight forbade holding of funerals of those killed in the riot in churches.

"Owing to the present conditions in Tulsa and Aulsa county", the order stated, "funerals of those killed during the riots will not be held in the churches of the city. Many of these churches are used as camps for the refugees and it is against the policy of the military department to allow the use of same for funerals under the conditions of emotional stress which still prevails within the coty".

The Red Cross chapter here has been reorganized to care for the thousands of homeless negroes and to facilitate the reunion of families broken by the day of chaos. Abundant funds have been pledged for this work.

# TULSA RIOTS STIR CONGRESS TO STOP RACE OUTBREAKS

N Y C EVE WORLD
JUNE 3, 1921

## Bills Will Be Pushed in Hope of Improving Relations of Whites and Blacks.

## OIL GREED IS BLAMED.

## Negroes Say Desire to Seize Their Land Holdings Caused the Oklahoma Killings.

WASHINGTON, June 3—(United Press).—Congressional action looking to a solution of the race question in America will be speeded as a result of the Tulsa race riots, leaders in both Houses declared to-day. No investigation, such as followed the East St. Louis race riots, which grew out of labor disputes, is expected.

No lasting good would result from an inquiry, it is declared. There are two bills on the question which will be pressed for early action. Sponsors of both believe they will prove effective in preventing race outbreaks, which have taken heavy toll of life and property in the past few years.

The first plan is a bill by Representative Dyer of Missouri. It proceeds under the theory that the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution gives the Federal Government authority to protect the negro from lynching. Participants in lynchings would be punished for murder by the Federal Government, under these terms of the bill. It would also penalize counties in which lynchings occur by a fine of $10,000.

The second plan is to create a commission to study the subject of lynching and mob violence with a view to bringing about more harmonious relations between white and negroes. Senators Spencer of Missouri and McCormick of Illinois have introduced measures on this subject, which are now being sonsidered by the Senate Judiciary Committee.

Representatives Dyer said to-day that his bill will be taken up for consideration by the House Judiciary Committee at the next meeting. Senator Ernst of Kentucky, Chairman of the sub committee on the Spencer bill, declared that he will urge a favorable report on the measure at the next meeting of Senate Judiciary Committee.

The race question has long been recognized by leaders in Congress as deserving attention, but the difficulty lies in the method to be applied. While deploring race hatred, many believe it is futile of attempt to meet the situation with the lefislation.

Many members of Congress have frankly declared themselves opposed to the Dyer bill, on the ground that it invades the police powers of the States. Even the friends of the measure are not hopeful of its passage.

The Spencer-McCormack plan has the endorsement of President Harding and stands a better chance. In his acceptance speech and in his first message to Congress, the President took cognizance of the racial question.

"Congress ought to wipe the strain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free, and orderly, represent Democracy," the President declared in his message, in which he stated that he recognized the difficulties that lie in the solution of the racial question.

N Y C EVE WORLD
JUNE 3, 1921

# TULSA RIOTS DUE TO OIL LAND GREED, ASSERT REFUGEES

## Negro Who Fled to New York Thinks Clash Prearranged by White Land Seekers.

**The Tulsa race riots, in which, according to latest reports thirty persons lost their lives, were engineered by a group of white oil men determined upon wresting from the negroes valuable holdings, according to stories told by five refugees in this city.**

Although they were not eyewitnesses to the scenes of rioting—they left Tulsa three weeks ago—they told stories which purport to explain for the first time the back ground of the outbreaks.

The five are Charles Johnson, his wife, Lizzie; Aaron Gadlin, Mrs. Josie Gadlin and Claude Harris. They are in the hands of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

First signs of the storm, their stories have it, came with printed announcements in the newspapers warning negroes to leave the State by June 1. These announcements appeared on first pages for three successive days, and the five were among thousands who left panic-stricken immediately afterward.

No explanation for the warning was given, the five said, although they appear certain of the motive. Their stories agree upon detail, and are substantially this:

Most of the Oklahoma land was owned originally by Indians and half-breeds. White men and negroes from all parts of the South came to Oklahoma and bought the lands. During the last decade in the Tulsa region white men sought to buy up all land held by negroes. In Tulsa, up to the time of the riots, approximately 500 negroes held oil lands.

With the boom in oil competition between negroes and whites grew bitter. White men from all parts of the country invaded the section and were met by negroes, who obstinately refused to sell the land at any price.

In retaliation, the white men refused to employ negro labor, and persecuted the wealthier negroes. Finally the printed ultimatums came. The refugees insist the riots were carefully staged, since they coincided in time with the announcements.

Mrs. Johnson, speaking for the rest, told of events immediately preceding the fight. She said:

"Just before the newspapers came out with the warnings, little cards were pasted on the doors of negro homes, reading just the same. There were no names underneath, just the warning. And in the newspapers it didn't look as if anybody signed it. It was just like a Black Hand letter.

"During the last year there was trouble. All the time this oil land business was the trouble. White women said to negro women they wouldn't give them work, and they ought to go to the wealthy colored folk, and not to white folk. My husband was told by his employer that he ought to leave the State because they didn't need negroes any more."

Negroes of Tulsa live in what is known as the North Greenwood section. There are approximately 10,000 negroes there, for the most part emigrants from Southern States.

Though geographically of the Southwest, Oklahoma is by every other standard a Western State. For the last twenty years it has been regarded by negroes of the South as a sort of haven.

Tulsa negroes suffered no physical violence during the last few years, although petty persecution was common. Mrs. Johnson said negroes could not vote, sell merchandise or farm (at least profitably, because of a system of mortgages). But the dividing line between the whites and the blacks, the refugees said, was the dispute over oil lands.

Insisting the riots were carefully planned, the refugees said train loads of ammunition had come into town shortly before the announcements. Negroes' homes were searched for arms, and a rule made that no ammunition was to be sold to negroes except by permit.

Describing the scenes in Tulsa after the printed announcements, Mrs. Johnson said:

"There were lines of people out at the stations, crying. Everybody left their houses and furniture behind, and took all their ready cash. Only the rich folks remained behind, and they were scared and crying.

"We couldn't do anything, but were being driven like cattle. They wanted to starve us out first, and then burn our houses. It's the same way all through the South. We were all right while we were slaves. But they took us from Africa, or our parents, and let them take us back again if they don't want us here. We don't want to be driven like cattle."

At a meeting of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last night at the Salem M. E. Church, 133d Street and Lenox Avenue, contributions were taken for the refugees. The association has asked Gov. Robertson of Oklahoma to take all steps necessary to prevent the recurrence of the riots.

# Smallpox Appears Among Tulsa Negroes

## Doctors Busy Vaccinating—Race War Deaths Said to Be More Than 100

N Y. C. POST
JUNE 4, 1921

[Special Dispatch to the Evening Post]

TULSA, Okla., June 4.—Smallpox broke out to-day among the negroes who are being held in the detention camp at the fair grounds here. About 1,400 negroes are being held in this camp and all the local doctors are busy vaccinating them.

The situation is quiet, and no further outbreaks have occurred.

O. T. Johnson, head of the Salvation Army here, said yesterday that the figures as to the number of dead given by the local authorities are too low. He estimates the dead at 150.

"On Wednesday," he said, "we pressed into service forty-seven negroes as grave diggers, who worked all day Wednesday and Thursday, digging more than 100 graves, in each of which one negro was buried.

"To-day twenty negroes worked all day, and to-morrow the same twenty will work digging graves.

"Many of the bodies are charred by fire, and many are badly mutilated. No coffins have been used, the bodies being just dumped into the graves.

"There is an unconfirmed rumor that two truckloads of dead negroes were dumped into the Arkansas River. I estimate the number of negroes who have been killed at 150."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots - 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# TRACE TULSA RIOTS TO OIL LAND GREED; DEAD NUMBER 30

N.Y.C. WORLD
JUNE 3, 1921

## Negro Refugees in New York Think Clash Prearranged by White Land Seekers.

## CITE PRINTED WARNINGS TO QUIT CITY BY JUNE 1.

## Officials Are Accused as Negligent—Town Quiet, but Martial Law Still Prevails.

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**No Explanation Given.**

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In retaliation, the white men refused to employ negro labor, and persecuted the wealthier negroes. Finally the printed ultimatums came. The refugees insist the riots were carefully staged, since they coincided in time with the announcements.

**"Like Black Hand Letter."**

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**"Driven Like Cattle."**

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# THIRTY DEAN IN RIOT; $1,500,000 DAMAGE

## Grand Jury to Investigate Tulsa Race Clash—3,000 Negroes Helpless—Many Leave.

TULSA, Okla., June 2.—District Judge Valjean Biddison called a special Grand Jury to-day as the first step in an investigation of the Tulsa race riot, which, breaking out Tuesday night and extending well into Wednesday, resulted in thirty deaths and much property damage. The Grand Jury, calling of which followed the receipt by Judge Biddison of a letter from Gov. J. B. A. Robertson, will convene June 8. In his letter asking that an investigation be started the State Executive also asked that the conduct of the Police Department and the Sheriff's office, which he condemned, be investigated.

According to the latest authentic report, nine whites and twenty-one negroes are known to have been killed during the race clash. An estimate places property damages at $1,500,000. All this, according to Gen. C. F. Barrett, commanding the State Troops called here to maintain martial law, was incited by "an impudent negro and a hysterical girl.

**Officials Held Responsible.**

Representative citizens of Tulsa met to-day and condemned the city and county law enforcement officials, holding them responsible for the disastrous outbreak. In addressing the meeting, Gen. Barrett stated that, while he was ordering the withdrawal of the National Guard from Tulsa, there was no intention to remove the martial law edict until such time as it was shown the city could care for itself.

A committee, on which Mayor T. D. Evans was denied a place, was appointed to care for the helpless negroes, estimated to number more than 3,000, and to expedite the work of rebuilding the burned negro quarter.

A subscription of $500,000 will be asked, the committee announced to-night, and the homes owned by the negroes will be reconstructed. No attempt will be made to rebuild the business buildings, many of which were owned by white persons, or homes which were rented, members said.

**Employ More Policemen.**

The committee also voted to employ immediately as extra policemen, fifty members of the American Legion. A sum for their pay for thirty days was appropriated, after which efforts will be made to continue them with city funds.

Thirteen bodies of negroes were buried in the city cemetery here to-day. The act was without ceremony, it being said that feeling possibly might flare up if the burials were attended by any ostentation.

Tulsa to-night had regained its normal appearance, the regular policemen patrolling the downtown district, and the martial law declared yesterday was relaxed sufficiently to permit business houses and theatres to operate as usual.

About 250 National Guardsmen were returned to their home stations to-night, leaving approximately 300 men in control of the area.

Several thousand negroes to-day were released from supervision of the military, given badges inscribed "Police Protection" and sent about their accustomed duties.

**Rowland Still Secreted.**

Whereabouts of Dick Rowland, 19 year old negro bootblack, over whose safety the clash first came, still was unknown publicly. The negro was spirited away during the rioting.

Thirteen white men arrested by the military this afternoon were released after Gen. Barrett examined and concluded that they had not been looting negro homes.

"Most of this damage was done by white criminals who should have been shot and killed." E. J. Martin, former Mayor, said after he was selected Chairman of the Emergency Committee.

"As the final outcome, we must rebuild these houses, see that these negroes get their insurance and get their claims against the city and county," the Chairman said.

A final check of the morgues definitely established the number of white dead at nine. Among these, most of whom were residents of this city, is Ernest Austin, thirty-nine years old, formerly of Houghton, N. Y., in which city an aunt, Mrs. Carrie Worden, lives. Walter Dagge, manager of the Pierce Oil Corporation of Tulsa, was also numbered among the dead.

Many negroes left Tulsa to-day. The Red Cross offered to provide transportation for any destitute who wanted to leave, although no effort was made to have the negroes leave.

The military forces, headed by Adjt. Gen. Barrett, to-day started a check up of the list of dead. It was found that the first unofficial estimates, placing the dead at somewhere near 100, were greatly overstated, though some of the thirty-five injured in hospitals are expected to die.

Belief was expressed by officials that the bodies of all the negroes killed would not be found, as it was thought that a number were burned in their homes. Then, too, reports were received at military headquarters that a number of negro bodies had been thrown into the river and others buried outside of the city.

Physicians, treating wounded negroes at hospitals, said a score could not recover.

**Whole Section Razed.**

An idea of the extent of the destruction in the burned area is gained from the statement that it is more than a mile square. Virtually no buildings escaped. Many were cheap frame dwellings, but more than a score of them were substantial brick business houses. A negro church recently completed at a cost of $85,000 was consumed by the flames.

Officials hope to clear up by the investigation just what led to the first shooting Tuesday night. A newspaper man who was at the Court House at the time said about twenty-five white men gathered on the south side of the building. Three of the leaders entered the Court House, he said, on the top floor of which Dick Rowland, a negro, was being held for an alleged attack upon a white girl in an elevator of a downtown building. Most of the white men were not armed, according to the newspaper man.

**Went After Guns.**

Sheriff McCullough met the three men who entered the building and warned them away, with the declaration that the negro would be protected at any cost. The prisoner was in a cell at the top of a winding stairway, which could have easily been held by a few men against a mob.

Meantime about thirty negroes, some armed, gathered in little groups west of the Court House. Barney Cleaver, negro, a veteran peace officer, went among the gathering negroes and counselled them to disperse. At this time there apparently was no concerted action among the negroes.

Lots of them started to leave but were called back by a few leaders. Twice again the majority of the negro mob moved away, but each time they returned at the appeal of the few who were determined to stay.

By this time the white crowd had been reinforced by curious persons. Then some broke, running eastward, shouting:

"Let's get guns."

The negroes moved away and took a stand about three blocks away.

The white crowd remained near the court house, however, receiving reinforcements. Then armed negroes appeared in motor cars racing past the court house. The white mob then moved away from the court house and it was a brush between skirmishers in an alley that precipitated the general shooting.

The two forces consolidated soon afterward and the negroes were driven through the business district back to their quarters.

They took up a stand across the

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Frisco railroad tracks, about a thousand strong, and a battle took place when the white rioters lined up behind buildings on the other side of the railroad tracks.

Finally fires were started by the whites and the negroes dislodged.

# VANDALS LOOT HOMES WRECKED IN TULSA RIOTS

## Military Guard Is Tightened When Thieves Begin to Carry Off Goods.

## DEATH LIST IS FIXED AT 30

### State Officials Accuse the City Administration of Failure to Perform Duty

N. Y. C. SUN
JUNE 3, 1921

TULSA, Okla., June 3.--While the responsible citizenry sought to devise means for rehabilitating the devastated "black belt," looters preying on burned and bloodstained Tulsa gave the authorities a new problem to cope with to-day. Systematic thievery in the districts razed during two days of race rioting was reported in all quarters and all the machinery of the military and special police is being utilized in the protection of property.

Even pianos have been carried away from the negro districts wrecked by race hatred. Before a cordon of guardsmen had been thrown around the devastated section wagonloads of household property had been carted away. Martial law because of the operations of the thieves was more strict to-day. Troops were instructed to save what little remained of the negroes' property.

**Collect Negroes' Property.**

Adj.-Gen. Barrett, in charge of the troops, early this morning began centralizing the property of the negroes found in their ruined shacks into one large heap for identification and protection.

Although negroes were back at their posts of labor to-day they were not at ease and it will take some time for them to ovrcome their fear after having been shot at and herded about like cattle in a pasture for more than fifty hours. It was considered miraculous that no sickness has developed in the congested camps where little or no sanitary arrangements are available. In the camp of 3,000 negroes at the fair grounds there has been much discomfort but at no time has there been threats of an epidemic.

**Thirty Persons Killed.**

Carrying out its broad relief programme the committee of citizens has started to despatch supplies to needy negroes. The home of a negro lawyer, one of the few left standing by the flames which swept "Little Africa," was selected as a centre of distribution.

A careful survey to-day disclosed that the casualty list of whites and negroes was thirty killed and about 300 wounded instead of the supposed eighty-five killed as estimated Thursday night. Of the known victims nine were whites and twenty-one were negroes. Earlier reports had placed the dead as high as 175. This estimate was obtained by duplication of records among sheriffs deputies, police, the national guard and other peace agencies.

The "Oil City of the Southwest" began to emerge to-day from its spectacular outbreak. Comparative quiet prevailed and, although the city is still under martial law, there is little curtailment of business. A revulsion of feeling has been experienced by the responsible citizenry and a reconstruction commission formed by citizens has undertaken the task of rebuilding the burned area. Present plans call for a city-wide fund for the rehabilitation work.

Interest in the outbreak, other than the efforts of the citizens to redeem Tulsa from the countrywide shame cast upon her by the vandalism and murder, turned to-day to other angles of the uprising, the political one taking the ascendency.

**City Government Bungled.**

Blame for the riot here Tuesday night and Wednesday was placed at the doors of the city and county law enforcement officials by Aorney-General Freeling. Ciy governmen was brought under heavy fire as having bungled a serious situation and brought shame on the community.

There has been a feud between the Republican city administration and the Democratic county and State administrations. Gov. Robertson and Adjutant-Gen. Barrett, commanding the militia in the martial law zone, joined in the denunciation of the local law enforcement officials.

"With either a chief of police or a Sheriff with nerve this whole thing would not have happened," said Gov. Robertson to a judge. "It is damnable and inexcusable. The farce has gone on long enough. Get a Grand Jury. In your instructions order an investigation of the Sheriff's office, the city administration, and particularly the Police department, which in this crisis has been as helpless as the negro babies who were rendered homeless and hungry by it."

**Orders Investigation of Mayor.**

In ordering the empanelling of the Grand Jury with plenary powers to investigate the uprising, he ordered that the conduct of Mayor T. D. Evans be investigated. He stated that the Attorney General and every agency of the State Government would cooperate to impose the full penalties of the law on those guilty of instigating the riots. In accordance with the Governor's orders Judge Biddison ordered the Grand Jury investigation to begin on Wednesday.

The plans call for the summoning of a number of witnesses, both white and black ,in an effort to fix the responsibility for the riot.

Several theories are held as to the actual cause of the uprising of the armed negroes, which at first gave all the appearances of being a spontaneous outbreak precipitated by the jailing of the negro youth. Rantings of a secret negro cult was believed by authorities to-day to have fanned the race feeling of members of an organization called the "Blood Brothers." They are said to have been the ones who stormed the jail to release the imprisoned member of their race.

It was pointed out that these agitators are but a small minority of the 10,000 or more negroes that compose Tulsa's black population.

**Negroes Blame Agitators.**

There seems a tendency among the negroes to blame the uprising on negro agitators. The women especially hold to this belief. Some of these said that trouble has been brewing for some time and that many negroes fearing to experience the uprising they expected had left town some days ago. Many reports following in the wake of the riot gave arise to the belief that the small circle of cultists had long been preparing for race trouble here.

Many citizens do not blame the whites for their part in the fight up to sunrise Wednesday morning by which time the armed invading negroes had been swept back from the jail into their own quarters. It was then that an angry band of whites crossed the dealline and applied the torch to the negroes' homes, holding off the city firemen who attempted to fight the flames.

They do, however, blame the whites for the "indefensifle violence shown in the ruthless demolition of the mile-square black belt." Purely defensive warfare was waged up until the time the whites started their invasion.

Little credence is given the reports from New York that a small group o Tulsa negroes had blamed the outbreal on the greedy efforts of a group of oi men men to produce oil lands held by negroes, who refused to either lease o sell their holdings.

**Negroes' Resentment Grows.**

While the city is turning to restoration and relief work the law enforcement officials are strengthening their positions to prevent a recurrence of rioting. The negro quarter is especially well guarded by a cordon of military.

As the terror of the negroes begins to subside the blacks are beginning to take on a feeling of resentment which the authorities believe might produce more trouble if the negroes are permitted a change. While guarded in both speech and actions there are blacks whose sullenness is apparent. The bulk of the negro populace, however, seem content that trouble is over and are more than willing that the peace now restored shall be continued.

The work of restoration is being directed by a committee of seven, on which Mayor Evans was denied a place. Cyrus Avery, a member, said to-day that ten negroes are charged definitely with inciting the riot. Where they are being held was not learned.

"Minerva," a sixty-year-old washwoman was released to-day from a charge of inciting a riot as the result of pleas of her washing clients. Minerva was fleeing the town with a bundle when she was arrested.

In the bundle was found a revolver but it was later developed that it was placed there by her son.

# RACES IN CLASH IN OKLAHOMA CITY

Constitution
6-7-21

Tulsa, Okla., May 31—One negro was killed and two whites and three negroes were wounded in race troubles here tonight when a score or more white persons armed clashed with about 200 armed negroes, who gathered in the vicinity of the court house after a negro had been arrested for an alleged attack on a white girl. Scattered firing continued near midnight when the body of the dead negro still lay in the street.

# SEARCH BEGINS FOR ALLEGED RING LEADERS

## Martial Law Lifted and Plans Made For Rebuilding Negro Zone Marks Day's Activities in Riot-torn Oklahoma Town of Tulsa

Mon't Advertiser
6/4/21

## GENERAL BARRETT HAS NAMES OF SUSPECTS

## Order Issued From Military Headquarters For Arrest of Any One Offering For Recording of Deed or Transfer of Property in Burned Area

(Associated Press.)

**TULSA, OKLA., June 3—Search for a number of alleged ringleaders of the race riots of Tuesday night and Wednesday the lifting of martial law and progress on plans for re-building a negro "zone" were developments in Tulsa today.**

**Adjutant General Barrett, in charge of state troops here, announced he had the names of a number of persons suspected of being ringleaders in the trouble and that these persons when apprehended would be turned over to the civil authorities.**

Gen. Barrett told the chamber of commerce it was unnecessary to keep the state troops after today and this afternoon issued the governor's order restoring civil law.

The committee of seven at a conference discussed the requst of Governor Robrison for a searching inquiry and decided the best plan would be to handle the investigation through the grand jury. A special committee from the Bar Association, it was announced, will be appointed to cooperate with the county attorney's staff.

The committee of seven also considered the re-building plans and steps are to be taken to provide a well built negro section.

The committee expects no difficulty in obtaining the $500,000 necessary to re-build homes owned by negroes.

An order was issued from military headquarters early in the day demanding the arrest of any one offering for recording deeds or transfers of any property in the burned district.

Gen. Barrett under the martial law proclaimation in an order warned that irresponsible persons were seeking to obtain the property at much less than its value.

Agitation by a few irresponsible negroes was blamed for the part played by negroes in the race trouble here in statements made today by Police Commissioner Adkinson and several prominent negro citizens.

According to Adkinson, the police were aware that negro radicals had been at work for some time. He said negro citizens had been warned several months ago that responsibility for any trouble would rest upon the negroes.

As the race war excitement flickered out, the fear which kept negro leaders silent was dispelled and they told the negro story. Barney Cleaver, a veteran negro police officer, hero and former deputy sheriff, who enjoys the confidence of both whites and blacks, named an alleged negro narcotic peddler as one of the principal leaders in the disturbance Tuesday night which precipitated the shooting and burning.

KANSAS CITY MO POST
JUNE 4, 1921

# URBAN LEAGUE AIDS TULSA REFUGEES

## Many Negroes Being Cared For and Found Jobs.

Negro refugees , who have fled to Kansas City from Tulsa, are being cared for by the Community Service Urban league, an organization for social service among Negroes.

The Travelers' Aid society at Union station has been instructed to direct arriving refugees to the league headquarters, 1518½ East Eighteenth street. The league is finding the refugees lodging places and jobs. It is asking cooperation of white citizens in its efforts to find employment for the refugees.

Many Negro residents of Kansas City are making room in their homes for the arrivals. Efforts are being made to protect the refugees from falling in the hands of bad elements in the city, according to F. T. Lane, executive secretary of the league.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots—1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# 85 Killed in Race Riots at Tulsa; Ten Blocks Are Burned; Battle Continues Despite Martial Law

## *Train Scarred by Bullets at Tulsa; Passengers Fling Selves on Floor*

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla., June 1.—Evidence of the fury of the race clash at Tulsa was borne by a St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad passenger train which arrived here to-day from the East. Many of the windows in one of the coaches had been shot out and the sides of the cars were scarred by bullets fired upon the train as it passed through the negro section in Tulsa early to-day. None of the passengers was injured.

J. E. Lucas, a traveling salesman, who arrived from Tulsa gave a vivid account of the fighting in the vicinity of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad passenger station.

"Pullman cars standing in the yards were fired on and the windows shattered," he said. "Passengers left their berths and lay flat on the floor in the aisles.

"There was a lull in the firing when a passenger train pulled in and women and children alighted. Then the firing began again.

"Bodies of three negroes were lying in front of the station when the train arrived."

N. Y. C. TRIBUNE
JUNE 2, 1921

## 6,000 Negroes Herded by Authorities for Safety; Many Others in Jail; 25 Whites Among the Dead

## Spectators Watch Fight From Planes

## Four Companies of Guard in Charge; First Shot Fired at Courthouse

TULSA, Okla., June 1.—Race riots here to-day and to-night resulted in the death of 85 or more persons, including 25 whites and the injury of scores, according to estimates by the police. Ten blocks of homes in the negro quarters were destroyed. Despite the placing of the city under martial law to-day, desultory firing continued during the afternoon and fighting broke out again to-night. Four companies of the National Guard under Adjutant General Barrett are on duty.

The outbreak of fighting to-night was in North Greenwood Avenue, the principal negro business district. A fireman just returned from the scene says the fire trucks were fired upon by four negroes. State troops also have been fired upon, he said.

### Death Lists Disagree

The reported death list grew all day. At noon the Chief of Police notified Governor Robertson at Oklahoma City that the total was seventy-five. In one statement Major Charles W. Daly, of the Police Department, put the figure at 175, saying he believed many negroes had been burned to death in their homes.

A check of the morgues to-night showed the following whites known to be dead:

Walter Daggs, local manager of the Pierce Oil Corporation, formerly of Leroy, N. Y.; Arthur James, Wynona, Okla.; Cleo Shumate, twenty-four, Tulsa; Carl D. Lotspoich, twenty-six, Tulsa; Man identified as F. M. Barker, Haviland, Kan., who carried an identification card with the name of Norman Gillard, Tulsa; Homer S. Clyne, sixteen, of Tulsa; S. J. Withrow, nineteen, Tulsa; unidentified man, about forty years old.

The trouble is declared to have started last night when negroes tried to rescue a negro charged with attacking an orphan white girl. Comparative quiet prevailed in the later hours of the night, but at daybreak a group of negro houses were set afire and the city firemen prevented from fighting the flames. Armed white men then formed a circle around the negro section.

For several hours during the morning parties of negroes and whites faced each other across railroad tracks, on which could be seen a number of slain negroes.

### Negroes Corralled and Guarded

With the early arrival of Adjutant General Barrett and a machine gun company from Oklahoma City a semblance of order was restored. Several thousand negroes were assembled at Convention Hall, the baseball park and the police station, and there guarded. Orders were issued for the disarming of all persons not belonging to the guard or especially deputized.

Detachments of the National Guard were scattered about the city at strategic points, especially about the negro quarter, where 10,000 to 13,000 negroes, it is estimated, make their homes. Nearly half that number are now under guard.

Dick Rowland, the negro whose arrest led to the disturbances, was removed from the city to an unnamed spot. Officers declared he would be given a speedy trial.

Prompt medical attention was given to the wounded, negroes as well as whites, at local hospitals and dressing stations. Civic organizations and citizens who volunteered their services cared for the negro refugees, to whom ice water and sandwiches were served throughout the day. Special care was given to the aged and infirm and a call was sent to nearby towns for available nurses.

### 2,000 White Men Armed

Following the firing of the first shot last night at Sixth and Boulder streets, the fighting spread to various parts of the city, including the business section. At one time 2,000 armed white men were reported to have engaged the negroes.

Railroad stations were the scene of several encounters and some casualties resulted when trains were fired upon. Women and children huddled together in the stations, seeking safety behind marble wainscoting.

In addition to the negroes under guard at Convention Hall and elsewhere twenty-four negro riot prisoners were in the jail.

State troops under the command of Adjutant General Barrett arrived at 9 o'clock to take charge of the situation, augmenting local units of guardsmen who were called out last night. At this time there were reports of sporadic shooting and the situation seemed to be easing.

The first attempts to fire the negro quarter were made about 1:30 o'clock this morning, when white men openly threatened to destroy the locality. Two houses at Archer and Boston streets, used by more than fifty negroes as a garrison, were set afire at that time and an alarm was turned in. Efforts of the fire department to lay hose were stopped by a crowd of armed white men and the department returned to its station.

The attempt to destroy the negro quarter by fire was resumed five hours later, when almost simultaneously fire began to burst forth from the doors and windows of frame shacks along Archer Street. Soon dense clouds of black smoke enveloped the location. Under cover of the smoke screen armed men in motor cars and afoot threw a cordon about the place where the negroes were stationed and occasional shots gave warning that the conflict still waged.

### Negroes Surrender, Hands Uplited

As the fire enveloped the houses negroes were seen to dart out from flaming doorways with upraised hands, shouting: "Don't shoot!" As they dashed through the smoke they were ordered to surrender and quickly were removed to the prison camps.

Throughout the morning long lines of negroes streamed westward along the streets leading to Convention Hall. Many wore their night clothes and were barefooted. Their sunken eyes told of a sleepless night and their ashen faces bespoke gripping fear.

Men, women and children carried bundles of clothing on their heads and backs. The articles they saved were varied and in many cases would have been ludicrous but for the gravity of the situation. Here an old woman clung to a Bible, there a girl with dishevelled hair carried a woolly white dog under her arm and behind trotted a little girl with a big wax doll.

In one case an aged negro woman supported an old man, wrapped about with quilts and apparently very ill. He was immediately placed in an automobile and hurried to a hospital.

But all who came to Convention Hall were not non-combatants. Repeatedly grim-faced men, heavily armed, whirled up to the big hall directly from the scene of the fighting under a big hill on North Greenwood Avenue. With them, closely guarded, were negro prisoners captured with guns during the fray.

Negro servants were taken from their quarters and moved to the ball park.

### Whites Raid Stores for Arms

Soon after the first appearance of the negroes last night the streets were filled with shouting, gesticulating men. Suddenly there was a rush for sporting goods houses and hardware stores where the crowds broke in and armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find. Guardsmen were used to disperse the rioters and a military order confiscated all stocks of arms in the city until the disturbance could be put down.

The situation was further aggravated by reports from Muskogee that crowds of negroes there were arming themselves and preparing to come to the assistance of those of their race in Tulsa. The officials there were guarding all highways to prevent the departure of negroes from that city.

Rumors of possible aerial activity were rife throughout the day, it being reported several planes armed with machine guns had taken the air. Later it was learned that several sightseeing ships had been up but that neither city, county nor state authorities had resorted to the use of planes to restore order.

Seven distinct engagements marked the progress of the race war. The first shot was fired at the corner of Sixth and Boulder streets, when 200 armed negroes who had been parading the streets on foot and in automobiles for an hour and a great crowd of whites gathered about courthouse steps, nearly all of whom were unarmed. The negroes had paraded past the courthouse repeatedly, apparently in the belief that the whites intended to lynch Rowland.

As the minutes passed, the white men obtained a few guns and began to assume a belligerent atttitude themselves. Finally a verbal altercation between the factions began. E. S. MacQueen, detective, attempted to intervene. Suddenly there was a shot and instantly the firing became general and the crowd scattered, while negroes began training their guns on the fleeing forms.

### Negroes Fire as They Retreat

The negroes finally retreated slowly up Boulder Street, the alley back of the courthouse on Boston Street, firing as they went. When they emerged on Fourth Street hot skirmishes ensued. Apparently the negroes met again by a pre-arranged plan, for those of the whites who followed them engaged their full strength again when they made a stand at Second and Cincinnati streets.

After a brief stand the negroes once

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more retreated north across the Frisco tracks to the negro quarter.

In the early morning fighting in the extreme northern end of the negro quarter, Mrs. S. A. Gilmore, a white woman, was shot in the left arm and side. She was standing on the front porch of her home when she was shot by a negro, one of a score or more barricaded in a church. Hundreds of armed white men rushed to the district in automobiles.

A check of hospitals showed that nearly twoscore white persons were being treated for injuries. More than fifty white patients left the hospitals after treatment without giving names. Most of the patients had arm and leg wounds, and only a few were reported in a serious condition.

Among the seriously wounded was A. B. Stick, City Clerk of Sapulpa, Okla., who was struck by a stray bullet while he was standing on the steps of a hotel. Another of those severely injured was run over by an automobile filled with armed negroes.

A military commission, composed of seven city officials and business men, to pass upon the status of 6,000 negroes held under guard in improvised prison camps, was formed by Mayor T. D. Evans and Chief of Police Gustafson with the approval of General Barrett.

# FIRE ADDS HORROR IN RACIAL CLASH; TROOPS IN CHARGE

## Alleged Assault by Negro on White Girl Starts Mob—Negroes Organize Against Whites.

## ARMED MEN ENCIRCLE CITY'S NEGRO DISTRICT

## Virtually All of Negro Area Destroyed by Fire. Department Unable to Cope With Flames.

Tulsa, Okla., June 1.—Race riots today resulted in the death of 80 or more persons, including nine whites, according to estimates by the police, and in the destruction of ten blocks of homes in the negro quarter. Despite the placing of the city under martial law today, desultory firing continued during the afternoon, but the city this afternoon was comparatively quiet. Four companies of the national guard under Adjutant General Barret are on duty.

The reported death list grew all day. At noon the chief of police notified Governor Robertson at Oklahoma City that the total was 75. In one statement Major Charles W. Baley, of the police department, put the figure at 175, saying he believed many negroes had been burned to death in their homes. Of the nine white men known to have been killed, five have been identified as follows:

Homer Cline, 17, Tulsa. Cleo Shumate, 24, Tulsa. Emmett Buckley, 35, LeRroy, N. Y. Carl D. Lotssisch, Randall, Kan.

Man previously identified as F. M. Baker, Haviland, Kans., believed to be Normal Gillard, Tulsa.

**Alleged Attack Cause.**

The trouble is declared to have started last night from the arrest of a negro charged with attacking an orphan white girl, and subsequent attempts of negroes to rescue the arrested man. Comparative quiet prevailed in the later hours of the night, but at daybreak a group of negro houses were set afire and the city firemen prevented from fighting the flames. Armed white men then formed a circle about the negro section.

For several hours during the morning parties of negroes and whites faced each other across railroad tracks, on which could be seen a number of slain negroes.

With the early arrival of Adjutant General Barret and a machine gun company from Oklahoma City, a semblance of order was restored. Several thousand negroes were assembled at convention hall, the baseball park and the police station and there guarded. Orders were issued for the disarming of all persons not belonging to the guard or specially deputized persons.

**Soldiers in City.**

Detachments of the national guard were scattered about the city at strategic points, especially about the negro quarter where 10,000 to 12,000 negroes, it is estimated, make their homes. Nearly half that number are now under guard.

Dick Rowland, the negro whose arrest led to the disturbance, was removed from the city to an unnamed place. Officials declared he would be given a speedy trial.

Prompt medical attention was given to the wounded, negroes as well as whites, at local hospitals, and dressing stations. Civic organizations and organizations who volunteered their services cared for the negro refugees, to whom ice water and sandwiches were served throughout the day. Special care was given to the aged and infirm and a call was sent to nearby towns for available nurses.

**Fighting Spreads.**

Following the firing of the first shot last night at Sixth and Boulder streets, the fighting spread to various parts of the city including the business section. At one time two thousand armed white men were reported to have engaged the negroes.

Railroad stations were the scene of several encounters and a number of casualties resulted when trains were fired upon. Women and children huddled together in the stations, seeking safety behind marble wainscoting. In addition to the negroes under guard at Convention hall and elsewhere, twenty-four negro prisoners were in the city jail.

## LAW AND ORDER APPEAL IS MADE.

Tulsa, Okla., June 1.—Negro ministers and representative business men of their race tonight joined in an appeal to Muscogee negroes to "pledge ourselves on the side of law and order" and "refrain from undue assembly and intemperate speech."

The rioting at Tulsa is described in the appeal as "tragic and deplorable."

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**BY RICHARD LLOYD JONES, Former Editor of Collier's Weekly, and Publisher of The Tulsa, Okla., Tribune.**

(Written for the United News.)

Tulsa, Okla., June 1.—It is the old story over again. Ancient as time. Race prejudice.

A negro assaults a white girl. This occurred in a department store elevator. But the where and when does not enter into the case.

Either a fool or an enemy of law and order spreads the story that a mob is going to get the negro out of the county jail and lynch him. Such a story spreads faster than a dry grass fire. A mob, more curious than resolute—a mob which was, on the whole, good-natured, gathers about the courthouse to see what there may be to see.

In all the negro sections of all our cities, we find negroes who are good bad and indifferent. The good are respected. They are kind and courteous. They are helpful, and the southerner has an affection for them. The indifferent are in the twilight zone, and the white people are indifferent to them.

And a dozen desperate negroes collect at the Tulsa county courthouse with firearms when they hear the lynch rumor.

**Police Derelict of Duty.**

As is too often the case in just such situations, the police are derelict of duty at the psychological moment when they had the power to prevent. As soon as this small band of armed black men came upon this scene, the Tulsa police, with or without the aid of county officials should at once have thrown a line around them and marched them to jail. But they stupidly let the psychological moment pass. Then a white struck a match to the incendiary mob powder by trying to take a gun away from a black.

The blacks were reinforced by other blacks. The whites hurried for arms.

The city was in darkness. Stores having fire arms in stock were smashed into. The blacks and the whites in growling groups began to parade the streets.

Two hours before midnight the battle began.

**Militia in Action.**

When day dawned the state militia was in action. Machine guns rattled and the crack of the sharpshooters echoed across the valleys and the city's hill-top to hill-top.

When the sun came over the eastern horizon it was hid from view by the great cone-shaped cloud of smoke that rose like an outburst of Vesuvius over that which yesterday was "nigger town," which today is either red with flames or broken brick walls burned bare, and shanties lying low in their black and white ashes.

Nor were the flames confined to the black belt, where the incendiary hands laid the torch "to smoke the demon out." The lapping flames does not recognize the color line. It does not discriminate between the white man's modern house and the poor black man's rude shack.

**White People Suffer.**

The fire department lent itself to keep the flames along the black border. They were not obedient flames and the white man in many instances has suffered along with the black man because some loose-mouthed, shallow-minded, blundering creature last evening spread the lynch alarm and twelve base, brutal black men set out to show 'em and if need be, to shoot up the town.

The town is dazed. It all came so quickly. It all came so quicly that the south part of the city hardly yet realizes what happened last night in the center of town, and what the great cloud of smoke at the north end of the city represents.

But they will learn, as the world will learn, that that vast cone-shaped cloud probably represents the worst race war conducted in the shortest span of time in the history of race wars in this land.

It has been a hideous thing. It is not Tulsa. It is not Tulsa's way. It cannot be condoned, and the splendid constructive spirit of Tulsa manifested itself as soon as the city beheld the awful scene by the light of day. Then as rapidly as the lynch word had spread the night before, the word was spread.

**Advice to People.**

"Be men. Be white men, all white, white clear through. Keep a cool head. Be on the level. Mind your own business. Keep away from any mobs. Be part of no mob. Do not think mob, feel mob, or act mob. Restore order."

The city that can, as Tulsa already has, meet this holocaust in this spirit, will rise a better city, more obedient to law. The lawless have already learned that that kind of performance on a rational, progressive, and upbuilding city gets nobody anywhere.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
JUNE 3, 1921

# REFUGEES DECLARE PEONAGE PREVALENT

## Eight Who Fled From Oklahoma Before the Riot Tell of Warnings Given to Quit the State.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People at 70 Fifth Avenue made public yesterday a statement containing the testimony of eight colored people, now in New York, who had fled from the race riot area in Oklahoma. The refugees asserted that they had been the victims of peonage in and near Okmulgee, about thirty miles from Tulsa, and that colored people in that region received warnings weeks ago to quit the State or suffer the consequences.

The association, which may send representatives to Tulsa to investigate the riot, telegraphed as follows to Governor Robertson of Oklahoma:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asks that you use full powers from your office to stop the reign of violence and terror at Tulsa, Okla., and offers its full co-operation in ending these disorders."

The association announced that a relief fund was being started to aid the homeless colored people of Tulsa. A similar fund is being raised among Harlem negroes by Alderman George W. Harris, editor of The New York News.

Four of the refugees who came to the office of the association are: Lizzie Johnson, Stella Harris, Josie Gatlin, and Claude Harris of Okmulgee. Others in their party who fled from the riot area before the present fighting are: Charles Johnson, Allen Gatlin, L. G. Harris and Ruby Harris.

Lizzie Johnson asserted that white cards were posted outside the doors of colored homes in Okmulgee warning the colored occupants to leave the State and that a warning to the same effect was published weeks ago in an Okmulgee newspaper.

Mrs. Stella Harris asserted that before their flight her house was set on fire three times in one night and but for the friendliness of a white brakeman from the North who woke them they would have been burned to death.

The refugees asserted that under a system of peonage which prevails in Oklahoma, crops had been taken from colored farmers and share croppers by white planters, who had given in return only a bare subsistence to the negro tenants.

When the price of cotton fell, the refugees further said, negroes came in hungry from the country, seeking work and food. These negroes, they said, were arrested and put on chain-gang labor, and general warnings were issued that negroes in that section would have to leave the State.

James Weldon Johnson, secretary of the association, said that according to the refugees' evidence newspapers had been warning the negroes of Tulsa and other cities that "the grandest mob ever seen in history was coming to clean out colored people" and that cards were printed foreshadowing the event and in many cases naming June as the time for the "clean-up."

Mr. Johnson said that the drop in price of cotton and general business depression caused the action. Peonage in sections near Tulsa was general, he asserted.

"One incident never causes a race riot," he went on. "The causes accumulate for weeks and months before the outbreak.

"If the stories told by the refugees are true, conditions virtually of slavery, similar to those laid bare recently by Governor Dorsey in Georgia, prevail in Oklahoma. Robbery of negro tenants, brutalities of every description, burning of homes, and enforced labor for a mere subsistence wage will inevitably bring about trouble. Under these circumstances it is absurd to lay the entire trouble to a single case of assault, if indeed the case actually occurred.

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People again calls to the attention of all Americans the crying need for a thorough and sweeping Federal investigation of the practice of peonage and the virtual enslavement of colored people in the South."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# TULSA IN REMORSE TO REBUILD HOMES; DEAD NOW PUT AT 30

## Citizens in Mass Meeting Voice Shame Over Riots That Razed Negro Quarter.

## BLAME POLICE AND SHERIFF

## Widespread Efforts Start to Relieve Distress of Homeless— 3,000 Negroes Quit City.

## GOVERNOR ORDERS INQUIRY

### City Still Under Martial Law, but Some Rules Are Relaxed—Half the Guardsmen Leave.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
JUNE 3, 1921

*Special to The New York Times.*

TULSA, Okla., June 2.—This oil metropolis of the Southwest was emerging tonight from one of the most spectacular outbreaks of lawlessness that has been known in Oklahoma since the early pioneer days. The combined agencies of law and order of city, county and State, directed in person by Governor Robertson and other State officials, had gained the upper hand and comparative quiet prevailed as fuller details of the tale of murder, arson and vandalism were unfolded. The city remained under martial law, although slight modifications were ordered by the military authorities.

A careful survey tonight showed the known dead to be thirty instead of the supposed 85 to 100 as estimated last night. Of the known victims nine are whites and twenty-one are negroes.

Some still believe that many other negroes perished in the burning of their section at an estimated loss of $1,580,000, and that these will never be known. There are vague reports also that negroes' bodies were thrown into the river and that others were buried outside the city.

There has been a tremendous revulsion of feeling as the result of the outbreak, which Adjutant General Barrett, commanding the military forces, bluntly declares was caused by "an impudent negro, a hysterical girl and a yellow journal reporter."

Tonight a reconstruction commission, formed by citizens, announced that the mile-square burned area would be rebuilt. A thousand business men will contribute to start a city-wide fund for the rehabilitation of the devastated district.

In the meantime the City Government, the police and the Sheriff's office, are under heavy fire as having by incompetent handling of the situation brought shame upon the community.

**Governor Orders an Inquiry.**

Before returning to Oklahoma City this afternoon the Governor ordered the immediate impaneling of a Grand Jury with plenary powers to investigate the uprising. He stated that the Attorney General and every agency of the State government would co-operate to impose the fullest penalties of the law on those guilty of intigating the riots. He especially asked an inquiry into the conduct of the Police Department and the Sheriff's office, which he condemned.

In accordance with the Governor's direction, Judge Valjean Biddison ordered the Grand Jury investigation to begin June 8. It is planned to call large numbers of witnesses, white and black, in an effort to fix responsibility for the outbreak.

A host of bankers, business men and civic leaders assembled in mass meeting to organize city-wide relief for the thousands of negroes, rendered homeless and destitute by the destruction of the negro quarter.

A committee of seven was appointed to assume charge of the work of relief and restoration, in co-operation with the Red Cross, which has worked unceasingly for thirty-six hours to alleviate the sufferings of the dispossessed blacks.

Judge Loyal J. Martin, ex-Mayor, who was later chosen Chairman of the committee, said at the mass meeting:

"Tulsa can only redeem herself from the country-wide shame an
into which she is today pl
plete restitution and reha.
the destroyed black belt. T
the United States must know.
real citizenship of Tulsa weeps at
unspeakable crime and will make go
the damage, so far as it can be done, t
the last penny."

**Says Citizens Must Rebuild.**

"We have neglected our duties and our City Government has fallen down. We have had a failing police protection here, and now we have to pay the costs of it. The city and county is legally liable for every dollar of the damage which has been done. Other cities have had to pay the bill of race riots, and we shall have to do so probably, because we have neglected our duty as citizens."

Loud applause greeted his declaration that most of the damage done to property was done by "criminals who should have been shot on the spot." He urged that the commission determine whether city and county authorities would be able to cope with the situation after the troops leave. Then he went on:

"If the police authorities cannot take charge of the city, we'd better get the American Legion on the job and have a hundred men in readiness for outbreaks."

Judge H. L. Standeven said the entire city would have to take part in the burden of reconstruction.

C. B. Rogers supported Judge Martin's stand that every lawbreaker who took part in the rioting and plundering should have been shot. He declared that the business men of Tulsa had fallen down on their job and that now they must make restitution.

When nominations were made from the floor for the positions on the Executive Committee the name of Mayor C. D. Evans was proposed. It was howled down in a chorus of "No! He's fallen down already!"

Remorse followed swiftly in the wake of the race war, as the smoking ruins of the negro quarter cooled. Thousands of citizens early this morning volunteered their services for relief and hundreds of automobiles, including many of those of the wealthy, were proffered to transport relief supplies to the negro detention camps.

Many heads of families began early to search for domestic servants and their families, many of whom had been faithful helpers for years.

Throughout the day coupes and limousines drove away from the internment camps with negro passengers. Many well-to-do families, maintaining domestic quarters, gave shelter to entire families.

As the race enmity subsided under the pressure of rising public indignation, negroes were released from custody in large numbers. All were first identified and then paroled with white ribbon badges, marked "police protection." They were permitted to leave the city or return to the devastated area which but 48 hours ago marked the peaceful scenes of daily life, or return to the camps, where every effort was being made to provide sanitary housing for those who could find no shelter.

The shacks that still stand on the outer fringe of the negro belt are housing as many as six and eight families tonight. Relief associations are sending truck loads of provisions and water into this section, where negro leaders in co-operation with the whites are distributing relief. Plans were afoot tonight for the erection of a tented city on the ashes of the quarters where all refugees can be cared for under police protection until permanent provision can be made for them.

Of more than 15,000 negro residents about 3,000 have left the city. Most of the 12,000 remaining are wholly dependent for the necessities of life upon the relief that is being organized.

All the churches of the city, the Convention Hall, the baseball park and the extensive county fair grounds have been turned over to the negroes. At the park and fair grounds, where the greater portion were received, conditions of great hardship prevailed. Not until tonight were sanitary conveniences provided after thirty-six hours in which men, women and children, many nearly destitute of clothing, had herded like live stock in the cattle barns that were their only shelter.

In view of the crowded conditions, Adjt. Gen. Charles J. Barrett, who is Military Dictator of the city, decided that it was best to face the lessening risk of further disturbances and release all the negroes possible from detention. About 8,000 were given leave to go but a large proportion were expected to return tonight for shelter.

While the city was thus turning to the work of relief, and restoration, every precaution was being taken by the military and police to prevent a recrudescence of rioting. The negro quarter was surrounded by a cordon of militia and only negroes were permitted to pass the borders of the area of destruction that began at the Frisco tracks and ranged north and east for thirty blocks.

Military depots were established at strategic points throughout the city from which units could be summoned at an instant's notice to any quarter. The police, freed from the work of patrolling the negro and railroad districts, assumed charge of street traffic.

**Negroes Show Resentment.**

As the terror of the negroes in the face of the swift catastrophe faded away evidence of resentment became manifest. Released negroes, appearing upon the streets this evening, while guarded in their speech and actions, betrayed a sullen reticence. There was, however, a tendency, especially among the women, to put much blame on negro agitators who organized the first small bands which went to the court house with the ostensible intention of preventing what the negro quarter believed was to have been a lynching.

The street element" of Tulsa, a large percentage of whom took a leading part in the rioting, betrayed in the mass no pronounced change of heart. Although somewhat overawed by the indignation that burned on every side, there remained tonight a considerable number of the inhabitants who appeared content with what they regarded as just retaliation for the armed invasion of the city by the negroes.

General Barrett, in his address to the citizens' mass meeting, said:

"In all of my experience I have never witnessed such scenes as prevailed in this city when I arrived at the height of the rioting. Twenty-five thousand whites, armed to the teeth, were ranging the city in utter and ruthless defiance of every concept of law and righteousness. Motor cars, bristling with guns swept through your city, their occupants firing at will."

There was a tendency tonight, as details of the affray came out, to place much blame upon the police force and the county Sheriff's office.

Prominent men declared that if the police had promptly arrived at the court house when the first armed blacks appeared on the scene, the disturbance that culminated in disastrous race war, could have been nipped in the end.

"If those first armed negroes had been summarily arrested or, refusing to yield, had been shot on the spot, this blot of disgrace would not now rest upon your city," General Barrett asserted.

One sensational rumor was current tonight to the effect that the Sheriff, fearful of a lynching, telephoned to negro leaders to "come up here and protect your man." This refers to the gathering of negroes before the Court House where the negro youth, Dick Rowland, accused of assault on a girl, was held. This report will be sifted by the Court of Inquiry as negro witnesses are said to have been found who swear that the Sheriff summoned them.

Investigation has disclosed that when this group was not disbanded, a formidable mob of blacks quickly assembled, as rumors of impending trouble spread and disorganized bands filtered southward to the support of the Court House contingent.

Within two hours, the situation was out of the hands of the police, with upward of 500 heavily armed negroes in control of one of the chief corners of the downtown district.

Unable to cope with the situation, and fearful that the angry negroes would ravage the city, the police seem to have yielded at the least tacit support to the formation of white bands. If they did not actually abet, they at least failed to stop the forcible entrance of hardware and sporting goods stores by white rushing for guns and ammunition. One of the largest of these stores is directly opposite the Central Police Headquarters.

Many citizens do not blame the whites for their part up to sunrise of yesterday, by which time all the negroes had been swept from the city proper into their own quarter. It was then that bands of whites crossed the railroad district and began to invade and burn the negro houses.

Purely defensive warfare, it is urged by this group, had been waged up to this time and the city was safe until the authorities could be reinforced. The ruthless demolition later of virtually the entire negro quarter, south of the tracks, is condemned as indefensible violence.

One of the outstanding property losses was the razing of the largest negro church in the city, recently completed after long efforts by the colored citizens. A new public schoolhouse suffered a like fate.

**Thirteen Arrests for Looting.**

Despite the fact that armed sentries have been patrolling the burned district, desultory pillaging was reported tonight. Thirteen men were taken in custody today on charges of vandalism. The authorities announced that extreme penalties under the law will be imposed on looters.

Fifty members of the local American Legion post were commissioned as regular police officers tonight and will organize patrols in support of the State Guardsmen.

At many places of business and in the hotels tonight, negro porters had returned to their customary duties, wearing "Police Protection" badges. Hotel elevator and much business service had been demoralized by the rioting during which every negro face vanished like magic from the white districts.

Tonight the curfew was suspended and ousiness houses and theatres were allowed to remain open.. Transportation service was to start on regular schedules. Martial law, however, remained in rigid force and assemblages on the street were prohibited.

Many reports follow in the wake of the riot to the effect that the negro elements had long been preparing for a race war here. None of these, however, could be verified tonight, but some credence was given to reports that black agitators had been at work.

An independent statement by a police officer was that "sixty to seventy" armed negroes arrived Tuesday from Muskogee to help in a deliberate attack. This does not tally with the generally accepted story that the affair was a spontaneous rising because of the lynching rumors that flew about.

Attempts were made today to make political capital out of the riots. A feud has been on between the Republican city administration and the Democratic county and State administrations. A board of inquiry into the efficiency of the police and city administration concluded its hearings only a fortnight ago. The board, consisting of the city Commissioners, whitewashed the administration in the face of fraud and incompetency preferred by a group of civic leaders and an evening newspaper.

Today brought a recrudescence of charges and countercharges, attempts to fix blame, shifting from the Republican Police Department to the Democratic Sheriff's office.

**250 Guardsmen Sent Home.**

TULSA, June 2.—Because of the marked lessening of tension, 250 of the National Guardsmen were returned to their home stations tonight, leaving approximately 300 men in control of the city.

In addressing the mass meeting of citizens this afternoon Adjt. Gen. Barrett was emphatic in charging that failure of the local peace officers to take proper action was responsible for the rioting.

General Barrett said that he came to Tulsa with 100 uniformed men from

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Oklahoma City and in a short time pacified 25,000 armed men. He declared the Sheriff could have done it if he had used power to deputize assistants. The General said the presence of six uniformed policemen or a half dozen Deputy Sheriffs at the county building Tuesday night, when whites, bent on taking from jail Dick Rowland, charged with attacking a white girl, clashed with negroes intent on protecting Rowland, would have prevented the riot.

He added that men holding special permits to carry weapons were chiefly instrumental in inciting the outbreak and did most of the shooting.

General Barrett stated that, while he was ordering the withdrawal of the National Guardsmen from Tulsa, there was no intention to remove the martial law edict until such time as it was shown the city could care for itself.

"Most of this damage was done by white criminals who should have been shot and killed," E. C. Martin, the former Mayor, said after he was selected Chairman of the Executive Committee.

"As the final outcome we must rebuild these houses, see that these negroes get their insurance, and get their claims against the city and county," the Chairman said.

A subscription of $500,000 will be asked, the committee announced tonight, to rebuild the homes owned by the negroes. No attempt will be made to rebuild the business buildings, many of which were owned by white persons, or homes which were rented.

Mayor Evans tonight issued an order, revoking all special police commissions. The Mayor acted under instructions from General Barrett, who stated that many of the ringleaders among the white rioters and men who did most of the shooting carried arms as special officers.

A military order tonight forbade holding in churches the funerals of those killed in the riot.

The ninth and last of the dead whites was identified as Ernest Austin, 39 years old, formerly of Houghton, N. Y., in which city an aunt, Mrs. Carrie Worden, lives.

Five of the negro dead have been identified. Among them is Dr. A. C. Jackson, shot while running from his burning home. He was one of Tulsa's prominent negro physicians.

Thirteen bodies of negroes were buried in the City Cemetery here today. The act was without ceremony, it being said that feeling possibly might flare up if the burial were attended by any show.

The list of wounded mounted gradually during the day, as persons who had not been treated called on physicians. The approximate number was placed at 240, with the belief that many more than that were hurt, but did not report their injuries.

The matter of collecting insurance on the properties in the negro quarter destroyed by fire was in dispute today, the insurance men holding that their policies on the $1,500,000 worth of buildings destroyed did not recognize mob violence as a destructive agent. It was thought possible that some of the negroes might seek to recover from the city, seeking to establish that the city was negligent in not having provided sufficient protection, and, therefore, was responsible for the losses.

While many of the buildings burned were of flimsy construction, there were some imposing structures, including two theatres, several three-story buildings and the plants of two newspapers, The Tulsa Star and The Oklahoma Sun.

# TULSA RACE RIOT WILL BE PROBED

Constitution

## Cause of Battle Attributed to Impudent Negro Hysterical Girl and "Yellow Journal" Reporter.

Tulsa, Okla., June 2.—Tulsa's "reparations commission" has begun its work of retrieving the once proud name of Tulsa.

Out of this riot-wrecked municipality—one of the most widely boosted cities in America in days gone by—has come a definite program of reconstruction and reparation.

A "high commission" of seven, under the chairmanship of Judge L. J. Martin, former mayor, has spread broadcast an invitation to outraged negro families to file their claims for damages at the hands of mobs.

Every effort will be made by the leading citizens and business men of the community to "make good" the riot victims' loss, it was announced Thursday night.

As darkness set in Adjutant General Charles F. Barrett and his national guardsmen resumed their second night's vigil, unwilling to leave the city while there was any possibility of trouble. General Barrett cancelled a trip to Fort Sill, Okla., and re-established headquarters at the mayor's office. Members, headed by Major Alva J. Niles, were in active auxiliary.

**Grand Jury Called.**

Steps are being taken to investigate the alleged failure of the local authorities in the crisis. District Judge Valjean Biddison issued a grand jury call at the direction of the governor which will put Police Chief Gustafson and Sheriff William McCullough under fire, with the threat of removal for failure in face of duty.

According to the latest authentic report, nine whites and eighteen negroes are known to have been killed during the race clash. An estimate places property damage at $1,500,000. All this, according to General C. F. Barrett, commanding the state troops, called here to maintain martial law, was incited by "an impudent negro, a hysterical girl and a yellow journal reporter."

Representative citizens of Tulsa met today and condemned the city and county law enforcement officials, holding them responsible for the diastrous outbreak. In discussing this meeting General Barrett stated that while he was ordering the withdrawal of the national guard from Tulsa, there was no intention to remove the martial law edict until such time as it was shown the city could care for itself.

A committeee, on which Mayor T. D. Evans was denied a place, was appointed to care for the helpless negroes, estimated to number more than 3,000 and to expedite the work of rebuilding the burned negro quarter.

**"Must Rebuild Homes."**

"Most of this damage was done by the white criminals who should have been shot and killed, E. J. Martin, former mayor, said after he was selected chairman of the emergency committee.

"As the final outcome, we must rebuild these homes, see that these negroes get their insurance, and get their claims against the city and county," the chairman said.

A final check of the morgues today definitely established the number of white dead at nine and black dead at twenty-one.

Continued on Page 2, Column 3.

# LETTER TELLS OF FIGHTS IN TULSA STREETS

ROCHESTER N Y HERALD
JUNE 4, 1921

A letter was received yesterday from Tulsa, Okla., by Mr. and Mrs. George H. Truex of 76 Manhattan Street, Rochester, from their son, Arthur F. Truex, telling them of the race war. Mr. Truex, petroleum geologist for the Invincible Oil Company, blames the uprising on the negroes, and deplores the fact that the good negroes have to suffer with the bad. He closes his letter by saying:

"I presume Tulsa will get a lot of unpleasant publicity on account of this affair, but it can't be helped. The blacks started it and the whites finished it for them."

The letter was dated June 1. It says:

"Tulsa has been having a hectic time last night and this morning because of the race riots. I presume it has been written up in the Eastern papers, so you probably have read some about it. Things are about all quieted down; the city is under martial law and troops are drilling under my window as I write. About six whites have been killed and probably 100 negroes, maybe twice that many, no one knows, as practically all of 'Niggertown' has been burned.

"It started about 9.30 last night, or rather the whole thing starts from Monday, when a negro attempted to assault a white girl. He was put in jail. Last night a rumor got around little Africa that an attempt was to be made to lynch him, and about 100 armed negroes went to the court house, where the jail is, and made a demonstration. Officers tried to persuade them to go home, and they left, only to come back a little later with reinforcements.

**Few Whites Armed.**

A crowd of whites gathered, but of course only a few were armed. Finally some negro shot at an officer and that started things. The police and citizens battled with them and gradually as more whites came with guns, drove them north toward 'Niggertown.' At the Frisco tracks where the negro section begins, they battled and battled until morning. Armed men surrounded the quarter on three sides and began to drive them back and the negro shacks were set on fire to get the snipers out, and soon the whole place was on fire. About 9 or 10 o'clock this morning practically all the negroes were rounded up or left town, and now there are about 6,000 concentrated at the ball ground and the uprising seems to be all at an end.

"We heard the firing downtown last night and wondered what it was, but didn't find out until 1 o'clock when some one beat on the door and asked me to turn on the porch light. He told me about the fight and said that the neighborhood was to be patrolled all night. So everyone lit up the lights and we went back to bed.

"This morning Jack Frost and I drove over to a high hill overlooking 'Niggertown,' which is about a mile and a half away from us. We drove up on the hill, but only stayed a minute as the firing was too close and negro snipers were working at that hill. A machine gun was set up on the hill and was firing at the blacks below. Armed whites were everywhere on foot and in cars, picking up every negro in sight and putting them under guard in Convention Hall.

**Red Cross at Work.**

"The Red Cross and the civic societies are feeding the prisoners, but I don't know what will be done with them, as most of them are homeless. Of course, most of those that live out in the residence sections in servants' quarters are all right. It seems too bad that the good negroes have to suffer for the deeds of a few bad ones, but the only way to keep them where they belong is to kill some of them every few years. Last night armed blacks were pushing whites off the sidewalks and one woman was dragged along the street for a ways until she was rescued and the nigger shot.

"Daisy, our laundress, lives with her husband, Louis, across the street from us in servants' quarters. Louis said this morning that she went downtown to a picture show in the negro section last night and never got home. Of course he can't go out to look for her. Probably she is at the ball park and will get back in a few days. They are good negroes, neat and clean, and we do feel sorry for them.

"No one in town is doing much work to-day, as there is too much excitement going on, but I think by to-morrow everything will be calmed down. I presume Tulsa will get a lot of unpleasant publicity on account of this affair, but it can't be helped. The blacks started it and the whites finished it for them."

# RADICAL LEADERS BLAMED FOR RIOT

Constitution

Tulsa, Okla., June 3.—Search for a number of alleged ring leaders of the race riots of Tuesday night and Wednesday, the lifting of martial law and progress on plans for rebuilding a negro "zone" were developments in Tulsa today.

Adjutant General Barrett, in charge of state troops here, announced he had the names of a number of persons suspected of being ring leaders in the trouble and that these persons when apprehended would be turned over to the civil authorities.

General Barrett told the chamber of commerce it was unnecessary to keep the state troops after today and this afternoon issued the governor's order restoring civil law.

The committee of seven at a conference discussed the request of Governor Robertson for a searching inquiry and decided the best plan would be to handle the investigation through the grand jury. A special committee from the Bar association, it was announced, will be appointed to co-operate with the county attorney's staff.

**Considers Plans.**

The committee of seven also considered the rebuilding plans and steps are to be taken to provide a well built negro section.

The committee expects no difficulty in obtaining the $500,000 necessary to rebuild homes owned by negroes.

An order was issued from military headquarters early in the day demanding the arrest of any one offering for recording deed or transfers of any property in the burned district.

General Barrett under the martial law proclaimed in an order warned that irresponsible persons were seeking to obtain the property at much less than its value.

Rumors that radical leaders among the negroes caused the riot began to take tangible form today with the statements of O. W. Gurley, one of Tulsa's wealthiest negroes; J. W. Adkinson, police commissioner, and Barney Cleaver, wealthy negro peace officer.

The combined statements of the three tended to indicate that for some time the negroes had been preparing for race trouble, and that the first shot at the county building Tuesday night when white men who sought to take from the jail Dick Rowland, 19-year-old bootblack, charged with attacking a white woman, clashed with armed negroes. Benton protecting Rowland, was fired on by a narcotic-crazed negro.

**Newspaper Destroyed.**

Rumors persist that a negro newspaper here was interested in working up dissension between the races, but Gurley's statement, while attaching the blame to the negroes, asserted that the negro editor exhorted his friends not to precipitate trouble before the march on the county building was undertaken. The plant of the negro newspaper was destroyed by fire.

Indefinite rumors that the death list greatly exceeds the known thirty, nine white men and twenty-one negroes, also persisted. Many he still believe that numerous bodies of negroes were obliterated in their bullet-riddled homes when the torch was applied and that a number of bodies were thrown into the Arkansas river which skirts Tulsa a mile away.

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Washington, June 3.—A general inquiry into the race riots at Tulsa, Okla., has been ordered by Attorney-General Daugherty, it was announced today at the department of justice.

The purpose of the investigation officials said, is to determine whether disorders were in violation of federal laws. Preliminary reports, it was added, show that the situation is purely local.

**MUSKOGEE OKLA. PHOENIX**
JUNE 4, 1921

## NEGROES FLEE TO MUSKOGEE

**Refugee From Tulsa Fill Jail Seeking Place to Sleep**

The emigration of former Tulsa negroes to Muskogee is well under way. They are coming in on foot, on freight trains, in automobiles and in horse-drawn vehicles.

Last night a score of negroes were either picked up or came voluntarily to the police station for beds. After the regular "hotel" space was filled they were assigned to areas on the lawn in front of the jail.

Most of the riot victims are absolutely penniless, but occasionally one has a roll of bills which he asks the desk sergeant to keep for him. Many of them have bank books, showing that they have bank accounts in Tulsa.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# DENVER MAN WHO SAW RIOTS IN TULSA BELIEVES THEY COULD HAVE BEEN AVERTED

## Officers at Fault in Failing to Disarm Negroes at Courthouse, Declares M. J. White—He Was Eyewitness of Fighting.

DENVER COL POST
JUNE 4 1921

"Many persons in Tulsa are disgusted at the way affairs were handled in connection with the race riots; others, the hot-blooded ones, believe the bloody clashes could not have been prevented," said M. J. White, Denver dental supply dealer, who was an eyewitness of the rioting that cost more than 30 lives in the Oklahoma town Tuesday and Wednesday.

"From my hotel, I saw two automobile loads of Negroes as they went to the courthouse Tuesday morning to guard a Negro prisoner accused of attacking a girl. The Negroes were out to prevent a lynching. They all carried rifles and guns.

"The sheriff begged them to go home, and they left, but after they returned to the Negro section there evidently was more agitation and they went back to the courthouse. If the officers had undertaken the job of disarming the Negroes it is probable the riots would have been avoided. But they did not do so and the white civilians took the task in their own hands.

"I was about a half block away when the Negroes tried to prevent the disarming by firing their first volley into the whites. There were about fifteen shots in that first exchange. Then the whites returned the fire and Negroes ran down the main street, pursued by the whites, who shot at them as they fled. One white man was shot thru the leg in front of the Ketcham hotel, where I was standing. One was killed in front of the Tulsa hotel nearby.

"Tulsa was a wild place all that night. I went to bed about midnight, but due to the noise slept scarcely at all, and was up again at 5 o'clock. I went down to the burned Negro section and took a great many pictures.

"One very bad thing was the way whites delved into the personal belongings of the Negroes, throwing their possessions from trunks and otherwise damaging them. This lawless looting continued from about 9 until 11 o'clock, when martial law prevented further spoliation."

Mr. White, who is interested in oil leases near Tulsa, returned to Denver Friday. He lives at 4605 East Colfax avenue.

# NEGROES MEET TODAY TO SEEK TULSA REDRESS

N Y C CALL
JUNE 5, 1921

## Hube... Harrison of Colored Liberty League Wires Oklahoma Gov. to Punish Responsible Whites.

Hubert H. Harrison, president of the Liberty League of Negro-Americans, announced yesterday that a meeting to protest against the Tulsa massacre and to elect a committee to go to Oklahoma to get the facts at first hand will be held at the Public Library, 135th street and Lexington avenue, at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

Harrison, who was for many years prominently connected with the Socialist and I. W. W. organizations, has sent a telegram to Governor Robertson of Oklahoma, warning him that unless the authorities take drastic measures against the whites responsible for the riots at Tulsa that this condition will give an immense impetus to the movement among the Negroes for arming themselves against white aggression.

Harrison, in his telegram, sent on behalf of his organization, said:

"Unless the state authorities repudiate and punish such lawlessness, Negroes will develop as militant a spirit as the Irish in Ireland."

Among the speakers at this afternoon's meeting, Harrison announces the names of the following: Rev. Dr. William older, Mrs. Irena Blackstone, president of the Women's National Business Association; Arthur E. King, publicist, and Edgar M. Grey, secretary of the league, who will preside.

**Purpose of the League.**

Harrison told a Call reporter yesterday that the purpose of the Liberty League of Negro-Americans is to carry on an educational and propaganda work among Negroes and also to undertake to exercise political pressure wherever possible to carry into effect certain practical measures which would abate lynching. Harrison did not wish to specify what these measures were, but he said that his organization was not afraid openly to take the position that lynching would never be stopped or effectively checked until it became a costly business to the white people who undertook it.

The political program of the Liberty League Harrison defined as being based on the idea of "Race First."

"We intend to waken the Negro to the realization that he must make his rights absolutely the only issue when he takes part in American political life.

"The league is strongly behind the program of the advanced labor movement in this country," Harrison continued. "We are using every effort to line up all colored workers in unions composed of colored workers only, which will co-operate in every possible way with the white unions when we are allowed that right. This policy is being adopted not because we consider it the best, but because it is the most helpful. We would prefer to see workers of all colors and creeds working for emancipation in one union, but the white workers of America on the whole do not yet realize the need for lining the colored worker alongside of him and treating him as his social equal. As long as that condition exists the colored man must fight for his economic betterment independently of the white trade union movement."

**Teaching Economics.**

Mr. Harrison said that the educational efforts of the organization will be so designed as gradually to supplant propaganda work as such.

"We are endeavoring to teach the Negro the facts of the social system in which he lives and evoke in him a respect for his own history," said he.

"We will teach African ethnology along the lines as suggested by Dr. Frank Boas and others. The Negro must learn that he was not altogether a creature rescued from savagery by the white slave dealer. The Negro race in Africa has at different times in its history reached a high stage of civilization. Civilization is not a specialty of the white races. The Negroes have made their contribution, which is only now being tentatively realized by some of the more liberal scientists.

# WHITES' LOSS IN TULSA BROUGHT MILITIA ACTION

—HUBERT HARRISON
N Y C CALL
JUNE 6, 1921

## President of Liberty League Says Lynching Won't Be Stopped Until It Begins to Hurt the Lynchers.

More than 100 white people were killed in the Negro section of Tulsa during the race riots, and not 30, as the press here reported, and it was not until the white people in Tulsa began to get the worst of the fight they started that the militia stepped in. Hubert Harrison, president of the Liberty League of Negro Americans, harged yesterday at the public library at 135th street and Lenox avenue.

Harrison asserted that it had been the policy of the Associated Press and other newsgathering agencies to suppress the number of deaths of white people in race riots since the St. Louis massacre and at the same time to exaggerate the number of Negro dead.

Information reaching him from Tulsa, Harrison said, enabled him to say definitely that the Negroes had fought back bravely when attacked, and that they had been as well led as in St. Louis, where they also had courageously fought the whites.

Harrison said that the congressional reports of the inquiry into the St. Louis riots had been suppressed because of the testimony of some Negroes to the effect that they had been forced by an organization of colored men to take guns and go out and fight or be shot by the colored men themselves.

The fire in Tulso was not confined to the Negro section of the city alone, as the reports had it, Harrison asserted. Eight blocks were burned down in the principal white business section of the city, he said.

"The Negroes on the western fron are beginning to realize the socia values of the incendiary properties petroleum," Harrison remarked.

**Like New York Politics.**

"The political situation in Tulsa was something like that in New York City at the present time," Harrison added. "The administration in the city was antagonistic to that of the state and political considerations were affecting the whole situation."

"The police department, the fire department and the militia men brought in at all acted on the side of the whites," Harrison declared. "It quickly was made evident that the crime in Tulsa was not to carry a gun, but to be a black man."

Harrison said that the murder of Negroes would never be stopped until it was made costly for the white lynchers.

"Lynching will never be stopped," he asserted, "until it hurts the lynchers. White men lynch black men, not because they hate them, but because black men are defenseless. They would lynch any other body of men whose lives were as cheap as ours.

"The cure is that Negroes must determine that their lives shall be no longer cheap, but that they will exact for them as high a price as any other element in the community. Let us see to it that our lives are protected and defended, if not by the state, then by ourselves.

"Let Negroes help to make murder costly, for by so doing they will aid the officers of the city, state and nation in instilling law and order into the minds of the 'poor white' population, which exceeds the colored people in number, and also the better element among the whites. The law of every state says explicitly that killing in defense of one's own life is legal and proper."

Edgar Grey, secretary of the Liberty League, who presided, said that the Negro was being made to realize more and more ruthlessly that he was not an American citizen but that he was a black man living on suffrance in a white man's civilization.

Mrs. Irena Blackstone said that the women of the Negro race must learn that they, too, must take part in the fight to defend their homes. Negro women had reared American statesmen and it was not right of them to salaam when a white legislator came to speak to them. No political party would do anything for the Negroes. They must take their rights or they will never get them. Mrs. Blackstone thanked The Call for its report of her speech, advising young Negroes not to serve in the American army until their rights as citizens were assured them.

Dr. Mandanui, who said that he came to this country from Africa to try to interest the American Negro in his racial tongues, declared that the Negro must stay in America until the white man took his hands off black Africa.

Miss Henrietta Rodman indorsed the objects of the Liberty League in a short speech. She was glad the Negroes were planning to arm themselves both in the interests of the

## *Charred Debris Is All That Remains of Tulsa's Negro Quarter.*

N. Y. C. ILLUSTRATED NEWS
JUNE 6, 1921

**FIRST PICTURES** of the havoc wrought in the race riots in Tulsa, Okla., were received yesterday. This picture shows the manner in which ten blocks of the Negro residential section were razed by torches in the hands of an infuriated mob. The Negro population face the future with only the clothing in which they escaped. (By Underwood)

# Klu-Klux on Rampage in Oklahoma

Washington Eagle 6/4/21

## SHOOTING AND BURNING IN TULSA

white as well as of black women and
for the sake of law and order in Amer-
ica.

# 80 KILLED IN TULSA, OKLA., RACE RIOTS; SCORES INJURED, 10 BLOCKS BURNED; RUSH TROOPS TO ENFORCE MARTIAL LAW

## Hundreds Killed, Thousands Hurt, in Recent Race Riots

Hundreds have been killed and thousands wounded, with an enormous attendant property loss caused by burning and looting, in the race riots of the last few years. Among the most serious outbreaks recently were:

The Washington riots which began on July 19, 1919, when soldiers, sailors and marines on leave in the city invaded the negro section to revenge reported attacks by colored men on white women. Seven are known to have been killed and scores were injured.

The Chicago riots of a few days later, beginning on July 26, when a negro boy was killed by a white man at a bathing beach. During the week before order was restored, at least thirty-eight persons were slain, and it was thought that many others, whose deaths were not reported, were also victims of mobs or individual raiding parties. Estimates of the number wounded were as high as 500.

On Oct. 2 of the same year rioting broke out in Elaine, Ark., when two officers were killed by men they tried to arrest. Here the death total was fixed at thirty persons, with hundreds more wounded in the fighting. Three days before three persons had been killed in the Omaha, Neb., riots and many injured, including the Mayor, whom the mob attempted to hang when he refused to turn over a negro.

Serious rioting occurred in East St. Louis on July 7, 1917, in which at least 125 persons were killed.

JUNE 2, 1921

## Eight White Persons Known to Be Dead, and Estimate Is Twenty-Five—One Conjecture Puts Total Dead as High as 175—Many Negroes Are Wounded—Many Negroes Believed to Have Perished in Fire Razing Their Quarter.

### TROUBLE STARTS WITH EFFORT TO RESCUE NEGRO AFTER ASSAULT ON WHITE GIRL.

### Belligerents in Battle Array Across Railroad Tracks—Fire Trucks and State Troops Fired On—Orders Issued to Disarm All Persons Except Deputies—Railroad Stations Scene of Encounters—Four Guard Companies in Control.

TULSA, Okla., June 1.—**Race riots to-day resulted in the death of eighty or more persons, including eight whites, and the injury of scores, according to estimates by the police, and in the destruction of ten blocks of homes in the negro quarter. Despite the placing of the city under martial law to-day, desultory firing continued during the afternoon, but the city this evening was comparatively quiet.** Four companies of the National Guard under Adjutant General Barrett are on duty.

The reported death list grew all day. At noon the Chief of Police notified Gov. Robertson at Oklahoma City that the total was seventy-five. In one statement Major Charles W. Daley of the Police Department put the figure at 175, saying he believed many negroes had been burned to death in their homes.

A check of the morgues to-night showed eight known white dead. They were:

**Walter Daggs, local manager of the Pierce Oil Corporation, formerly of Leroy, N. Y.; Arthur James, Wynona, Okla.; Cleo Shumate, twenty-four, Tulsa; Carl D. Lotspoich, twenty-six, Tulsa; man identified as F. M. Barker, Haviland, Kan., who carried an identification card with the name of Norman Gillard, Tulsa; Homer S. Clyne, sixteen, of Tulsa; S. J. Withrow, nineteen, Tulsa; unidentified man about forty years old.**

**Later this evening Police Headquarters had reports that conservative estimates of the dead would be about twenty-five whites and sixty negroes.**

The trouble is declared to have started last night from the arrest of a negro charged with attacking an orphan white girl, and subsequent attempts of negroes to rescue the arrested man.

## Herd Thousands of Negroes Together to Guard Them

Only one negro walks the streets of Tulsa to-night unhampered. He is Barney Cleaver, negro deputy sheriff and well regarded by both whites and negroes. Not one of the rioters has turned a hand against the peace-loving negro, and he is the only one of his race who ventures on the streets without an armed guard.

Cleaver has been instrumental in getting hundreds of his race to disarm and seek refuge under protection of the troops.

Comparative quiet prevailed in the later hours of the night, but at daybreak a group of negro houses were set afire and the city firemen prevented from fighting the flames. Armed white men then formed a circle about the negro section.

For several hours during the morning parties of negroes and whites faced each other across railroad tracks, on which could be seen a number of slain negroes.

With the early arrival of Adjt. Gen. Barrett and a machine gun company from Oklahoma City a semblance of order was restored. Several thousand negroes were assembled at Convention Hall, the baseball park and the police station and there guarded. Orders were issued for the disarming of all persons not belonging to the guard or especially deputized.

**Guard Throughout the City.**

Detachments of the National Guard were scattered about the city at strategic points, especially about the negro quarter, where 10,000 to 13,000 negroes, it is estimated, make their homes. Nearly half that number are now under guard.

Dick Rowland, the negro whose arrest led to the disturbance, was removed from the city to an unnamed spot. Officers declared he would be given a speedy trial.

New fighting has broken out on North Greenwood Avenue, the principal negro business district, according to a fireman just returned from the scene, who says the fire trucks were fired upon by four negroes. State troops also have been fired upon, he said.

One of the hottest engagements of the whole outbreak took place around a negro church where about fifty negroes had barricaded themselves. Several massed attacks were launched against the church, but each time the attackers had to fall back under the fire of the negro defenders. Finally a torch was applied to the building and the occupants began to pour out, firing as they ran. Several negroes were killed.

**Shortly after midnight the negro** armed, whirled up to the big hall directly from the scene of fighting under a big hill on North Greenwood. With them, closely guarded, were negro prisoners captured with guns during the fray.

Negro domestics were taken from their quarters and moved to the ball park.

Orne Olson of Sapulpa, aged twenty, died this morning following a fight at a railroad station.

All persons not deputized as special officers were ordered to disarm in a proclamation issued shortly before noon by Mayor T. D. Evans. Persons carrying guns will be arrested under the Mayor's orders.

Reports persisted throughout the morning that armed negroes were coming to Tulsa from Muskogee and other towns, and automobiles filled with armed whites guarded the roads leading into Tulsa to offer resistance, but no one appeared, so far as could be learned.

**Scores Are Treated.**

A check of the hospitals showed that nearly two-score of whites were being treated for injuries. More than fifty white patients left the hospitals following treatment, without giving names. Most of the patients had arm and leg wounds and only a few were reported in a serious condition.

Among the seriously wounded was A. B. Stick, City Clerk of Sapulpa, Okla., who was struck by a stray bullet while he was standing on the steps of a leading hotel. Another of those severely injured was run over by an automobile filled with armed negroes.

Continuous gun firing broke out shortly after daylight near the negro quarter. The firing came from a spot where throughout the early morning hours 500 white men and 1,000 negroes faced each other across the railroad tracks. First reports to police said three railway switchmen and a brakeman had been shot to death. The trainmen were killed, it was reported, because they refused to permit members of the opposing crowds to ride upon a switch engine passing between the lines. The engineer was reported to have escaped.

It was when Dick Rowland, the negro, was taken to the Court House and lodged in the jail on the upper floor of the building, that the trouble began. Early in the night motor cars containing armed negroes appeared on the streets headed for the Court House. A crowd of 200 negroes surrounded the building. Armed white men soon began gathering.

The crowds soon reached such proportions that the authorities realized the situation was beyond their control and a call was sent to Governor Robertson for troops. The Governor directed Adjutant General Charles F. Barrett to take any steps necessary to handle the trouble.

The Adjutant General ordered out three companies of Guardsmen here and sent instructions to commanding officers in a number of nearby towns to be prepared to rush men here on immediate notice.

Many of the injured, it was said

Oklahoma (Tulsa) Riots — 1921.

(over)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

(From Over)

seven city officials and business men to pass upon the status of 6,000 negroes held under guard in improvised prison camps was formed by Mayor T. D. Evans and Chief of Police Gustafson, with the approval of Gen. Barrett.

**First Fires at 1.30.**

Detachments of guardsmen were prepared to meet all emergencies with machine guns ready for action. Guards surrounded the armory, while others assisted in rounding up negroes and segregating them in the places which had been turned into prison camps.

The State troops under the command of Adjutant General Barrett arrived at nine o'clock, augmenting local units of guardsmen who were called out last night. At this time there were reports of sporadic shooting and the situation seemed to be easing.

The first attempts to fire the negro quarter were made about 1.30 o'clock this morning, when white men openly threatened to destroy the locality. Two houses at Archer and Boston, used by more than fifty negroes as a garrison, were set afire at that time and an alarm was turned in. Efforts of the fire department to lay hose were stopped by a crowd of armed white men and the department returned to its station.

The attempt to destroy the negro quarter by fire was resumed five hours later, when almost simultaneously fire began to burst forth from the doors and windows of frame shacks along Arch Street. Soon dense clouds of black smoke enveloped the location. Under cover of the smoke screen armed men in motor cars and afoot threw a cordon about the place where the negroes were stationed and occasional shots gave warning that the conflict still waged.

As the fire enveloped the houses, negroes were seen to dart out from flaming doorways with upraised hands, shouting "don't shoot." As they dashed through the smoke they were ordered to surrender, and quickly were removed to the prison camps.

**Streams of Refugees.**

Adjutant Gen. Barrett took up his headquarters at City Hall and announced that Col. B. F. Markham of Oklahoma City would be in command of field operations of the guardsmen. Gen. Barrett, who is working under the direction of the Sheriff, Mayor and Chief of Police, said he would continue to do so until he deemed it necessary to change command.

Throughout the morning long lines of negroes streamed westward along the streets leading to Convention Hall. Many wore their night clothes and were barefooted. Their sunken eyes told of a sleepless night and their ashen faces bespoke gripping fear.

Men, women and children carried bundles of clothing on their heads and backs. The articles they saved were varied and in many cases would have been ludicrous but for the gravity of the situation. Here an old woman clung to a Bible; there a girl with dishevelled hair carried a wooly white dog under her arm and behind trotted a little girl with a big wax doll.

In one case an aged negro woman supported an old man wrapped about with quilts and blankets and apparently very ill. He was immediately placed in an automobile and hurried to a hospital.

But all who came to Convention Hall were not non-combatants. Repeatedly grim-faced men, heavily armed, whirled up to the big hall directly from the scene of fighting under a big hill on North Greenwood. With them, closely guarded, were negro prisoners captured with guns during the fray.

Negro domestics were taken from their quarters and moved to the ball park.

Orne Olson of Sapulpa, aged twenty, died this morning following a fight at a railroad station.

All persons not deputized as special officers were ordered to disarm in a proclamation issued shortly before noon by Mayor T. D. Evans. Persons carrying guns will be arrested under the Mayor's orders.

Reports persisted throughout the morning that armed negroes were coming to Tulsa from Muskogee and other towns, and automobiles filled with armed whites guarded the roads leading into Tulsa to offer resistance, but no one appeared, so far as could be learned.

**Scores Are Treated.**

A check of the hospitals showed that nearly two-score of whites were being treated for injuries. More than fifty white patients left the hospitals following treatment, without giving names. Most of the patients had arm and leg wounds and only a few were reported in a serious condition.

Among the seriously wounded was A. B. Stick, City Clerk of Sapulpa, Okla., who was struck by a stray bullet while he was standing on the steps of a leading hotel. Another of those severely injured was run over by an automobile filled with armed negroes.

Continuous gun firing broke out shortly after daylight near the negro quarter. The firing came from a spot where throughout the early morning hours 500 white men and 1,000 negroes faced each other across the railroad tracks. First reports to police said three railway switchmen and a brakeman had been shot to death. The trainmen were killed, it was reported, because they refused to permit members of the opposing crowds to ride upon a switch engine passing between the lines. The engineer was reported to have escaped.

It was when Dick Rowland, the negro, was taken to the Court House and lodged in the jail on the upper floor of the building, that the trouble began. Early in the night motor cars containing armed negroes appeared on the streets headed for the Court House. A crowd of 200 negroes surrounded the building. Armed white men soon began gathering.

The crowds soon reached such proportions that the authorities realized the situation was beyond their control and a call was sent to Governor Robertson for troops. The Governor directed Adjutant General Charles F. Barrett to take any steps necessary to handle the trouble.

The Adjutant General ordered out three companies of Guardsmen here and sent instructions to commanding officers in a number of nearby towns to be prepared to rush men here on immediate notice.

Many of the injured, it was said were hurt while engaging in hand to hand street fights.

**Break Into Stores**

Soon after the first appearance of the negroes last night the streets were filled with shouting, gesticulating men. Suddenly there was a rush for sporting goods houses and hardware stores, where the crowds broke in and armed themselves with whatever weapons they could find. Guardsmen were used to disperse the rioters at the stores and a military order confiscated all stocks of arms in the city until the disturbance could be put down.

As the dawn broke, sixty or seventy motor cars filled with armed white men formed a circle completely around the negro section. Half a dozen airplanes circled overhead. There was much shouting and shooting. A row of houses along the railroad tracks was fired, but lack of wind prevented the flames from spreading. A party of white riflemen was reported to be shooting at all negroes they saw and firing into houses. The negroes were said to be returning the fire dispiritedly.

In a fresh outbreak at 7.30 o'clock in the Stand Pipe Hill district in the extreme northern end of the negro quarter Mrs. S. A. Gilmore, a white woman, was shot in the left arm and side. Mrs. Gilmore was standing on the front porch of her home when she was shot by a negro, one of a score or more barricaded in a church.

Hundreds of armed white men were rushed to the district in automobiles.

## *Windows of Trains Passing In Riot District Shot Out*

OKLAHOMA CITY, Okla., June 1.—Evidence of the fury of the race clash was borne by a St. Louis and San Francisco passenger train which arrived here to-day from the East. Many of the windows in one of the coaches had been shot out and the sides of the coaches were scarred by bullets fired upon the train as it passed through the negro section in Tulsa early to-day. None of the passengers was injured.

J. E. Lucas, a travelling salesman who arrived here to-day from Tulsa, told of the fighting in the vicinity of the St. Louis and San Francisco passenger station.

"Pullman cars standing in the yards were fired on and the windows shattered," he said. "Passengers left their berths and lay flat on the floor in the aisles. There was a lull in the firing when a passenger train pulled in and women and children alighted. Then the firing began again. Bodies of three negroes were lying in front of the station when the train arrived."

## *White Contractors Warned to Discharge Negro Labor*

OKMULGEE, Okla., June 1.—Contractors in charge of construction of a seven-story building here to-day were warned to dismiss from their employ all negroes when a notice signed "Committee" was found tacked to the fence around the excavation for a basement here to-day.

The negroes will continue to work, according to the contractors.

# Tulsa Riot May Hurry Race Study

## Outbreak Helps Outlook of McCormick Bill

### Provides for Commission of Five to Report on Subject—President May Speak Out

N. Y. C. POST
JUNE 2, 1921

[Special Dispatch to the Evening Post]

WASHINGTON, June 2.—The Tulsa race riots have stimulated the prospects of early passage by the Senate of the McCormick bill creating a commission of five members to study and report on the subject of the race question in this country. The bill was introduced by Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois some weeks ago in connection with the recommendation of President Harding in his message to Congress on April 12 and has since reposed in the hands of a sub-committee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, of which Senator Ernst of Kentucky is the chairman. Senator Ernst is understood to approve the bill in principle but has awaited a conference with the President about it.

In his message to Congress the President said:

"Congress ought to wipe out the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a free, orderly, and representative democracy. We face the fact that many millions of people of African descent are numbered among of population, and that in a number of States they constitute a very large proportion of the total population. It is unnecessary to recount the difficulties incident to this condition, nor to emphasize the fact that it is a condition which cannot be removed. There has been a suggestion, however, that some of the difficulties might be ameliorated by a humane and enlightened consideration of it, a study of its many aspects, and an effort to formulate, if not a policy, at least a national attitude of mind calculated to bring about the most satisfactory possible adjustment of relations between the races, and of each race to the national life. One proposal is the creation of a commission embracing the representatives of both races, to study and report on the entire subject. The proposal has real merit. I am convinced that in mutual tolerance, charity, recognition of the interdependence of the races, and the maintenance of the rights of citizenship lies the road to righteous adjustment."

The McCormick bill, framed after an exhaustive consideration of existing laws, contemplates the administration of any policy or line of procedure agreed upon by the proposed commission through the exercise of the police power of the respective States. Pressure for the passage of the bill has been exerted during the last few weeks and, it is understood, the measure will be taken up soon by the sub-committee and a report made to the Judiciary Committee upon it.

In the absence of President Harding to-day his close advisers strongly intimated that the President would not overlook the affair at Tulsa, but would make his position strongly known concerning it.

A. Y.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
JUNE 2, 1921

## RECEIVE TULSA REFUGEES.

### Scores of Negroes Have Arrived in Bartlesville.

BARTLESVILLE, Okla., June 1.—Scores of the negroes, who fled from Tulsa early this morning following the firing of the section of the city in which they had lived, arrived here late today and more are arriving every little while.

Refugees also came here from Owassa and Collinsville, near Tulsa, where it was reported signs of trouble were seen.

Members of the American Legion have formed a guard over about 200 refugees, among them women and children, who have been taken to the City Park for the night.

Members of a train crew from Tulsa, who passed through Bartlesville, told Earl Thompson, day operator at the Union Station here, that they had passed 3,000 negroes near Owasso, about thirty miles south of here, headed in the direction of Bartlesville. Thompson said the trainmen told him that most of the negroes were walking.

# Negroes Give $517.71 For Relief at Tulsa

OKLAHOMA OKLA OKLAHOMAN
JUNE 3, 1921

The fund being raised among negroes here for the relief of homeless members of their race in Tulsa reached $517.71 Thursday night, according to Roscoe Dunjee, one of the leaders in the campaign.

Negroes who are not solicited may leave contributions at the Bethel Drug company, 330 East Second street, or at the office of the Black Dispatch, 300 East Second street, Dunjee said.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots - 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# TULSA'S TERRIBLE TALE

## SCENES OF DEVASTATED TULSA, AND BLACK CROSS NURSES W

Chicago Whip 6/11/21

Photographs of ruined homes in the wake of the Tulsa race riot. Eye witnesses declare th at in the city of Tulsa there has not been left standing a h
graph is a Chicago company of Marcus Garvey's Black Cross Nurses who immediately volunteered to lend aid to the riot victims.

# IS TOLD

## HO VOLUNTEERED AID

Photos from Underwood & Underwood, N. Y

**uilding owned by members of our Race. Center photo**

Chicago Defender 6/18/21

## In War and in Peace

In times of war, when an allied soldier dropped his weapons and raised his hands as a sign of surrender, the "barbarous" Germans spared his life.

In Tulsa, Oklahoma, however, defenseless men, women and children were murdered without a chance for their lives.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots – 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

N. Y. C. MID-WEEK PICTORIAL
JUNE 16, 1921

# Race Riots at Tulsa, Oklahoma, Accompanied by Arson, Woundings and Killings

6/16/21 N.Y. Mid-Week pictorial

Ten blocks of the negro residential district in Tulsa were reduced to a mass of smoldering ruins within twenty-four hours after the race troubles started. Martial law was declared too late to save the section.
(© International.)

Negro business section in Tulsa destroyed June 1 by fire. For many hours armed bands surged through the district firing rifles, driving out the negroes and setting the torch to buildings.
(© International.)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Mid-West Pictorial
6/18/21.

Auto truck carrying injured whites and negroes to the hospital under guard. There had been considerable tension between the races for some time. The arrest of a negro charged with assaulting a white girl and the attempt of some of his race to forestall a rumored lynching led to the killing of nine whites and twenty-one negroes and the burning of the negro quarter. (© Wide World Photos.)

## COLORED CITIZENS' TULSA RELIEF COMMITTEE

Washington Eagle 6/18/21

To the Negroes of Oklahoma and to the Negroes of the United States:

We sorrowfully present to you our greetings of distress. We inform you that on the 1st day of June, 1921, we the colored citizens of Tulsa, Okla. suffered the loss of our homes from the result of a riot that took place on the night of May 31, 1921, in the above-named city. We are here thousands in number, homeless, absolutely clothesless, and dependent upon charity. The fault is not wholly ours We have done our best under the circumstances, but we are unable to save our homes or repair our losses without help from the outside world.

Therefore, we appeal to you to help us so we may be able to hold our own in the struggle for our place among the citizens of this city.

The committee selected to take charge of the relief work undertaken respectfully request that you aid us and that you forward your contributions as speedily as you can.

Said contributions to be sent to the undersigned committee.

Respectfully, The Colored Citizens' Relief Committee.

Rev. R. A. Whittaker, Sec.
S. D. Hooker, Chairman.

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I have inquired into the above condition and have personal information concerning the same, therefore urge our people everywhere to respond to this committee.

W. H. JERNAGIN,
President National Race Congress.

**Letter to Rev. W. H. Jernagin.**

Tulsa, Okla., June 19, 1921.

Rev. W. H. Jernagin,
Washington, D. C.

My Dear Sir and Brother:

Yours was read today and found all very well, and hope you and yours are the same. The report is that the homes of many of our people were burned from the airplanes, and many were wounded from the same source. The known dead has never been given, as the colored undertakers were all burned out, with all other business houses. Not a store of any kind, and not a doctor of our people has even paper on which to write a prescription. Barber shops, churches and every place of note was destroyed by fire. So you can see what position we are in. We lost five Baptist churches, three belonging to the National Baptist Convention, and three Methodist churches and one Seven-Day Adventist Church. We have nothing left but a mass of ruins. You will pardon this hurry-up letter, as I have been on the job since the riot. I will write you in the next few days.

As ever your brother,

R. A. WHITTAKER.

valued at [illegible] and onyx

N Y C AMERICAN,000.

JUNE 26, 1921

## Police Chief Indicted in Tulsa Riot Inquiry

TULSA, Okla., June 26.—Chief of Police Gustafson and four other members of the department were indicted to-day by a grand jury in connection with the recent riot and on charges of permitting vice.

The jury recommended that the indicted officers be suspende dfrom office immediately. The charges of permitting vice were not in connection with the recent race riots, it was said.

## 'REDS' SEEK NEGRO RECRUITS TO HELP START REVOLUTION

N. Y. C. MAIL
JUNE 29, 1921

Pamphlets Urging Force Discovered by Police.

The police today began inquiry into what they think may prove to be a nation-wide propaganda intended to stir up negro discontent throughout America and further the cause of "a Soviet Republic of America."

Morris Sorner, forty-two, white, of 124 Ludlow street, arrested last night while distributing, it is alleged, circulars of an incendiary nature ,admitted today, the police say, that he had been hired to scatter an appeal headed "The Tulsa Tulsa Massacre," urging organized force as the only remedy to apply against "mobs of business men who outrage the negroes and workers." He declined to say who hired him.

The police also continued a search of the neighborhood of Second avenue, Fifteenth and Sixteenth, where the incendiary leaflets, signed by the "Executive Committee, Communist Party of America," were being distributed.

### TULSA RIOTING

"By the time this leaflet is in hand," the circular read, "the whole world will have learned of the horrible massacre of negroes in Tulsa.

"No words are vivid enough to describe the actions of the well-dressed and armed mob of business men who, with automobiles and airplanes, surrounded the negro quarter of Tulsa on June 1, killed ninety persons and injured more than 200 and made more than 10,000 negroes homeless.

"There is only one appeal to stop these fiendship and bloody outrages—the appeal to organized force. The only language that the bloodthirsty capitalists of America can understand is the language of organized power.

"Only by reprisals, by answering force with force, will business men and their white guards, the Ku Klux Klan, etc., be restrained from their assaults on the negroes and the working people."

Labor was criticised for its attitude toward the negro as follows:

### WANTS RESOLUTION

"We've failed to organize the negro and refused to treat him as our equal brother. We are to blame. Break down the barriers in the union. Wipe out the color lines. There is only one line we can draw, and that is the class line."

Part of the poster dealt with sovietism. It read:

"Under the Russian czar the Jews were the victims of race riots and progroms. Workers and peasants overthrew the capitalist government and established a workers' government—the soviet republic of Russia. Only by following our Russian comrades' heroic example and establishing here the soviet republic of America will the workers, white and black, be able to work in peace and enjoy the fruits of their labor.

"Down with the capitalist system! Long live the Workers' Republic of America!"

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Tulsa (Oklahoma)

Riots — 1921.

# Tulsa Whites Seek Now To Placate Colored Citizens

## To Have Order Rescinded Which Would Include North Greenwood Within Fire Limits of the City

## Confiscation of Property

## Order Compels Fireproof Construction in District and Negroes Are Not Able To Finance Such Building Plans

New York Age 8/13/21

(By Telegraph to The New York Age.)

Tulsa, Okla.—Recent developments indicate that the white men of this community will abandon the proposed movement to include the North Greenwood section, where were located the principal homes and business places of the Negro citizens, within the city fire limits, which would automatically restrict the rebuilding to the erection of strictly fireproof buildings, and which would prevent the majority of the Negroes from restoring their burned and destroyed buildings.

The plan to place North Greenwood within the city fire limits carried with it a provision that vacant land in another locality would be provided for making of a new Negro settlement, the new location being, however, remote in situation and removed a considerable distance from the city's business center, and consequently inconvenient of acces for the residents thereof. This plan met with instant opposition on part of the colored citizens and much publicity was given to the apparent attempt of the whites to confiscate the Negroes' valuable realty holding under this "fire-limit" plan.

**Malicious and Arbitrary.**

Several weeks ago, directors and officers of various business organizations among the whites expressed themselves as favoring the lifting of the order restricting building operations. The president of the Ad Club, F. E. White, and E. S. Hutchinson, president of the Retail Merchants' Association, gave as an important reason for this step the fact that the report had gone over the entire coutry that Tulsa whites were maliciously, arbitrarily and with premeditation depriving the colored citizens of their properties with intention of converting it to their own use and profit. Mr. White declared that his son in Honolulu had written asking if the report that this was being done was authentic.

It was suggested at that time that the ban be lifted entirely and that the regulations in force prior to May 31st be established. It was stated that the mayor and city commissioners could rescind the order and the mayor was asked to meet with the reconstruction committee, which was largely responsible for the issuing of the restriction order, and devise a plan for restoring the old conditions.

**Adopts Resolution.**

On July 28th at a meeting of the Real Estate Exchange, a resolution was adopted withdrawing the proposal that the North Greenwood section be included in the fire-limit zone. E. S. Hutchinson, representing the Chamber of Commerce, declared in an address that if the Negroes were not allowed to rebuild in their own district the city would be compelled to provide food, clothing and shelter for thousands during the winter. It was also asserted that there was considerable disaffection among the working classes of the Negroes and the belief was expressed that if the Negro district is returned to the status it occupied before the uprising this spirit will disappear because the Negroes will then be "working out their own salvation."

The resolution adopted reads as follows:

"Because the Reconstruction Committee failed to provide a corporation to buy the Negro property in the burned district as had been planned, the Real Estate exchange's recommendation now is that the previous recommendation made that the fire limits be extended to include all of the burned area is withdrawn and the matter left in the hands of the Reconstruction Committee."

**Whites Seek Reparation.**

Another development which possesses considerable interest to the Negro property owners of Tulsa is that projected by some twenty-five white citizens who sustained property losses during the riot. These men are planning to recover from the city for losses suffered, and they have called a meeting of all the white property owners to perfect an organization for that purpose. Losses aggregating $250,000 have been filed by these men, with more to be heard from, and they expect to base their claims on failure of the city and county to protect propert during the riot.

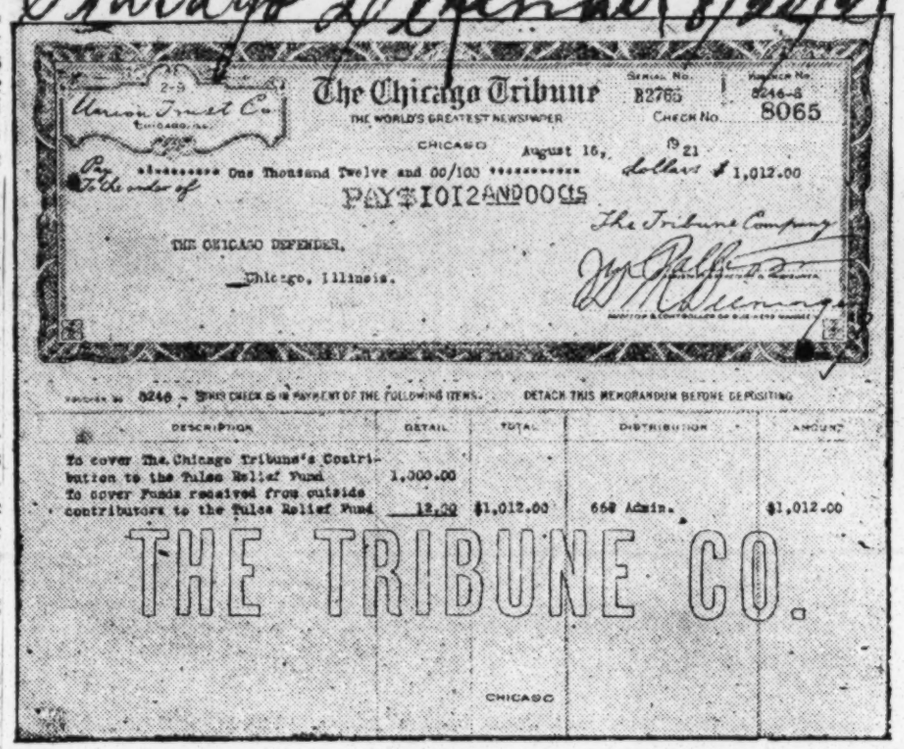
The Colored Citizen's Relief Committee is watching this movement with interest, as there has already been put into motion machinery for the recovery by colored citizens of property damages from city and county and for the collection of insurance policies, withheld so far by the insurance companies. The committee, of which S. D. Hooker is chairman, is making a special effort to raise $12,500 for retainer fees to five attorneys who will take care of claims against the city of Tulsa and against the insurance companies. Fourteen thousand claims have been filed already and more are to be filed.

**Relief Fund Asked For.**

These attorneys will also defend fifty Negroes who have been indicted since the riot, including six who are held in jail without bail. Checks for this fund should be sent to S. D. Hooker, chairman, corner Frankfort and Easton streets, the headquarters of the committee. J. Tyler Smith, treasurer, has received two contributions, each of $10, sent through The New York Age, New York City, by Miss Josephine Rutherford, Kirkwood, Mo., and St. Ambrose Church of Raleigh, N. C. Official acknowledgements have been sent direct to the donors.

# Chicago Tribune Sends Defender $1,012 for Tulsa Relief Fund

Chicago Defender 8/6/21




The Chicago Defender in addition to cooperating with other agencies for helping the unfortunate sufferers of the Tulsa riot established a fund for its readers and friends who desired to assist the citizens of Tulsa. Despite the reports given out by white individuals and organizations in Tulsa that no assistance was needed the investigations made by the Defender showed convincing evidence that our folks were suffering and in great need of assistance. Through O. W. Gurley and S. D. Hooker of the Colored Citizens' Relief Committee of Tulsa, $181.82 has already been forwarded for this cause.

The Chicago Tribune has now been added to this list by its gift to the Chicago Defender Tulsa Fund of one thousand and twelve ($1,012) dollars which has been forwarded to the committee in Tulsa. This gift will be welcomed by the citizens of Tulsa and Chicago as a token of the interest of the Tribune in suffering humanity. The work of this committee has been handicapped by the insistence of the white people in Tulsa that they were able to care for the needy there. If they are able to do so they have failed so far to make good so far as our people are concerned. Reports in the possession of the Defender give proof that there is something wrong in Tulsa relief efforts as numbers of families are without homes, food or shelter.

The following letter from J. M. Patterson tells the story of the Tribune's gift:

"Having learned that the Red Cross was provided with such funds as it thought sufficient for its relief work at Tulsa, Okla., in connection with the rioting there, and from your Mr. Jackson that there is still need for relief, the Tribune has withdrawn its remittance to the Red Cross and will be obliged if the Defender will send the amount in the Tribune's name to the relief committee with which you are cooperating.

"I enclose the Tribune's check for $1,012 covering the Tribune's contribution of $1,000 and $12 subscribed by readers in response to the Tribune's invitaion at the time of the riot.

"The Tribune hopes this sum will in some measure relieve the unfortunate victims of the Tulsa riot."

# TULSA NEGROES UP AGAINST IT

Savannah Tribune 9/8/21

**White Hatred Cannot Accept Competitive Success**

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 7th (Associated Negro Press) "Remember Tulsa!" That is one of the big slogans of the hour. Tulsa is the Odessa of the United States. Not contented with the most terrible and horror striking riot and massacre in the history of the nation, the whites of Tulsa, a certain element of them, have combined to do two things. First, to keep the people who lost property from securing any insurance; and second, to find some means of preventing the people from rebuilding on the ground where once stood the proud achievements of great business success and racial progress.

There have been almost one hundred indictments returned against Negroes who are charged with having either incited or participated in the riot. Tulsa colored Americans have organized to combat all of these efforts They are sending out the cry and appeal for help thru properly organized committees that have the endorsement of the best people of the community. The colored people of the country are not to fail Tulsa, for behind it lay the future possibilities of the race in

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

this country.

It was Booker T. Washington who advised the people to engage in business and rise above the flaunts and hold-backs of racial prejudice and discriminations. Tulsa, proud, glorious Tulsa, arose to this admonition superior to most American communities, only to discover that white hatred cannot willingly accept competitive success where the black man is concerned. If this new line of racial proscription is permitted to get a hold in American life, there is no telling where it will end.

O. W. Gurley, a prominent business man and citizen of Tulsa, and a former deputy sheriff, was in Chicago recently completing arrangements with the Chicago Defender, through Robert S. Abbott, to receive money for the Tulsa needs. Every true hearted American citizen is asked to make a contribution to the cause. Mr. Gurley was accompanied by Attorney Elisha Scott, of Kansas, who has been retained, with other well known attorneys, to handle the legal side of the Tulsa affairs, and a large sum of money is needed, these gentlemen claim.

An ordinance was passed extending the fire limits in Tulsa, seeking to prevent rebuilding by Negroes in the Greenwood district. This ordinance was given a death blow by the courts, and straightway another was passed seeking to carry the same purpose. It is stated that this new measure will be taken before the courts and given the same treatment as the previous one. "Remember Tulsa!"

Chicago Defender

## "Fire Zone" Urged by Real Estate Men Fails to Get Sanction of Local Judge

9/11/21

Tulsa, Okla., Sept. 9.—For a second time the city of Tulsa has been restrained by court injunction from declaring a "fire zone" in the district burned during the recent riot. Rumors are circulated that it is the purpose of large white real estate interest to gain possession of the burned area for manufacturing purposes, a plan that was placed before property owners long before the riot. The fact that the district is centered in a splendid railroad section offers reason for the manufacturers' interest.

J. B. Stradford

### Foreclose Mortgage

Despite the fact that all odds seem to be against them, citizens, who lost heavily from the riot blazes, are making a gigantic struggle to hold their property. White men who hold mortgages on property in the district are attempting to gain possession of it by foreclosing. In the case of Cy Williams, theater owner, one attempt at foreclosure was blocked.

One of the largest property owners in the city, J. B. Stradford, faces poverty unless similar aid is given him. Mr. Stradford, who owned a hotel valued at $100,000, lost this and several other pieces of valuable property during the riot. He had over $2,000 in a local bank, but this was seized by the officials in order to pay interest on mortgages. He has been denied use of the money, and white real estate men who hold mortgages against his hotel are preparing to foreclose.

### Unjustly Treated

Mr. Stradford has been placed at a disadvantage in looking after his own interest, there being a warrant for his arrest now in the hands of the sheriff at Tulsa. He is charged with being a ringleader in the riot by whites here. Citizens, acquainted with the local situation, declare Stradford is being unjustly accused, and the accusation is prompted by jealousy of white real estate men, who once sought to purchase his property.

A similar warrant is out for A. J. Smitherman, editor of the Tulsa Star. It is the purpose of officials here to make an "example" of Stradford and Smitherman, according to reports. Smitherman is said to have been outspoken in his newspaper regarding white invasion of the district months before the riot, and is now regarded as a "marked man."

Relief work is progressing slowly in this city because of the lack of funds. Unless people throughout the country send contributions, victims of the riot here face a hard winter.

## RIOTING TRIALS SET THIS MONTH

The Kansas City Sun

9/17/21

**Case Against Two Blacks for Inciting Riots Set on Docket.**

**Tulsa, Okla., Sept. 14.—The first trials of those charged with race rioting will be called during the fall criminal term which opens September 14 before District Judge Redmond S. Cole, it was learned last Thursday, when John Goldsberry, assistant county attorney, made public the docket.**

**Harrison Basken and Bill Dixon, both Negroes, will be the first to face trial on a charge of inciting the race riot which raged in Tulsa June 1. Both were indicted by the grand jury.**

N. Y. C. JOURNAL OF COMMERCE
SEPTEMBER 30, 1921

### COMMITTEE TO HANDLE TULSA RIOT LOSSES

**Suggested for United Action in Defense of Claims.**

General Manager W. E. Mallalieu of the National Board of Fire Underwriters has sent the following notice to members regarding defense of claims for losses resulting from the recent race riots at Tulsa, Okla.:

"The committee on adjustments at its meeting on the 14th instant considered a suggestion which was made to the meeting proposing that companies involved in the claims due to the fires following the riots at Tulsa co-operate in the defense of such claims. The members voted that the committee does not feel that this is a matter in which the committee as such can take action, but the committee feels it would be proper to recommend to the companies involved that it might serve their interests and the interests of all concerned in this and in future similar cases if the companies were to organize a committee of their own to act unitediy in such cases."

## CALL TULSA RIOT CASES FOR PROBE

The Chicago Defender

10/1/21

## Court Ready To Hear How Police Failures Caused Bloody Conflicts

Tulsa, Okla., Sept. 30.—The criminal cases of A. J. Smitherman, former editor of the Tulsa Star; W. S. Weaver, Mose Fitzgerald, Gene Walker, Andy Brown, A. B. J. Taylor and William Dixon were reached in court last Thursday morning. They are represented by Attorneys Elisha Scott of Topeka, Kan., and E. I. Saddler of this city.

A. J. Smitherman

The case of William Dixon was dismissed and those of the others are standing on application for a change of venue. The application, however, has not been passed on by the court. Attorneys for the defense have filed demurrers in each case.

All the defendants are out on bond except two, and the attorneys are arranging to make bonds for these.

Greenwood, one of the main streets in which rioters clashed, is being rebuilt. The following persons have structures under way: O. W. Gurley, Mrs. E. Partee, Mr. and Mrs. Williams, Jim Cherry, Mrs. Edward Howard and Rev. Richard J. Hill. Other buildings that are being completed are the Red Wing Hotel and the Sneed Building.

Part of the funds sent to Tulsa for the relief of the sufferers has been used to put the roofs on the homes of Mrs. Callie Rogers, Eva Arkle, Elizabeth Colum and Lucy Vann. An eight-room hospital with two spacious sun porches is being constructed at a cost of $6,000.

### Work Togetner

Since the last court decision restraining the city of Tulsa from interfering with the rebuilding in the riot zone victims of the racial misunderstanding are working together and putting forth every effort to take care of themselves and families during the winter.

Many people throughout the country have not been entirely satisfied with the report of the East End relief committee. They contend that the business methods of the committee have been the subject of much public comment. In some instances, it is claimed, money sent to relieve the actual sufferers of the riot has been used for legal defense.

### Broke Faith

By converting the funds for legal defense contributors declare that the committee has "broken faith" with the public, and donations have ceased to flow in so freely. The itemized statement of expenditure of funds recently released by the committee was termed vague and very incomplete in details. Scorching denunciations have been centered on officials of the committee because of the low expenditure for relief work during the early period after the riot.

The first statement showed that only $350 had been used for actual relief, while $2,100 had been used for attorneys' fees.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

Oklahoma

(Associated Press.)

**NEW YORK, June 2—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today issued a statement reciting stories of eight negroes who arrived here and claimed they were forced to flee from Oklahoma because of whippings they had received. Four of the negroes said they lived in or near Okmulgee. The homes of the others were not stated.**

The statement quotes the negroes as saying that cards had been posted outside their doors warning them to leave the state. They said a notice to the same effect was published weeks ago in an Okmulgee newspaper.

The association quotes the refugees as saying, that under the system of peonage prevailing in Oklahoma crops have been taken from negro farmers and share croppers by white planters who have given them in return only a bare subsistence.

"When the price of cotton fell" continued the statement, "negroes came in hungry from the country, seeking work and food. These negroes were arrested and put on chain gang labor".

Mrs. Etella Harris of Okmulgee told the association that before she fled her house had been set on fire three times and but for the friendliness of a white man from the north who awakened the family, all would have been burned to death. Others who said they came from Okmulgee were Lizzie Johnson, Josie Gatlin and Claude Harris.

James Weldon Johnson Secretary of the association, commenting on the negro's statements, said that if true conditions in Oklahoma are "similar to those laid bare recently by Governor Dorsey in Georgia".

# ANOTHER RACE RIOT FEARED IN OKLAHOMA

Herald-Commonwealth 7/6/21

Beggs, Okla., July 1.—Intense excitement prevails in this city as a direct result of the arrest of Charles Griffin, who was held by police on a charge of beating up a white mon, and the wholesale purchase of guns and ammunition by the colored citizens of the town, who claim that the arrest was wholly without reason, and that Griffin only whipped the white after being subjected to numerous insults.

Fearing a clash between the races, the sale of all arms and ammunition has been stopped in Beggs, and authorized are fearful that, unless Griffin is released, racial clashes will be in order. Searches are being made in the homes of both white and colored citizens, and guns found in the homes are being confiscated temporarily.

Colored citizens have been holding mass meetings regularly since the arrest of Griffin, and have been devising and planning ways and means to cope with any situation which may arise. They state that threats have made by whites to burn their homes, and denied that they were contemplating taking the offensive, stating that they would remain passive and peaceful as long as the whites took no aggressive action. In conclusion, one of their leaders said, "The Tulsa outrage is still fresh in our minds, and the Negroes of this place are determined that no repetition such as that will occur."

Six persons were taken to Okmulgee for investigation, being released later. So alarmed have the city's most prominent business men become over the situation, that they are discussnig the wisdom of calling a public meeting in an endeavor to straighten out the tangle.

## RACE TROUBLE NARROWLY AVERTED

6—4—21

HUGO, Okla., June 4.—A race riot was threatened here late last week when two policemen assaulted a man and two women under the pretense of looking for concealed weapons. One of the policemen was seriously wounded, his head being crushed with a heavy blunt object.

Chicago Tribune

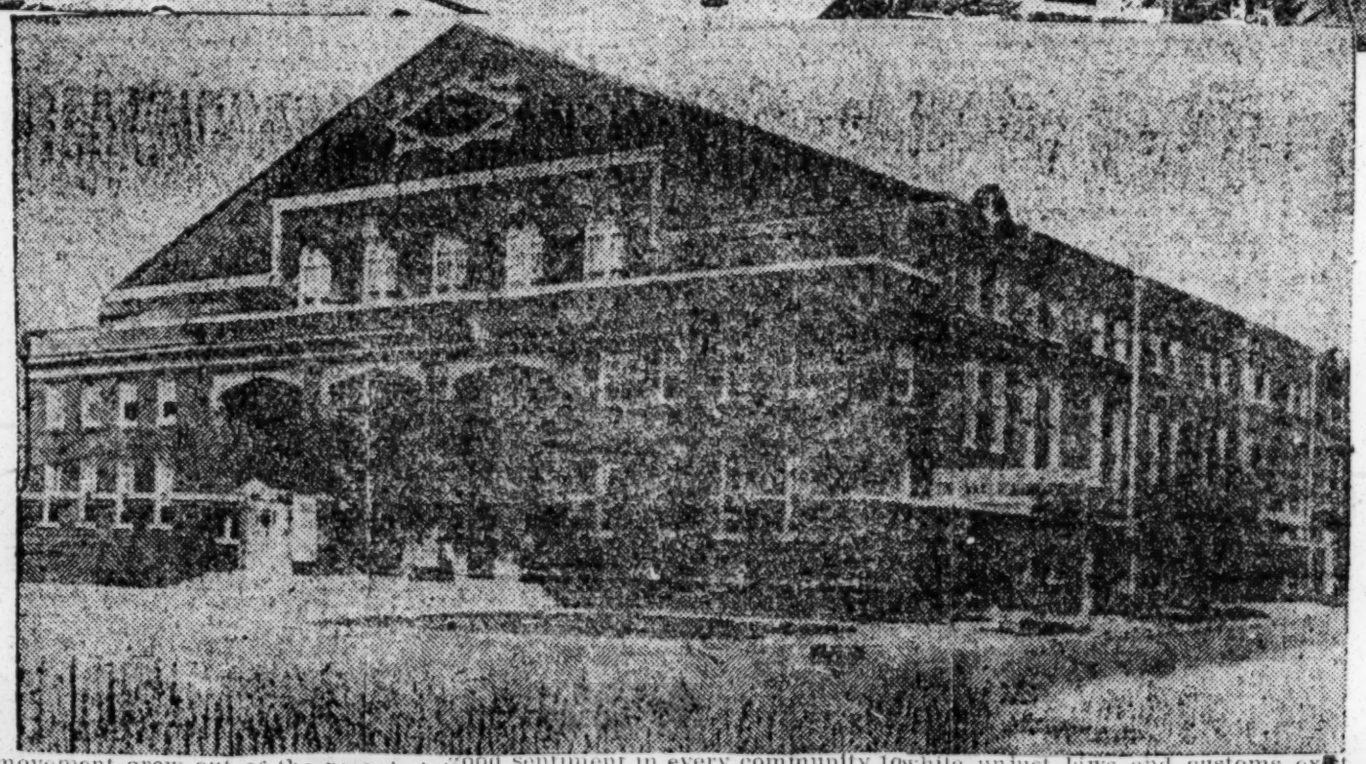
DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

# Tulsa's Loss by Fire Put at $1,500,000 as Result

N Y C AMERICAN
JUNE 4, 1921



**THOUSANDS MADE HOMELESS** —A Tulsa, Okla., civilian committee of relief is at work on plans for building homes for the thousands of negroes rendered destitute by the race riots and fire last Tuesday night and Wednesday. Business men have agreed to erect as many houses as possible in a short time. The number of known dead remained at thirty yesterday, but it was expected it will be increased by deaths among the wounded. In the pictures received from the stricken city yesterday is a panoramic view of the business portion of the town. Above, at the right, is the armory, where hundreds of negroes arrested during the rioting, were confined. Below is a view of the city hall, where the relief work is centered. As eighty-four city blocks were destroyed by fire the destitution is pitiful. Many applications have been made by employers to release the prisoners and where promise is made to protect the men they are allowed to go.

## NEGROES BEGIN MOVE TO STOP RACE RIOTS

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE
JUNE 6, 1921

### Rev. Dr. Proctor Sees Need of National Organization.

Brooklyn negroes began last night a campaign for a national organization which they claimed would make race riots such as have occurred in Oklahoma, Chicago, New York and other cities impossible in the future. The movement grew out of the recent riots in Tulsa and had its inception in a talk delivered at the evening services of the Nazarene Congregational Church, Troy ave. and Herkimer st., by the pastor, the Rev. Dr. H. H. Proctor.

Dr. Proctor would have the organization composed of both white and negro men and women from both the North and South, working together for "mutual understanding and goodwill." He suggested fair play to the negro as another remedy for racial conflict.

"The recent outbreak in Oklahoma," said the speaker, "should serve to teach us that we need a national organization. There is enough good sentiment in every community to prevent almost any such outbreak, but the trouble is it is not organized and, therefore, is ineffective. The mob organizes and does its work quickly while good men are asleep. Even if in some cases such an organization was unable to stop a riot it would then be in a position to arouse sufficient sentiment after the trouble was over to turn evil into good.

"Such an organization, while operating to prevent these social explosions, could at the same time be working for that permanent improvement in the laws, customs and conditions that create the psychological conditions out of which these terrible outbreaks spring. It is impossible to have good feeling in the community while unjust laws and customs exist. The only ground of permanent peace in a community is justice to all alike."

## SHOT BY TULSA GUARD, SUCCUMBS TO WOUNDS

Constitution 6/7/21

Tulsa, Okla., June 6.—R. L. Osborne died today at a hospital of wounds received when he was shot by a guard last night. According to military authorities Osborne, who was a member of an automobile party, failed to hault when commanded to stop by guards. Mrs. Paul Warner, sister of Osborne, was cut by flying glass and is in a hospital.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

# t of Fatal Race Riots

## Negroes Brand Story Race Initiated Riot as Fake

N Y C CALL
JUNE 5, 1921

### Spokesman Here Denies Times Dispatch of Preparations for Outbreak.

The New York Times yesterday on its front page carried a telegraph story dated from Tulsa, Okla., which purported to show that the whole of the massacre which has taken place in that city was the work of the Negro provoked through secret organizations.

The report indicates that O. W. Curley, described as the richest Negro in Tulsa, said that the Negroes were preparing for trouble "two or three hours before the outbreak."

Later on in the same story there is an admission that Negro leaders tried to keep the peace.

There are allusions to a secret organization which was started in Tulsa in the past six weeks called "The African Blood Brotherhood," a body supposedly vowed to the murder of whites, or some such dire purpose.

There are statements that Negro "agitators" are under arrest and that the police are searching for more.

Prominent Negro leaders in this city yesterday characterized this story as absolutely without foundation. Said one of them:

"The story was probably issued as a sort of smoke screen to cover up the disclosures published in The Call of the conspiracy among the whites to start this trouble.

"If ever there was a clear case of a premeditated outrage," this man went on, "this one is. All reports which we receive from Oklahoma strengthen our first conviction that the murders were the result of the jealousy of the white men against the Negroes there who succeeded in acquiring some oil properties. The Negroes of Tulsa knew that this riot was being planned as they had warnings in various forms, such as printed slips and threats from different sources warning black men to get out of the state or 'take the consequences.'

**As to the Pretext.**

"You will notice that the reports from the Times correspondents say quite flatly that the fighting began after a party of white men, heavily armed, tried to take the Negro, Rowland, out of jail and lynch him. All mention of the charge of rape against Rowland has been dropped in the press stories, in a very suspicious manner. It seems to me that the Colonel in charge of the National Guards, who would not be inclined to be favorably disposed toward the Negroes, said that the charge of rape was absurd. He referred to the girl as hysterical and the Negro as 'impudent.' If that was the worst he could muster up against an ordinary colored man it is certain the story of the rape could not possibly hold water at all.

"The Negroes," he said, "have had all the provocation they needed in the past two years in Oklahoma to arm without needing any secret secieties to stir them up to such action. The fact of the matter is that they, in their usual long suffering way, took few steps to protect themselves. If they had fought back effectively, it is certain the whites would not have gone as far as they did.

"The suggestion that the Negroes were in any way the aggressors in initiating the conflict is simply malignant," he declared, "in face of the long series of killings, in the past two years alone, through all the South where colored men have allowed themselves to be murdered without attempting to resist to any noticeable extent."

new york American
6/4/21.

## TROOPS WITHDRAW FROM TULSA CITY

Constitution 6/5/21

Tulsa, Okla., June 4. — State guardsmen mobilized here to put down the race war Tuesday night and Wednesday morning, were withdrawn this morning, leaving the city in control of city and county officials, reinforced by deputized former service men.

Business and social life here was fast returning to normal following the lifting of martial law late yesterday and many negroes were back at work.

Preparations for a grand jury investigation June 8, to fix the responsibility for the race outbreak, which resulted in the death of thirty-one persons and a property loss estimated at $1,500,000 were made today by the county attorney.

A. H. Smitherman, negro, brother of A. J. Smitherman, editor of a negro newspaper which is alleged to have been a headquarters of the negro rioters, was held in the county jail today without bond. County officials also were seeking A. J. Silverman. He left town during the rioting, but telephoned the sheriff he would return when the trouble subsided.

J. B. Stratford, an alleged negro leader, was held at Independence, Kansas, according to word received by Sheriff McCullough.

The death of Robert Hanson, 21 years old, brought the list of white dead up to ten today.

Thirty white men have been arrested and are being held for investigation as suspects in connection with the race riots, Police Chief Gustafson announced this afternoon. Another white man arrested by state guardsmen on a complaint of inciting riot, is also being held. Police officials refused to reveal the names of the men.

The thirty whites under arrest are alleged to have been found plundering the devastated negro district. About seventy-five men have been taken into custody the last two days on various charges, but many of them were released.

Chief Gustafson declared that drastic measures would be taken against all looters. "We are keeping a close record of all property recovered," he said, "and as negroes identify their belongings, we will demand that they swear to warrants for the arrest of the vandals. Prosecutions will follow."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots – 1921.
Afro-American 6/19/21

Oklahoma (Tulsa)

**TULSA'S COLORED SECTION AS IT LOOKS TODAY**

Photograph shows the residential section of colored people in Tulsa, Oklahoma, where the homesof 5,000 were razed to the ground. A twisted iron bedstead, remains of a stove or a pile of charred bricks is all that shows of what was once one of the finest colored settlements in the South.

# PRESIDENT HARDING'S COMMISSION PLAN PUTS THE RACE IN A TANGLE

## Many Who First Approved On Spur Of The Moment, Now Reverse Their Opinion. Believed Plan Will Hurt The Chances Of Bill Against Lynching And Segregated Interstate Cars. National Equal Rights League On Subject.

**PRESIDENT HARDING'S COMMISSION PLAN PUTS THE RACE IN THE TANGLE—A WORD TO THE N. A. A. C. P.**

St Louis Argus 6/10/21

Many of the Americans of African descent and extraction (which is the precise and correct, though cumbersome, race designation) saw disadvantage in the federal race commission move advocated by President Harding in his first official message to Congress. With the introduction into Congress of bills for the race, many who had expressed approval on the spur of the moment reversed or modified their opinion. The Guardian did so immediately.

It became quite clear with two bills introduced to have Congress make lynching a federal crime and one to have Congress abolish segregated interstate cars, that the three bills to have the president appoint a federal commission to study the whole question of race relations and report remedies would naturally and inevitably hurt the chances of the bills for specific Congressional laws. Not only will any political body, especially one lukewarm on a cause, if not hostile to it, take the path of least resistance, which would mean the commission to study the question, but this measure can make a strong claim of backing by the President, while he said nothing specific in the direct measures.

Had the Commission idea not been brought forward we all know that it would have been an uphill fight to pass the Dyer Anti-Lynching bill. There can be no question, then, that the best chance we have ever had to get lynching made a federal crime is seriously weakened by these commssion bills which provide a substitute less drastic. Furthermore their proponents can claim support and sure approval if enacted by the President, which Mr. Dyer cannot prove for his bill. The same is true as against passing the Madden bill to abolish interstate Jim-Crow cars. For it is fanciful to suppose Congress will be so unusually friendly that it will pass direct laws against lynching and Jim-Crow cars after enacting commissions to study the facts of race relations and race friction, the big items in which are lynchings and Jim-Crow cars. Only one set would pass, namely the commissions, thus deferring and perhaps jeopardizing real redress.

No one can dispute the claim which the authors of the commission bills are sure to make, in fact have already made, that they are carrying out the recommendation of the President, for he advocated and endorsed "the proposal" of a commission to study "the entire subject." Not only does this language include lynching, but lynching was the only specific wrong he named, and the commission was the only specific remedy he named for Congress to use to "wipe out" lynching. Hence a commission to study lynching is directly in line with the President's recommendation to Congress. His words are plainly subject to that interpretation, the most logical one, whatever he had in his mind Mr. McCormick so claims already for his bill.

In fact Sen. McCormick tackles the dilemma in his letter to the chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. He admits that his bill is a substitute for the anti-lynching bill. He offers the Senator an excuse for sidetracking the Dyer bill on the ground that a federal law may not be constitutional. Thereby he admits his bill does not contemplate federal jurisdiction over lynching.

Who created this mix-up and conflict of methods? President Harding. Can the race blame him? Let us see. The National Equal Rights League and its National Race Conference of 1920 asked President Harding and the party for a law to make lynching a federal crime, not for any commission. However, just prior to this message to Congress, its national president, Rev. M. A. N. Shaw, in person, filed with the Attorney General a resolution for a commission adopted at the Geraldine Trotter Memorial meeting in 1918. He also saw the President. So far and only so far is it to blame. The Guardian endorsed that idea in 1918, when, under Democrats, a half loaf seemed all that could be had, if that much.

The real father of the Commission idea, the organization that frankly claims credit for the President's message, is the N. A. A. C. P.

First it announced as one plank of its long program of 1921—"Appointment of a National Inter-racial Commission to make an earnest study of race conditions and race relations in the U. S." That is positive. Such was plank 5. To be sure plank 1 read: "Passage of a federal anti-lynching law." But the wiley rulers can twist that to warrant passing of a bill to have an investigation to find the remedy.

Nearer home is the official new bulletin by the N. A. A. C. P. dated April 15, 1921 which states:—"Congress ought to wipe the stain of barbaric lynching from the banners of a democracy" was the declaration of President

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sumes the whole responsibility for all President Harding said and we could only blame him, if at all, for doing as it advised. No longer blame the President.

So we have the President failing to urge a law to make lynching a crime against the federal government, and urging a commission only as a measure, and no one to blame for it but ourselves, especially the N. A. A. C. P. This is not said condemnatory of the Association, for Editor Trotter believes in "Living and let live" for these organizations and is a charter member of the N. A. A. C. P. We are making clear the situation in justice to the President and for the benefit of the race. Nor have we omitted the near responsibility of the N. E. R. The language of our requests needs to be more water-tight.

The Association is so anxious to get the credit that it published two planks left with the President by Secretary Johnson. In one the association earnestly requests a "recommendation that Congress take action to end lynching." This does not specify the method. The second urged a "National Commission to make a study of race conditions and race relations with particular reference to the cause of friction." This wording includes lynching, Jim-Crow cars and disfranchisement for investigation.

Such requests permit of Congress enacting the Commission as its "action to end lynchings," a loop-hole to avoid present direct laws. These requests in writing justify the President in naming nothing more specific by which Congress is to "wipe out the stain of lynching" than an investigating commission, and Congress can surely say, if it only enacts the commission, that it has acted toward "wiping out lynching" as per the President's request.

We warn the race that the present situation endangers the Dyer, Madden and even the Tinkham Bills, at least deferring action indefinitely. We appeal to every organization, especially the N. A. A. C. P., to realize that by lack of shrewdness and by use of terms too general the race's cause may be side-tracked or side-stepped virtually at our own suggestion, and to mobilize its forces to protect our specific race measures in this overwhelming Republican Congress which went in with this friendly President.

The Association, for its part, can well note the bitter attack by Wm. [illegible]kens of its own salaried staff upon McCormick Bill to investigate the [illegible]ching evil as calculated, or even deliberately designed to shelve the Dyer [illegible]i-lynching Bill.

Nothing in this editorial is censure. [illegible]e best of our people and organizations, including ourselves, have been led into the weaker position and unless we quickly admit it much injury will be done the race.

# 200 NEGROES SLAIN IN TULSA, SAYS PROBER

N Y C CALL
JUNE 10, 1921

## Misuse of Word "Assault" Caused Fatal Riot, Declares Investigator of Colored Aid Society.

## WAS AN ACCIDENT

## Accused Negro Found to Have Merely Stumbled Against White Girl in Public Elevator.

Walter F. White, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth avenue, on returning yesterday after a personal investigation of the recent race riot in Tulsa, Oklahoma, declared that between 150 and 200 Negroes had been killed in the riots and at least 50 white persons.

White declared that the riot was largely due to a misuse of the word "attack" and "assault," the impression being given that a colored man had attempted rape upon a white girl, whereas he had merely stumbled in an elevator and, in attempting to recover his balance, stepped upon her foot.

"Having been sworn in as a deputy sheriff and having been on patrol as such during the Tulsa riot," said White last night, "I am able to state that the Tulsa riot in sheer brutality and wilful destruction of life and property stands without a parallel in America.

"Abuse and misuse of the word assault caused the entire conflagration. A white girl operating an elevator in a public building declared that a colored boy had attempted to assault her. Without stopping to inquire, and without considering the utter impossibility of criminal assault being perpetrated in broad open daylight in the public elevator of a public building, on a principal street of a town of 100,000 a senseless mob set out to 'avenge the honor of white womanhood.'

"As a result, between 200 and 250 white and colored citizens are known to have been killed, an unknown number of colored men and women and children were burned alive, 44 square blocks of business and residential property valued at $1,500,000 were destroyed and everlasting damage done to the name of Tulsa and of Oklahoma.

"In justice to Tulsa, it must be said that a large percentage of the white inhabitants condemned in unmeasured terms the outrage which has been perpetrated. The Salvation Army, the Red Cross, local relief agencies and churches have done commendable work in providing food, clothing and shelter for the destitute victims of the riot.

"Tulsa's experience is exceedingly important in that conditions which led to its night of terror exist in many other cities, North and South; and, unless unusual efforts are used, the gravest consequences are to be feared. Some of the white citizens of Tulsa are attempting to blame the riot on Negro 'radicalism.' When I questioned them regarding the nature of this radicalism I found invariably that it consisted of demands by Negroes that the Federal Constitution be enforced, and that lynching, peonage, disfranchisement and Jim-Crowism be abolished.

"There will be a state investigation of the riot, but in the opinion of the citizens of Tulsa it will amount to nothing. The Tulsa riot has convinced me that the only hope of averting repetitions of it lies in Federal interference."

# GEORGE W. BUCKNER URBAN LEAGUE SEC'Y LEAVES FOR TULSA

St Louis Argus 6/10/21

Geo. W. Buckner, Executive Secretary of the Urban League, left last night for Tulsa, Oklahoma as special representative of the National Urban League. Buckner with E. M. Castleberry, a white representative of the Southern Inter-Racial Committee with headquarters at Atlanta, Ga., will endeavor to get together the thoughtful white and colored citizens of Tulsa on a permanent program for inter-racial rehabilitation.

Buckner was the first social worker, white or colored, in East St. Louis, following the riots there in 1917 and is peculiarly fitted for this very difficult task.

# RISING FROM RUINS, TULSA TO REMOVE MAYOR

## Say Horrible Destruction Of Life and Property Was Due To Gross Negligence.

TULSA, Okla., une 11—Following a night and day of bloodshed and rapine which is without equal in the history of American racial friction, Tulsa is quietly settling down to the task of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

## Chicago Man's Father Held

Chicago Whip 6/11/21

Among those held in connection with the riot is R. B. Stradford, who is now under arrest in Independence, Kans., pending extradition. Mr. Stradford, who is a former hotel proprietor, is the father of Att'y C. Francis Stradford, of Chicago. He is charged with rioting, and if convicted under the conditions can be punished with death. Mr. Stradford has refused to return to Tulsa, and a strong fight against his extradition is expected.

According to claims made by city officials, the dead will not number more than thirty. As yet, it is impossible to obtain an accurate list of the known dead. A partial list of members of our Race known to be dead is as follows:

## Noted Doctor Killed

Dr. A. C. Jackson, one of the most successful physicians of the southwest, Dr. Jackson was killed while running from his home which was in flames. He was killed instantaneously when his services were needed the most.

John Wheeler, employee of the First National Bank of Tulsa. Killed while on his way to work Wednesday morning.

J. W. Williams, proprietor of the Dreamland Theatre. The Dreamland which was located directly across the street from a white theatre, was burned to the ground. It was said to be picked as one of the first targets because it materially reduced the white theatre's patronage.

## CLAIM "BIG MISTAKE" STARTED TULSA RIOT

Chicago Whip 6/11/21

TULSA, Okla., June 11. After the destruction of millions of dollars' worth of property and the death and wounding of scores of people, the real cause of the Tulsa riot has come to light.

It has been ascertained that Dick Rowland stepped into a store elevator and accidentally stepped on the foot of Sarah Page, a white elevator girl. She slapped him and he seized her by the arm.

The girl screamed and a floor walker seized Rowland and turned him over to the police. The girl filed a charge of assault and battery against Rowland.

An afternoon paper in reporting the incident that caused the excitement used the word "assault," but gave insufficient information to confine the term to a mere altercation. The public got the meaning that rape had been attempted, which was untrue.

## ATTEMPT TO DISCREDIT REFUGEE FAMILIES

New York Age 6/11/21

The story carried in THE AGE of last week concerning racial conditions in Oklahoma, which resulted in the coming of three families from Ocmulgee, Oklahoma to New York in search of better living conditions, which story was written several days before the riots occurred, was evidently telegraphed to Tulsa by New York news agencies, who gave that city as the place from which these people were driven.

The immediate result was an avalanche of denials as to the accuracy of the statements made by the refugee Oklahomans, Mr. and Mrs. Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Gatling and Mr. and Mrs. Harris. Files of the Tulsa papers were examined and cited to prove that the story was not true.

But these families did not come from Tulsa, nor did the account published in The Age mention Tulsa. Their original homes were in Ocmulgee, and their tale was told only of happenings in Ocmulgee. The Tulsa happenings, however, supply ample corroboration of the charges made by these Oklahoma refugees. The treatment accorded Oklahoma Negroes by the whites, as alleged by Mrs. Johnson, who spoke for the three families, has been clearly revealed by the Tulsa happenings.

It has been well established, also, that there existed a concerted plan to get rid of the Negroes in certain localities and take possession of their valuable holdings by various methods, either within or without the law. Late press dispatches assert that a suggestion has been made that the reconstruction of Negro homes be not carried out in the present devastated area, comprising some of the most valuable realty holdings in Tulsa, but that the Negro homes be built in a more outlying section.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

Riots - 1921.

## AND NOW—TULSA

Cleveland Call 6/11/21

Once more is the proud record of our free and orderly representative democracy stained with the blood of the innocent. But what matters it that the reputation of America is again dragged in the dust of disgrace? Has not already a hideous mockery been made of the country's constitution, the people's government and the equality of the law? Yet, may the day never come where there shall cease to be heard in the land the voices of the upright and the true rebuking the nation for its shame upon justice and civilization.

In endeavoring to determine the basic causes for such infuriated outbursts against the Colored citizens, we are faced with certain obvious facts and conditions. First of all, the Negro anywhere in these United States is the victim of the poisonous propaganda of the South, which has sought to justify massacre and murder, lynching and burning, peonage and utilization, segregation and disfranchisement, in fact every act of oppression and violence by the revolting representation of the black man as a lustful creature preying upon the sanctity of white womanhood. This characterization has created a distorted impression of the Negro in the mind of the average unenlightened person of opposite color, in consequence of which he is constantly the object of a dormant antagonism, which instantly assumes the form of extreme hatred at the merest suspicion or wildest rumor.

Usually, as was the case at Tulsa, the simple existence of an acquaintanceship between a Negro and a white woman is sufficient to place the life of the man in imminent danger. Then as the story is passed from one to another it becomes exaggerated out of all relation to the truth, and presently a great mob is gathered bent on lynching the man who has raped a virtuous white woman and ready to wreak its revenge upon the whole Colored community. Now, what would happen if the Negroes adopted the very same tactics in the quite frequent cases where a Colored girl or woman is seduced or ravished by a white man? The law would sustain their extermination. Of course, we realize that the fury of the rabble is aroused because of the crime, real or supposed, and not because the perpetrator is a Negro. Would the circumstances not be identically the same if a white man was accused of attacking a woman? In view of this we cannot believe that Governor Davis, of Ohio, actually pardoned a man found guilty of raping a young girl after he had served only seven months of a two-year sentence. How did he escape the mob?

Then, there is in this country no real respect for the law, essentially because there is no real administration of the law. Lynching and all other violations of the law attendant upon prejudice and injustice could be eradicated from the fabric of American society if the municipal, state and federal authorities would take the initiative in enforcing the letter of the constitution. It is at once conceivable that law enforcement in its entirety is not one whit stronger than it is in its relation to the Negro and his rights. Thus, the Race suffers both because the law is made a nonentity and a convenience by the privileged classes and protects the strong in the exploitation of the weak; which condition breeds a virulent meanness and baffled resentment which finds expression in an unreasoning hatred of the Negro.

The law, however, but reflects the policy of the government. We looked to the present administration with our usual expectation, and when President Harding in his address to Congress gave utterance to a glaring truth in regard to lynching and followed this expression by voicing his approval of the formation of a committee to make a study of the Negro question in all its departments, the Race with few exceptions applauded vociferously, forgetting that a Presidential term might expire before anything definite was accomplished. That the Chief Executive is not contemplating a concrete advocacy of the Negro's cause was signified by his nomination of Frank Linney for United States District Attorney in the State of North Carolina. This gentleman, when Chairman of the Republican State Committee last year, not only announced his desire for an exclusively white government, but in an address to the women voters of the state declared that in future it would be the policy of the Republican Party to let the Negro stay out of politics. Then our worthy President proceeds to pay a glowing tribute to the distinguished service rendered by the Race in the recent war on the occasion of a brief visit to Lincoln University, and in referring to the Tulsa riot implores God that America may be spared a recurrence of such a spectacle. In the meantime the Republican Party, with his ready consent, continues to unfold a plan for the abandonment of the Democratic Party by the South on the terms of disfranchisement of the Negro and his exclusion as a conventional delegate or office-holder below the Mason and Dixon line. And the agony of it all is that Harding and his machine are positively convinced of the Race's abounding and unshakable confidence in Republicanism.

We want to say plainly, in conclusion, that it is becoming highly urgent that both law-abiding and law-breaking Colored citizens be given equal protection and justice by the law. And this cannot be brought to pass by mere recommendations, grand speeches, prayers and regrets. A marked partiality was shown by both the police and troops in the affair at Tulsa, in spite of the fact that the whites were the aggressors. The blame for this belongs at the Capitol, where it becomes increasingly incumbent upon the government to formulate a deliberate, decisive course of procedure on behalf of a portion of the nation's citizenry.

## A DANGEROUS COMBINATION

New York Age 6/11/21

According to the remarks attributed to Adjutant General Barrett of Oklahoma, "an impudent Negro, a hysterical girl and a yellow journal reporter" incited the outbreak of mob violence which overwhelmed the town of Tulsa last week. How near the truth this analysis of the situation arrived it is hard to tell, but judging from certain publications in the Tulsa papers, yellow journalism certainly paved the way for the clash.

The results of this incitement to race hatred and violence in losses of life and property were figured as at least thirty persons killed and one and a half million dollars worth of property destroyed by fire. Twenty one of the killed were Negroes and nine whites. Three thousand Negroes were rendered homeless and helpless owing to the destruction of their dwellings set on fire by the mob. How many more of the inmates of these dwellings perished in the flames will probably never be known.

Exactly what spark of racial friction fired the explosion of violence and arson is hard to decide, but the public mind had already been inflamed by such veiled praise of the Ku Klux Klan and its methods as appeared in the Tulsa World, a so-called Republican newspaper:

> If the Ku Klux Klan has attained such proportions in Texas you can rest assured it is in existence in Tulsa, for Tulsa does not lag in anything. It is whispered that it is nearly two thousand strong in Oklahoma City. It would be easy enough to indulge in academics against such a movement, but, strange enough, we feel a thrill of hope instead. Possibly it will prove the balance wheel in every great community which will hold society steady. A warning from the Ku Klux Klan of Dallas will probably be sufficient without any formal call. There is the possibility.

And the possibility became a criminal verity within a very short time. Such publications as the above had already excited the alarm of the Ne-

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groes in Tulsa and other parts of Oklahoma. They felt that there was a concerted movement of the hostile forces to keep them down if not to drive them from the State. Greed and cupidity also figured in this movement, as many of the Negroes had acquired oil lands and were becoming too prosperous to suit a certain element of the whites. The fact that Oklahoma drew a large number of its settlers from such Southern States as Texas, Mississippi and Arkansas explains the animosity excited among this group by the growing prosperity of the Negroes. It also justifies a degree of caution in accepting the characterization by the Adjutant General of "an impudent Negro" as being one of the inciting causes of the outbreak. What might be regarded as impudence on the part of a Negro by a certain type of white Oklahoman, would probably be termed an assertion of self-respecting manhood by an unbiassed judge.

Two facts stand out in bold relief, emphasizing the origin of the trouble as due to the spirit of Ku Kluxism and its being allowed to go to such excesses through the failure of the civil authorities to quell the riot in its inception. The fact that the list of casualties included those of both races also showed that the Negroes exercised the right of self-defence.

The responsibility for the destruction of life and property, due to the failure of the peace authorities to maintain order, seems to have been felt by the white citizens of Tulsa. According to the news dispatches, while the immediate necessities of the homeless victims of the mob were being met by the Red Cross, a committee was formed to raise $50,000 to rebuild the burned dwellings and to aid the sufferers to collect their insurance and damages for destruction of life and property. Such a measure of reparation would be but simple justice. A greater measure would be the extinction of the spirit of lawlessness that makes such mob excesses possible.

Banish the spirit of the Ku Klux Klan from civilized communities.

N. Y. C. OUTLOOK
JUNE 15, 1921

# THE LESSON OF TULSA

ON the night of June 1 a newspaper despatch from Tulsa, Oklahoma, said: "The hospitals of Tulsa are filled with wounded and dying men tonight and the morgues are crowded with dead after twenty-four hours of rioting between white men and Negroes."

On the same day a woman stenographer in a Tulsa office wrote this moving letter to the editors of The Outlook:

> To-day Tulsa is torn by a civil battle between the white and black races which is sickening to all right-minded, thinking people of this city. All of little Africa is burning; many people, both white and black, lie dead and wounded.
>
> The cause of the trouble is the usual one. A young Negro is accused of attempting to attack a little elevator girl. He claims he intended no wrong, but of course his story has no chance of recognition.
>
> I am a stenographer in a downtown office, and just now a large company of Negroes were marched through the street past my window, under the protection of white soldiers. They are taking them to the ball park, where they will be under protection. They are homeless, most of them innocent of any wrong-doing or even wrong thinking, helpless, dumbly wondering why this thing should be.
>
> The whites here are much more to be blamed than the Negroes. It is largely an element of hoodlum white boys, craving excitement, and looking for any opportunity to start a race riot.
>
> How long are such outrages going to be allowed? Cannot America find some means of preventing such terrible occurrences? The Negroes are with us here in America, though they did not ask to be brought here. There is wrong on both sides, but in some manner law and order must be maintained.

What caused the rioting, shooting, and burning that left in Tulsa a wake of deaths (at least thirty persons were killed), widespread suffering and destitution, thousands of homeless people, acres of smoldering ruins, a money loss of perhaps a million dollars? Superficially, the answer might be that it was a strange misunderstanding of facts. General Barrett, in command of the State Militia, is quoted in the papers as saying that the riot was caused by "an impudent Negro, a hysterical girl, and a yellow journal reporter." Again superficially, it may be said that this horror was caused by the misuse of a word; it was reported that a white girl had been "assaulted" by a colored man; the fact was, it now appears, that a bootblack stepped on an elevator girl's foot, that she slapped him, and he grasped her by the throat.

But the real causes lie deeper. Americans take the observance of law and order for granted. Civilization, they assume, has reached a stage where force is not needed. Then, under some comparatively slight provocation, the wild-beast element in society leaps up, the peace officers are unready, and we have the race riots of Washington, Omaha, East St. Louis, Chicago, and Tulsa. Especially is this true when race feeling is involved. Race aversion (from which few of us are free) easily becomes race prejudice; race prejudice is quickly fanned into race hatred; race hatred among the ignorant and violent elements, black and white, may at any moment blaze into race war.

The following account comes to The Outlook from a well-informed Western correspondent upon our telegraphic request:

> Tulsa, the scene of the recent rioting, is an Oklahoma oil city of mushroom growth. It has a population of seventy-three thousand, of whom perhaps eight thousand are Negroes. The Negroes are employed chiefly in forms of service not sought by the whites. The men are porters, barbers, bootblacks, day laborers; the women cooks, charwomen, laundresses. There has been no industrial race friction.
>
> The industrial depression had brought an unusual number of idle men from the oil fields to Tulsa. A few gathered at the Court-House where the Negro was confined. The sheriff ordered them away, but did not enforce his order. An altercation followed. Word spread that a lynching was contemplated. Several armed Negroes appeared. A Negro peace officer appealed to them to disperse, assuring them the prisoner would be protected. Most of them started away, but leaders called them back. Whites and blacks continued to gather. The police did nothing. Then a shot was fired and a white man fell.
>
> This was the beginning of a series of battles between rapidly growing mobs of whites and blacks, which the small police force was unable to control. The fighting lasted into the morning. It resulted in the death of nine white men and more than twenty Negroes and in the wanton burning of the Negro residence district, leaving thousands of innocent persons homeless. Tulsa was impotent, but the Government of Oklahoma functioned promptly. By early morning the State was pouring National Guardsmen into the city. Governor Robertson proclaimed martial law, and the rioting abruptly ended. A citizens' committee with the local Red Cross unit at once took the situation in hand and organized relief work. Tulsa is a wealthy community. It cannot spare its Negro workers. At the present writing plans are under way to raise a fund to rebuild the houses destroyed.

What is the significance of this tragedy for the rest of the Nation? Tulsa is not essentially different from any American city in which there is a considerable Negro element. Contemplating the dark episode, almost any other city might echo the humble thanksgiving, "But for the grace of God there goes John Bunyan." So long as race feeling exists there is danger of such outbursts. Deprecate it all we please, the foundations of order are secured through effective police backed by a firm demand for law and order by all decent citizens and helped by the earnest desire of white and colored people to draw together in just and friendly civic relations and to abstain from forcing the questions of social relations to the front. Potentially disorderly elements are restrained by fear of the instruments by which society defends itself. Prompt and energetic action on the part of the peace officers at the first sign of trouble in Tulsa that Tuesday night would have prevented the riots. Governor Robertson, who arrived in the city soon after the disturbances were over, expressed a general opinion when he called the affair "damnable and inexcusable" and blamed the ineptitude of the officers responsible for maintaining order. At the outset a few well-directed policemen could have dispersed the trouble-makers at the Court-House. Once the mob spirit was aroused and armed crowds had gathered, the situation was out of control until the display of overwhelming force by several hundred determined Guardsmen.

In the long run civilization must depend on the education, tolerance, and intelligence of the mass of the people. But, as the experience of Tulsa and so many other cities shows, police forces cannot be demoralized by politics or by neglect except at risk of disaster.

THE TULSA RIOT

Journal + Guide 6/11/21

There is something in the aftermath of the Tulsa, Oklahoma, race riot, that has not been so evident in previous racial disorders of like proportion, and that is the prompt, aggressive and effective measures taken by the citizens of Tulsa to relieve the distress of the innocent sufferers and restore as quickly as possible their property losses. It has also been noticeable that the blame for the riot has not been saddled upon the entire colored population of the city, but care has been taken to fix the blame where it properly belongs—white and colored alike being made to share their part. This is an indication that the American conscience is being slowly aroused against mob violence.

As is always the case the first reports of the loss of life sent out by the Associated Press were much exaggerated. From first report of one hundred and seventy-five the casualty list has dwindled down to less than thirty, which is bad enough.

Race riots, which started some years ago with the Wilmington, N. C., affair, are becoming with each succeeding clash race wars, with losses on both sides. In the Wilmington, Atlanta and Springfield riots no whites were killed. Washington, Chicago, Elaine and Tulsa tell a different tale. The Afro-American is fighting back—meeting violence with violence. And one may be pretty certain that, taking the cue from Tulsa, the Afro-American will fight fire with fire in future riots.

But it becomes more and more apparent with each racial clash, that while they seem to be inevitable under our American system of democracy, they do not point the way to an adjustment of race relations. White people and black people must learn that resort to violence can only result in an irreparable loss of life and property, and carried to its ultimate possibilities continuous internecine strife and loss of international prestige. In no instance has the Afro-American anything to gain by starting a race riot. No one can blame him for fighting in self defense, for that is the recognized natural right of every human.

It is invariably the baser elements of both races that start the riots. Steps should be taken in every American community to so strengthen the arm of the law and so organize the law-abiding and law-respecting elements of both races that in time of danger those who are expected to make trouble will find themselves impotent to do so.

The Tulsa riot should be the last one. Will the American people profit by its frightful lessons? That is to be seen.

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Editorials (Tulsa, Okla.)

Riots – 1921

# The "Belgianizing" of Tulsa

Chicago Defender 6/18/21

Household goods dumped in streets ready to be fired by young white boys who took a promi ent part in the Tulsa, Okla., riot. The lads applying torches to the valuables are known to th olice, but have not been arrested. Furniture piled in North Detroit street ready for the match veral men were killed in this district by "special officers" who were armed previous to the riot.

## Tulsa's Shame Due to Race Prejudice and Corrupt Rule

6/18/21
Chicago Defender

Police directed traffic at recent lynching—Lawless element in absolute control of all city departments—Mayor described as "nice man," but "weak sister."

By WALTER F. WHITE
(In New York Evening Post)

Tulsa, Okla., June 8.—The contributory and underlying causes of the race conflict at Tulsa, which cost that city irreparable damage to its name, the lives of between 150 and 200 citizens, and a property loss of $1,500,000, are not so important in themselves were they not typical of conditions in many other towns and cities of America, North and South. Corrupt and inefficient rule in municipal affairs, the total lack of understanding between white and Colored citizens, and the growth of race prejudice, fostered and nurtured for economic gain—all these exist to a greater or less degree in many American cities. Because Tulsa failed to realize how serious a situation was being bred by these causes, she has had to pay the penalty.

### No Subserviency

First, the Negro in Oklahoma is vastly different from the Negro in other Southern states. There is none of the subserviency found in other parts of the old South. He is a pioneer, and many of the whites are pioneers. He has had the hardihood to pull up stakes in other places.

The material wealth of many of the Negroes was an irritant to many whites of a certain class. In Tulsa before the riots, there was a Colored man of the name of Stradford worth $100,000; another named Franklin was worth $150,000 and owned 2 tenement houses; another man and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. S. Williams were worth $150,000 and owned three successful moving picture houses in Tulsa, Okmulgee and Muskogee; Dr. A. C. Jackson was worth $100,000; W. F. Haygood of Okmulgee is reputed to be worth $100,000 and owns ten farms and a number of producing oil wells.

### Two Worth $1,000,000

L. D. Ingram, 18 years old, of Muskogee, is worth $1,000,000 and his sister is equally as wealthy through the striking of oil on their farm last year. The Dreamland Theater at Tulsa, owned by the Williamses, which was destroyed during the rioting, was the most beautiful one in Tulsa. It ran in competition with the Dixieland Theater, owned and operated by a white man. The Dreamland Theater was always well filled, while the white-owned one was very poorly patronized. Colored people used economic racial solidarity and the boycott of white business to a greater extent in Tulsa probably than anywhere else in America.

Several citizens have declared that the race riots were due to radicalism among Colored people in Tulsa—that the Negroes had been planning an outbreak for a long time. When questioned regarding the nature of that radicalism, these citizens invariably replied that Negroes in "Little Africa," as the Colored section of Tulsa was called, were telling other Colored people that "they were as good as white folks." On the other hand, "Back to Africa" movements seemed to be in high favor among the whites because intended to remove the element that was competing keenly in industrial and economic fields with the whites.

The largest single factor in Tulsa's disgrace, however, is the fact that up to the outbreak the citizens of Tulsa seemed to have had no interest in elections, decent city government or the welfare of the city other [illegible] that nothing must allow interference with their gaining wealth. Fourteen years ago Tulsa was a railroad way station. Then oil was discovered and Tulsa grew like a mushroom. In 1910 the town had a population of 18,182. The federal census of 1920 gives it 72,075, while today it probably has between 90,000 and 100,000 inhabitants—not all citizens, for many of the people living there plan to "make a pile of money quickly, then get away."

This idea is rapidly changing, however, for there are a number of modern office buildings, miles of clean, well paved streets and many beautiful homes. Tulsa's total bank deposits on December 29, 1920, were $65,449,985.90—almost $1,000 per capita. From January, 1917, through April, 1921, building permits totaling $34,980,652 were issued. The amount for April, 1921, was $612,175, including permits for 115 homes, costing $346,630. Tulsa has 58 hotels, 160 rooming houses, 431 oil and gas companies, 21 oil field supply companies, 17 petroleum companies, a city-owned convention hall seating 3,500, and many other things which show a progressive spirit. These things make one wonder how so disastrous a riot could be possible.

But Tulsa has some other things of which the local Chamber of Commerce does not boast. Let Victor F. Barnett, managing editor of the Tulsa Tribune, formerly of the Chicago Herald-Examiner, tell the story. Be it known that there is a bitter fight between the World and the Tribune, the two local newspapers, each with a daily circulation around 30,000. The facts given by Mr. Barnett, however, are generally agreed to by most of the citizens with whom I talked, except where political differences caused obvious differences of interpretation of the facts.

### Lawless Element in Control

Mr. Barnett interpreted the trouble in this fashion:

"Four 14 years the lawless element has been in control of Tulsa and of the state of Oklahoma. Crooks, gamblers, bootleggers and prostitutes ran everything. Decent citizens came to Oklahoma to make money—not to build homes or to permanently reside here. About a year ago—14 months, to be exact—Richard Jones, former editor of Collier's Weekly, of the Cosmopolitan Magazine, of the Metropolitan, and for eight years editor of the Wisconsin State Journal, bought the Tribune and launched a fight against the vice ring of Tulsa. Although a Democratic paper, we fought and defeated Police Commissioner Bohn, a Democrat, supporting a reform Republican ticket. Mayor Evans, one of that ticket, however, is a nice man, but has proved to be a 'weak sister.' Following a charge by the Tribune that the present administration was in league with the corrupt element, two weeks ago the administration investigated itself. An official 'whitewash,' of course, resulted.

"Roadhouses, rooming houses where prostitution flourishes, gambling dens where bank robbers meet and plan their crimes, 'choc' joints flourish in Tulsa unchecked. A choc joint is a place where they sell a form of 'home brew' that runs the drinker temporarily insane. For years it has been absolutely impossible to secure a conviction for any sort of crime. Two months ago the state legislature gave two additional judges, making four in all, to Tulsa county. When this was done there were more than 6,000 untried cases on the dockets. Automobile stealing has become so common that a number of insurance companies have canceled all insurance on cars in Tulsa. No merchant in Tulsa can get insurance on his stock of goods. It's too great a risk for the insurance companies.

"The police officials are not so much corrupt as they are stupid and ignorant. Last July a white man by the name of Roy Belton was lynched here for killing a taxi driver. There was a sort of an investigation, but it came to nothing—everybody knew who did the lynching. The best people in town formed the mob. It was done as a protest against the inefficiency of officials of the law. City police officers directed traffic at the lynching, affording everybody, as far as possible, an equal chance to view the event. It is said that the police telephoned a local undertaker before the lynching took place to come out and get the body."

Can it be wondered that a race riot of the proportions of the recent outbreak can and did take place in Tulsa? Although possessing tremendous wealth, the city of Tulsa has its drinking water carted into the city from two distant points. The city water supply from the Arkansas River is unfit for use. This fact was pointed out by Mr. Barnett, together with the obsolete and dangerous and inefficient method of garbage disposal, as two concrete examples of the city's failure to meet even half way the responsibilities that devolve upon any city of Tulsa's size.

Tampa Star 7/2/21

THE article on the Tulsa Cops' trial in another column will reveal to you how poorly the law of this country is supported and the greatest violators are the officers in many cases. They are sworn citizens, who should have had the country at heart before taking the oath; and the oath is only a revelation of the conscience of the reliable sustainer of civilization. Everyone ought to be able to look to him as their savior, because he is the sustainer of the law, which guarantees life to every creature,—not that he personally loves any person, race or nation, but that a long free breath might be drawn in safety, because of the protection assured by the law under his supervision. He needs to know the

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law, because then he would know freedom and its blessings to humanity. He would see a prosperous people; a government supporting people and strong enough with confidence in the safety assured them to want to maintain such a civilization. What kind of a civilization would America soon witness with such protection as given by the officers at Tulsa, and everywhere, where you hear of mobs, lynchings, ku klu kans and other organized forms of destruction of law and order? From what source will the safety of the people come when the opinion of a community is that a selected class should organize something stronger than the law? It may be a sweet and hasty revenge, but it means a long and incurable wound on the strong arm of the law, which weans to slowly bleed every drop of integrity out of it. Think soberly over the gradual slip of civilization, when the chief officers refuse to take steps to protect law and order, but advised those who thought it right to maintain law and order to discontinue the law-abiding zeal and join the mob of destruction. The Negro in this instance lost many Thousands of Dollars worth of property, but his sacrifice was more acceptable in the sight of God for trying to protect the law than those who forget hat they owe their lives for the protection of the law. Dollars and Cents will not estimate the amount of confidence lost in this one unwise affair. There is a relationship that should exist and the law will not give it, so we think that the churches of the land should go after this needed relationship, if they don't then all is lost; and it will only take Father Time to finish the job.

N. Y. C. Republic
JUNE 22, 1921

# THE NEW

IT is not helpful to the cause of Anglo-American friendship to attack the Irish. It is not conducive to confidence on the part of other nations in Anglo-American hegemony to link with an implied defence of the English government of Ireland a prophecy that "the English-speaking peoples are coming together in the bonds of comradeship, and they are going to run this round globe . . . . that when we have that [an inter-English speaking policy] we shall have peace and prosperity." Peace and prosperity after the model of Ireland? The recall of Admiral Sims to this country will soon put our readers in possession of his explanations, excuses, extenuations, and exculpations, and if the original report of his remarks does him injustice we automatically apologize.

THE race feeling in Tulsa before the riot seems to have been just so much gunpowder that lacked nothing but a casual match to set it off. For the incident that was the immediate cause of the outbreak was, according to Mr. Walter F. White's despatch to the Evening Post, extremely trivial. A Negro boy named Rowland, as he entered an elevator, stumbled against the girl who was operating it and accidentally stepped on her foot. She screamed, he ran, the whole town thought that a white girl had been assaulted by a Negro, and the sequel was thirty dead. Tulsa has been such a flagrant case that it has been possible to find out the actual fact: a Negro stepped on a white girl's foot. In how many obscure instances, in how many one-man lynchings in some out of the way southern community, was the cause of the trouble as trivial as it was at Tulsa? Mr. White's account throws a cruel light on all those periodic news items from the South, which told us how some mob lynched a Negro for "attacking" a white girl.

OF course it was inevitable that someone should accuse the Tulsa Negroes—who are unusually prosperous—of being Reds. The Daily Oklahoman tells of the destruction, during the battle, of a newly built Negro Baptist church, "said to have been the rendezvous of the Bolshevik element of the Negroes who are responsible for the outbreak." Rumor has it, says the Oklahoman, that before the riot twenty caskets had been taken into the church, each one of them "filled with high-powered rifles." This may possibly be true: the Negroes' determination to defend themselves is a new development in race-conflicts that points ominously to other, possibly even bloodier Tulsas in the future. As for the Negroes being "Bolsheviks," we do not believe they attach any more accurate meaning to the term than does the writer of the despatch.

OUR laws quite naturally bar from the mails all "indecent and obscene" matter. What do these words mean? President Roosevelt caused Congress to stretch them so as to cover anything which tended "to incite arson, murder, and assassination." While this incitement to violence against the English language seemed at best peculiar, it was not nearly so absurd as the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia's recent attack upon the dictionary. This court, in reversing an earlier decision in the case of the New York Call, judges that the utterance of Bolshevist and radical doctrines can be defined as "indecent and obscene" and so barred from the mails. Among those radical utterances the Court makes no clear distinction. It holds that the Call should be just as unmailable for its words "we are class-conscious revolutionists," and "long live the Socialist World Revolution" as for its "expression of sympathy with the Russian Revolution." Is then an expression of sympathy with the Russian Revolution "obscene"?

## A WORD FROM DISGRACED TULSA

By Rev. J. S. Malone.

Star of Zion
7/28/21 N.C.

The people throughout the state have been much concerned about the race riot which took place in Tulsa, the metropolis of this state, just a few days ago. I may not be expected to give a full account of the affair in this write up for, perhaps, thi will never be known. From all accounts, however, the condition that encouraged this disgrace to a Christian civilization was a deep seated, bitter race feeling. The Presbyterian preacher here who was an observer of the movements, gave the following statement in the News Capital of this city, issue of June 3rd:

"It was a result of meeting mob violence with mob violence. The Negroes formed a mob to protect one of their color, who was threatened with lynching. The white mob then went wild and didn't stop at dispersing the Negroes, but carried the torch to the home of the Negroes until the entire Negro section of the town was wiped out."

Along with the statement of Rev. Harry Shippler, pastor of the Presbyterian church, I am enclosing another statement given by another eye-witness, who happened not to be a preacher. You may compare the two and publish them if you choose They are clippings from the same issue of the same paper, both white.

Whatever may be said about the Tulsa race riot, it was a result that may be looked forward to by any people who suffer themselves to disregard the rights of others and may happen anywhere.

One fact about the riot which demands careful notice is the undaunted nerve of the Negro. They don't seem to be the least frightened nor discouraged, but have gone about the reconstruction with cheerfulness. None of the permanent citizen seem to want to leave, but are seeking judgement for damages done them, and are looking forward to a better future.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots — 1921.

Arkansas (Elaine)

# Elaine Cases

## Attorneys For Condemned Negroes To Take Further Steps To Stay Executions

Vanguard 6/23/21

TO APPEAL TO UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT OR GO INTO U. S. DISTRICT COURT HERE, IN FINAL EFFORTS TO PREVENT ELECTROCUTIONS. THEY SAY

Holding that the Pulaski chancery court was without jurisdiction in granting an injunction preventing the executions of the six Elaine Negroes June 10, the Supreme Court Monday granted the writ of prohibition asked by the State, the action automatically quashing the temporary injunction granted the Negroes' attorneys by Chancellor Martinaeu on June 9.

Attorneys for the Negroes, when informed of the decision, said additional court action, in final ecorts to stay the executions, at least until the other six Elaine Negroes originally sentenced to death had been given new trials, would be taken immediately. They said they would either appeal from the action of the State Supreme Court to the United States district court here.

While passing directly on the cases of the six Elaine Negroes, Ed. and Frank Hicks, Ed. Coleman, Paul Hall, Frank More and J. E. Knox, the decision also applies to the case of Offie Norsworthy, the Cross county Negro who was to have been electrocuted last Friday. His case had been taken into the chancery court in Cross county. The Supreme Court, unless the additional court action is taken immediately, will necessitate the immediate setting by Governor McRae of new dates for the executions.

After reviewing the history of the six Elaine cases in detail the court's opinion, written by Chief Justice McCulloch, declares that "the doctrine has been announced by the supreme court that courts of equity in this state are not colthed with jurisdiction to review proceedings in criminal courts, or to interfere with such proceedings either by injunction or under the writ of habeas corpus."

Citing similar cases where this had been held by the court, the opinion refers to the fourteenth amendment to the federal constitution in which it was contended that under the "due process of law" provision, any court having authority to issue a writ of habeas corpus possesses jurisdiction to inquire into and review the proceedings in crimi nal cases for the purpose of determining whether or not the judgment was in "due process of law."

**Applies Only to U. S. Court**

"The statute referred to," the opinion says, "does not apply in any courts except to the supreme court and circuit and district courts of the United States and it defines the practice in these courts and the powers of the courts under the remedy afforded by the writ of habeas corpus. The statute does not apply to the courts of the states, and Congress had no authority had it attempted to do so, to prescribe the powers of the state courts and the practice to be followed in matters within their jurisdiction.

"The federal court in the Leo Frank case in effect held that the statute had no application to the state courts, for it said this: 'But repeated decisions of this court have put it beyond the range of further debate that the 'due process' clause of the fourteenthamendment has not the effect of imposing upon the states any particular form or mode of procedure, as long as the essential rights of notice and hearing or opportunity to be heard, before a competent tribunal are not interfered with.' "

**No Mob Law Rule**

Attorneys for the Negroes contended to the court that the circuit court at Helena was not competent, in that the mob spirit prevailed at the time of the trial, and the court **lost jurisdiction. The opinion in this connection declared: "Further discussion would seem to be useless. It has not been contended in the arguments here that there is any other charge in the motion upon which relief could be granted except the one to the effect that the trial court was dominated by a mob which suspended the functions of the court and prevented a fair trial. There are no other facts in the petition which would warrant a review of the judgment of the circuit court of Phillips county. The allegations with regard to newly discovered evidence and the retractions by state witnesses which is in effect an allegation of the discovery of new evidence afford no grounds for a review of the judgment of conviction."**

Frank Hicks, Frank Moore, Ed. Hicks, J. E. Knox, Ed. Coleman and Paul Hall, who had previously been indicted and convicted of the crime of murder, and who were being confined in the state penitentiary awaiting execution of the death sentences, filed a petition for habeas corpus in the chancery court of Pulaski county, praying that they be discharged from the judgments of conviction and from custody.

The petition was filed on June 8 and the chancellor immediately ordered the issuance of a writ of injunction restraining the warden of the penitentiary from executing the death sentences in accordance with a proclamation issued by the governor fixing the date of execution. The writs were issued returnable for hearing before Chancellor Martineau, June 10. In the meantime Attorney General J. S. Utley filed a petition for the writ of prohibition with the Supreme Court against the interference of the chancery court which is granted by the court's opin ion Monday morning.

—Arkansas Democrat.

# N. A. A. C. P WINS RESPITE FOR MEN

## Appeals Made To Gov. Thomas C. McRae

**SIX COLORED MEN SENTENCED TO DIE ON JUNE 10**

Savannah Tribune 7/2/21

New York, June 24—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today announced that a respite has been obtained in the cases of the six colored men sentenced to die on June 10 for their alledged connection with the Arkansas riots.

Unsuccesful appeals were made to Governor Thomas C. McRae to grant a stay of execution pending the result of the trials of the other six men in the Phillips county court.

Two days before the date for the execution of Frank Hicks and five others attorneys for the N. A. A. C. P applied for a writ in the Pulaski Chancery court resting the state of Arkansas from putting the death sentence into execution. The writ was granted by Chancellor Martineau and a restraining order was served upon the warden at the penitentiary preventing the execution pending further action by the court.

On June 8, the National office received the following telegram from Little Rock, Ark.:

"Petition for Habeas Corpus filed Chancery Court which stays execution. (Signed) Scipio A. Jones."

Meanwhile a writ of prohibition was applied for by the authorities in the Arkansas State Supreme Court, dissolving this last defense of the condemned men. The national office of the Association immediately telegraphed its attorneys suggesting that they apply in the federal court for a writ of habeas corpus to prevent the execution.

On June 21 the National Office received the following telegram from Little Rock, Ark., signed Scipio A. Jones:

"No imminent danger of electrocution. Possible writ here from Arkansas Supreme Court to Supreme Court United States, habeas corpus in Federal court. Date of execution not named by governor. Change of venue granted. Trial October."

It is possible that the cases will be carried, on a writ of error, to the Supreme Court of the United States.

In the cases of Ed. Ware and the other five defendants whose convictions have been twice reversed by the State Supreme court, attorneys for the N. A. A. C. P. immediately applied for a change of venue, when the cases were brought to trial for the third time in the Phillips County Circuit Court early in May, on the ground that prejudice against the defendants in Phillips county would prevent obtaining a fair and impartial trial.

The judge reserved decision for six weeks on the motion for a change of venue, when, in the usual course of procedure, a decision is rendered in three or four days. No reason is known for unusual action. Telegrams

Manager, and who will be released on July 7, has been offered fifty-five thousand dollars to meet Harry Wills at Jersey City, August 9, it was declar-

# PRISON COSTS OF ELAINE RIOTERS CAUSE DISAGREEMENT OF OFFICIALS.

7/9/21.

Dallas Express

Little Rock, Ark., July 7.—That Phillips county owes the state $1 a day of each day the Elaine Negroes have been held in the penitentiary was officially stated, by Attorney General Utley in response to a letter from C. S. Toole, secretary of the Arkansas penitentiary Commission. The amount which already has been recurred under an act of the last legislature which charges the counties with the upkeep of the prisoners condemned to death, is approximately $1,400. Machinery for collecting the money, or alternatives which would apply in cases of non-payment are not provided in the act, but two theories were advanced yesterday. The Phillips county judge has written Mr. Toole to the effect that the county will not pay.

State officials yesterday suggested that two courses might be taken. The attorney general might, in the name of the state, sue the county for the amount now due, or the Penitentiary Commission might return the Negroes to Phillips country, thus shifting further expense from the state. Mr Utley has not been asked for an opinion as to the action which may be taken and yesterday said that he had not gone into the question beyond ascertaining that the county is liable for the sum charged to the county by the Penitentiary Commission.

# SEEK TO SAVE 11 ARK. NEGROES

## Conviction for Resisting Anti-Union Mob Called Frameup—Wire All Governors to Act.

N Y C CALL JUNE 9, 1921

Declaring that the conditions in the North are mild compared to measures being employed against workers in the South, the Committee for Justice to the Negro, with offices at 138 West 13th street, yesterday wired Governors of all states to telegraph the Governor of Arkansas and urge him to stay the execution of 12 Arkansas Negroes sentenced to the electric chair for the crime of resisting a m[illegible] that was shooting up [illegible] union last n[illegible]

Dea[illegible]

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

trial injustice to the Negro worker.

The Negroes facing execution are tenant farmers. Half of their crop goes to the non-resident owners of the land, the other half being sold at market prices, the statement explains. Caught between the landlord and the market juggler, the Negroes in and around Elaine and Hotspur, Ark., formed a union. This is what happened, accordinig to the statement yesterday:

"The union farmers decided to hold their cotton for a 50 cent advance instead of selling it at 35 cents which was offered. Cotton went up all right, but the absentee owners were furious and organized a raid on the church where a union meeting was being held at Hoopspur September 30th.

**Many Were Service Men.**

"The Negroes resisted and when the smoked cleared away there was a dead white man and another wounded one. The whites organized more effectively with big posses armed with repeating rifles. For the next week there was fighting back and fourth. A general pogrom of all Negro union men was started by the whites and the Negroes fought back.

"Altogether from 25 to 100 Negroes have been killed and a number of whites, whose number is said to include a special agent of the Missouri Pacific Railroad, a business man of Helena and an alderman of Helena and a former army corporal.

"Many of the Negro dead are returned soldiers who battled heroically against the tyrants at home for the sake of the wives and babies that they loved.

"At last the overwhelming numbers of the military forces who combined with the planters' posses overcame the Negroes and hundreds of them were captured and brought one by one before a committee of seven "citizens" for examination.

**Negroes Tortured.**

"Each accused man was placed on an electrically charged chair and shot through with torturing volts till he answered the questions that were put to him. If he refused to confess he was kept on the torture chair. Some suffered all the agonies without flinching and refused to admit to the frameups.

"The success of the judicial murder was guaranteed by the judge appointing the best lawyers in the country to defend the men. These best lawyers did not protect the rights of the prisoners in any way by asking for changes in venue or taking sufficient exce-tions, and they kept many of thei witnesses off the stand. Attorney Bratton, an honest man who had beei handling the union affairs, was himsel ... d ... a charge of 'barratory, ... incitation to strife. An ... been made to lynch ... di

# Six Negroes to Pay Blood Levy to Arkansas June 10

## Professor Kevlin Asks Governor for Reprieve for Union Men Accused of "Riot."

N Y C CALL
MAY 30. 1921

By PAUL HANNA,
(Federated Press Staff Correspondent.)

WASHINGTON, May 29.—Six human sacrifices will be offered to the God of Arkansas on June 10. They are the first of a greater number whose blood has been selected to appease the thirsty deity who rules over that commonwealth.

Some fascinating details of the coming ceremony are recited in an open letter to "His Excellency, Governor Thomas C. McRae, Little Rock, Arkansas," written by Professor Robert T. Kerlin, of the Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va. Professor Kerlin writes in part as follows:

"Consider, first, the iniquities of the peonage system, which, as tenants and share croppers, these men were accused of conspiring to end. Those iniquities are partly known to the world, and are indisputable. Exorbitant interest, to treble and quadruple the lawful rate for money advanced; outrageous prices for supplies at the plantation store; arbitrary division and sale of the crops by the landlord; no statement of accounts, no settlement—is this not peonage?

"More than this; when the individual tenant, grown restive under such oppression, dared ask his landlord for a settlement or raise any question about treatment, was he not treated as 'an insolent and bad nigger,' and beaten, driven out or terrorized into silence? The inevitable recourse of tenants so enslaved and abused, if any recourse whatsoever should occur to him, was such banding together as they effected in the Progressive Farmers' and Householders' Union. And no crime was there in that. For that was a peaceable union, founded for legitimate purposes.

**Then They Armed.**

". . . It was not until they were threatened or molested that they armed themselves. That they should provide themselves with weapons and carry these to their meetings seems condemnatory. But consider the provocation. Were they assured the protection of the law? Not even in their churches! Misguided and reprehensible to the point of madness may have been their action in arming themselves, but it was not criminal. Nor did they use those arms but in self defense. It was not until that church at Hoop Spur, filled with men, women and children, at night in a lawful meeting was fusilladed that any Negro ured a shot.

Then in the days of the 'riot' following, were the Negroes of Phillips County indiscriminately hunted, harried and shot down like beasts of the jungle? Fifty or sixty Negroes, four or five white men—that was the ratio of killed. Was this a riot of the blacks or of the whites?

"Consider next the cruelties to which hundreds of Negroes, men and women, were subjected who were herded into stockades or crowded into lockups. Then came the travesty of the trial in the court at Helena. Ninety-two men, without legal counsel, without witnesses, without knowledge of court procedure and their rights, some of whom were whipped, tortured in electric chairs, and terrorized into pleading guilty to murder in the second degree, were sentenced to prison terms from one year to life.

Sixty-seven of those, I understand, are yet in prison serving the life sentence. Twelve men, likewise tortured, were sentenced to death, and six of these are to be excutd June 10."

**The Whip in Justice.**

Professor Kerlin quotes from the testimony of Sykes Fox, as follows:

"I didn't know any other way—plead guilty or go to the electric chair. I was whipped up to it. I have the marks of it right here. They whipped me with a strap which must have had something on it; it burnt me every lick. He would say, 'You know so and so,' and I would say, 'Yes, sir.' I don't know how many licks they hit me; no more than about 150. I had to lay on my stomach about five days."

And John Martin testified:

"I was whipped awful bad, and they said I would get more if I didn't acknowledge I had a gun. They had done whipped me so I could hardly sit up; I was raw. One of the whipping straps had copper or brass on the end of it. If they had whipped me again on those sore places I couldn't have stood it. They beat me up so and were beating other people, so I had to say something to keep them from beating me to death. I am 54 years old. I was never in any trouble before this."

Concluding his letter to Governor McRae, Professor Kerlin says:

"You have appointed June 10 as the date of execution of these men. Until that day they have a respite to prepare for their appearance before the throne of the Judge of all the earth. The same respite have you; for you, too, though in the flesh, shall that day stand before the throne of Almighty God and be judged. Your opportunity knocks at your door. Reject it and the brand is on your brow. Accept it and instead of the brand, it is the crown."

## PROF. KERLIN'S DISMISSAL.

Richmond Planet 8/27/21

The standard of intelligence is being steadily lowered and the spirit of intolerance steadily intensified if we are to judge by the unfortunate action of the Board of Visitors of the Virginia Military Institute at Lexington, Va., when the aforesaid body, in session in this city summarily removed Colonel Robert T. Kerlin from the faculty for sending a letter to the Governor of Arkansas protesting against the execution of colored men for participating in the Elaine riots in that State. While Col. Kerlin goes, his salary for the remainder of the term for which he was employed goes with him and he will be carefree for that length of time with the privilege ofpursuing his researches.

Colonel Kerlin cannot be charged with having northern sympathies for he is "to the manor born," having sympathies entirely southern and being imbued with that inmate spirit of justice for which the old "F. F. V's." were noted. A southern white man, like the cavaliers of old and the knights errant of England have the courage of their convictions and are outspoken both in words, manner and thought. It is to be regretted that the present day antipathy to the Negro should have crept in this great institution. Gen. Robert E. Lee, Gen. Stonewall Jackson, Gen. Jubal Early and Gen. William Mahone were Virginians of this type.

In taking this action, the Board of Visitors have injured themselves and elevated the distinguished member of the faculty, who was the object of the venom of the Chief Executive of Arkansas. Certainly, the Governor of Arkansas had much influence in bringing about this removal and it is evident that he views with grim satisfaction the result of his work. He is in the Political world, while Prof. Kerlin is in the ethical and economic atmosphere, inspired by those Godly teachings, which have made men martyrs, while at the same time sending their names, venerated and adored ringing down the ages. Well says a writer

A man is thought a knave or fool,
A bigot plotting crime,
Who, for the advancement of his race
Is wiser than is time.

For him, the hemlock shall distill.
For him. the axe be bared.
For him, the gibbet shall be built.
For him, the stake prepared.
Him shall the scorn and wrath of men
Pursue with deadly aim,
And malice, envy, spite and lies
Shall desecrate his name.
But truth shall conquer at the last
As round aand round we run;
And ever the right comes uppermost
And ever is Justice done.

## AGAIN MOVE TO STAY EXECUTION.

The Times Plain Dealer
Birmingham Ala.

Little Rock, Ark., Sept. 8.—Attorneys for the six Negro Elaine rioters under sentence to be electrocuted Spt. 23, today began another effort to delay the execution of the men. E. L. McHaney, one of the attorneys, applied to the clerk of the United States Supreme Court for a writ of certiorari, seeking a review of the findings of the Arkansas Supreme Court prohibiting the chancellor of this district from hearing the habeas corpus petition filed in that court several weeks ago. Mr. McHaney asks that the case be heard by the United States Supreme Court Oct. 10.

The application for the certiorari writ says that the Negroes did not obtain a fair trial at Helena, and that the Arkansas Supreme Court committed an error in prohibiting Chancellor Martineau from hearing the habeas corpus petition. The court also is asked to serve notice on the Arkansas authorities that the petition was pending in that court, which would serve to again stay the execution of the six men. Associate Justice Holmes of the United States Supreme Court recently denied a similar writ when Mr. McHaney announced he would appeal to the entire court later.

## ORDER BY JUDGE DELAYS EXECUTION OF SIX NEGROES

The Atlanta Constitution 9/22/21

Little Rock, Ark., September 21.—United States District Judge Jacob Trieber today granted a writ of habeas corpus in the case of six Elaine negroes sentenced to be electrocuted Friday, and issued a temporary restraining order enjoining state authorities from executing sentence pending hearing of the case Monday at 10 a. m. Friday is the third date set for the negroes since their conviction of murder in connection with the Elaine riots of 1919.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots - 1921.

Arkansas (Elaine)

# ELAINE EXECUTIONS DEEPLY DEPLORED BY VIRGINIA EDUCATOR

Baptist Vanguard 6/2/21

**Open Letter to McRae Pleads for Reconsideration of Action Fixing June 10 for Electrocutions**

Vigorous and eloquent protest against the electrocution on June 10 of the six Elaine rioters recently sentenced by Governor Thomas C. McRae is contained in an open letter addressed to the governor under date of May 25 by Robert T. Kerlin, professor of English in Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Va., a copy of which has been received by the Arkansas Democrat.

"It (the electrocution) is a deed to be contemplated with extreme horror," says the letter. "In the execution of these men a race is suffering crucifixion. I entreat you to take the matter into your private chamber and give it an hour's earnest consideration, as before the Eternal Judge. Have these men been dealt with according to justice, according to the principles of civilized and humane governments?"

Professor Kerlin is a Southerner by birth, traditions and residence. He is secretary of the Virginia Society for the Study of Education; member of the Virginia State Inter-Racial Committee and a Doctor of Philosophy of Yale, 1906.

At his home last night Governor McRae said he had not received Professor Kerlins letter. If it had been received in the executive office, it had not yet been called to his attention, he said.

**McRae Uncommunicative.**

Informed in a general way as to the contents of the letter Governor McRae said he did not care to discuss it "at this time." Letters received by the public press in advance of their receipt by those to whom they are addressed, the governor thought, "generally do not call for discussion at any time."

Whether he would reconsider the Elaine cases as requested by Professor Kerlin, Governor McRae would not indicate.

Professor Kerlin's letter, written, as he says, "as an open letter that it might be an appeal as well to the people of your state, to their Christian conscience, their justice-loving spirit, their humane instincts," is in full as follows:

"Lexington, Va., May 25, 1921.
"His Excellency, Governor Thomas C. McRae,
Little Rock, Ark.,
"Dear Sir:

"Not in the history of our Republic has a more tremendous responsibility before God and the civilized world devolved upon the shoulders of the chief executive of any state than has devolved upon yours in re the Negroes of Phillips county, condemned for murder to death in the electric chair and so sentenced by the courts of your state. In the case of six of those condemned men the sentence of death has been sanctioned by you and you have appointed the day of thier execution.

**A Racial Crucifixion?**

"It is a deed to be contemplated with extreme horror. In the execution of those men, a race is suffering crucifixion. I entreate you to take the matter into your private chamber and give it an hour's earnest consideration, as before the Eternal Judge.

Have those men been dealt with according to justice, according to the principles of civilized and humane governments;

An article of Magna Carta, the historical foundation of our rights and liberties, declared that:

"No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned or dispossed or outlawed or banished or in any way destroyed * * * except by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land. To no one will we sell, to no one will we deny, or delay right or justice."

Article VII of our own "Bill of Rights," placed by the founders of the republic themselves in the federal constitution, assures to every accused person "trial by an impartial jury," the right of witnesses in his behalf," and " the assistance of counsel for his defense." Another article of the same forbids "cruel and unusual punishments."

Can it be maintained that these men have been tried and sentenced according to the prinicples of these charters of our free government? I entreat your excellency to review the entire case with the utmost candor and absolute courage.

Consider, first, the iniquities of the system, which, as tenants and sharecroppers, these men were accused of conspiring to end. Those iniquities are partly known to the world, and are indisputable. Alleged exorbitant interest; alleged outrageous prices for supplies at the plantation commissary or store; arbitrary division and sale of the crops by the landlord; no statement of accounts, no settlement—and was not this system prevalent in Phillips county? More than this, when the individual tenant, grown restive under such oppression, dared ask his landlord for a settlement or raise any question about his landlord's dealings with him, was he not treated as an "insolent and bad nigger," and beaten, driven out, or terrorized into silence? The inevitable recourse of tennants so abused if any recourse whatsoever should occur to them, was such banding together as they effected in the Progressive Farmer and Household Union. And no crime was there in that. For that was a peaceable union, founder for legitimate purposes.

**Did Not Begin Riot?**

As for their instigating or beginning a riot, the evidence adduced in the case as tried before the Supreme Court of Arkansas abundantly and conclusively disproves that. It was not until they were threatened and molested that they armed themselves. That they should provide themselves with weapons and carry these to their meetings seems condemnatory. But consider the provocation. And were they assured of the protection of the law? Not even in their church. Misguided and reprehensible to the point of madness may have been their action in arming themselves, but it was not criminal.

Nor did they use those arms but in self-defense. It was not until that church at Hoop Spur, filled with men women and children, at night in lawful meeting, was fusilladed, that any Negro fired a shot. Then in the days of "riot" following, were the Negroes of Phillips county not indiscriminately hunted, harried and shot down, like beasts of the jungle? Ffty or sixty Negroes, four or five white men—that was the ratio of killed. Was this a riot of the blacks or of the whites?

Consider next, the cruelties to which the hundred of Negroes, men and women, were subjected who were herded into stockades or crowded into lockups. The time will yet come when the world with full knowledge of this will be revolted by such Congo barbarity.

Then came the travesty of a trial in the circuit court at Helena. Ninety-two men, without legal counsel, without witnesses, without knowledge of court procedure and their rights, some of whom were whipped, tortured in electric chairs, and terrorized into pleading guilty to murder in the second degree, were sentenced to prison terms ranging from one year to life. Sixty-seven of these, I understand, are yet in prison serving the life sentence. Twelve men, likewise tortured, were sentenced to death, and six of these are to be executed

**A LETTER FROM PROF. KERLIN**

Lexington, Virginia, June 1, 1921.
Advisory Committee,
Phillis Wheatley, Y. W. C. A.,
Little Rock, Arkansas,
Ladies:

Your telegram, just received, is gratifying, as indicatory that good will result from my open letter. I trust that it will receive wide publicity and that its recommendations may be followed. It is especially to be desired that the preachers (white) shall make it their theme next Sunday and that petition to the Governor shall result

I hope the general news agencies, to all of which I sent the letter, would use it widely throughout the country, inasmuch as public opinion so aroused in other states might influence action in Arkansas. But it is difficult to get anything of real importance into the papers. I think the colored people of Arkansas should proclaim June 9th, a day of fasting and prayer and PUT ON MOURNING and ABSTAIN from all work that day. Such action would have a tremendous effect.

With best wishes and services,
Robert T. Kerlin.

# SIX ELAINE RIOTERS HOPE TO BE SAVED FROM CHAIR

**ALL APPEAR TO BELIEVE THAT ELEVENTH- HOUR INTERFERENCE OF SOME SORT WILL PREVENT THEIR BEING EXECUTED NEXT FRIDAY MORNING**

With only five days left before they are to die in the electric chair at the state penitentiary, six of the Elaine rioters still expect some sort of intervention that will save them. The six are to die Friday morning shortly after sunrise.

Their names and ages are: Ed. Coleman, 80; Paul Hall 39; Frank Hicks, 39. Ed Hicks, 49; J. E. Knox, 39; Frank Moore, 33.

If the executions are carried out, it will be the first time in the history of the state that six men have died in the electric chair on the same day Also the six include the first pair of brothers to be executied and also the oldest man ever to face the chair. The Hicks boys are brothers. Coleman, when received at the penitentiary, said he was 78.

The Negroes were committed to the penitentiary on November 22, 1919 and since then have been held within the walls. When Warden E. H. Dempsey took charge of the institution, he permitted the Negroes to exercise on the lawn within the "walls" and also gave them light work, which he thought would help their mental and physical condition.

The Negroes are not despondent, but seem to believe that they will be saved in the last minute.

**Convicted in 1919.**

The Negroes, with six others, were convicted in Phillips Circuit Court of first degree murder, November 11, 1919, and sentenced to death. The Arkansas Supreme Court affirmed the sentence of the first six but reversed and remanded for new trial the second six because of technical errors in the verdict. A writ of certiorari was taken out in United States District Court in the cases of the first six, and the case was carried to the United States Supreme Court, which refused to review the cases. The mandate of the United States Supreme Court was not received here until after the close of Governor Brough's admin-

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

(From Over)

istration.

In the meantime the cases of the second six were re-tried in Phillips Circuit Court, the death sentence again decreed and the cases again reversed and remanded by the Arkansas Supreme Court because of error. Their cases now are pending the Phillips Circuit Court for the third time and an effort to obtain change of venue is being made by the Negroes' attorney.

In setting the date of execution several weeks ago, Governor McRae, although besieged with requests and petitions for a postponement, said that the cases of the six now awaiting death have been acted upon by the highest courts in the nation, and that he does not consider it proper for him to go back of the courts.

—Arkansas Gazette.

June 10.

I submit to you the testimony of some of those sixty-seven convicts who were brought from their cells in the penitentiary to testify in the trial of the case before the Supreme Court of Arkansas. Sykes Fox thus testified:

"I pleaded guilty to second degree murder because they compelled me to do it. I didn't know any other way—plead guilty or go to the electric chair. * * * I testified the way I did before because I was whipped up to it. I have the signs, the marks of it, right here. * * * They took me out of the jail and into a lower room in this house, * * * and whipped me with a strap, which must have had something on it; it burnt me every lick. He would say, 'You know so and so,' and I would say 'Yes sir' * * * I don't know how many licks they hit me, no more than about 150. I had to lay on my stomach about 5 days."

John Martin thus testified:

"I was made to say what I did. I was whipped awful bad, and they told me if I didn't acknowledge that I had a gun there, they were going to put more on me. They had done whipped me so I could hardly sit up. I was raw. One of the straps they whipped me with had copper or brass on the end of it. * * * I have the marks across my back now. If they had whipped me again on those sore places I couldn't have stood it. They beat me up so and were beating other people, that I had to say something another to keep them from beating me to death. * * * I am 54 years old. I was never in any trouble before this trouble.'"

So runs the testimony of witness after witness—testimony I would accept as infallibly true, did my life depend upon it. Can this be called a trial in a court of justice? In any other country, as Turkey or Russia, we would give it another name.

Your Excellency, I make this appeal to you in the confidence that it will be considered as made in the spirit of respect and duty. I have no disposition to doubt your courage your integrity, or your force of character. I seek but as a fellow-citizen to encourage you to a heroic duty. There will be two voices commanding you to contrary courses: one the voice of the tempter of all men to pursue the policy of compromise and submission to the ill-guided multitude. Pontius Pilate, delivering the innocent Man of Galilee to the mob for crucifixion and Barabbas the robber to freedom is the type of the coward who inherits the contempt—and the pity—of mankind, by the side of the betrayer, Judas Iscariot.

Then there is "the still small voice," never to be silenced. It bids you stand for the eternal right against all consequences, stand as a champion of human nature, a vindicator of human dignity. Such is your sublime opportunity. The eyes of the world would turn upon you in admiration did you act with manifested justice, with heroic virtue, in this case. I beseech you oheed the "still small voice."

You have appointed June 10 as the date of execution for those six men. Until that day they have a respite to prepare for their appearing before the throne of the judge of all the earth. The same respite have you, for you, too, though in the flesh shall that day stand before the throne of Almighty God, to be judged. It is not mine to declare the oracles of God, but this is my profoundest conviction, that God is testing men in this life, and that upon you he has put this test. You might well deem yourself the most fortunate and honored of men. Heaven itself has appointed you for this redemptive act. To thrust it aside were to deny God—the refusal of an atheist.

Public officers, I know, are wont to be governed by public opinion. But the nobler sort change and create public opinion. Your opportunity knocks at your door. Reject it, and the brand is on your brow. Accept it, and instead of the brand, it is the crown.

By birth and rearing I am a Missourian, born of Kentucky parents. Being of the same stock and traditions with the people of Arkansas, I have not the slighest feeling of hostility towards them, but on the contrary, only a profound solicitude that they with you may ride in moral courage to meet this test and stand not in disgrace but in honor before the world. Just and humane dealing will accomplish, as terror and violence will not, the ends desired: a mutually profitable co-operation of the races, security and happiness for the white race, good will and useful service from the colored race, with prosperity and advancement as its reward. But beyond these ends is the end above every other—justice for justice's sake.

I pray that every pulpit in Arkansas, of whatsoever creed, will in the Sundays to intervene before the date of this awful execution, preach not merely the gospel of mercy but the eternal law of righteousness with its sure concomitant of divine retribution as proclaimed by all the prophets of God and write large in human history. The sin of silence could not be condoned in a preacher of the Gospel in Arkansas at this time.

I have written this as an open letter that it might be an appeal as well to the people of your state, to their Christian conscience, their justice-loving spirit, their humane instincts. Would that they might encourage you to rightful action by petitions without number, signed by every person in the state who revolts at legal murder.

In a book which your people revere it is written:

"Thou shalt not wrest judgment. thou shalt not respect persons, neither take a gift: for a gift doth blind the eyes of the wise and pervert the words of the righteous. That which is altogether just shalt thou follow, that thou mayest live, and inherit the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee."

That command is older by thousands of years than Magna Charta and our federal constitution, and is still valid. Is it possible that, 19 centuries after Calvary, acrime like that of Calvary is to be committed in a land where the Bible is an open and revered book, and the people are of the stock that has led the world in civilization? Almighty God forbid!

If there is any misstatement or misrepresentation in this letter I shall gladly welcome correction as vindicating so far, the imperilled honor of a state.

Yours respectfully,
ROBERT T. KERLIN.

# Day of Mourning for Elaine Prisoners

## June 9th, Proclaimed a Day of Fasting and Prayer

### Condemned Negroes Will Not Be Hanged Until After Hearing

Pine Bluff, Ark., June 10.—John D Crockett, of South Bend, member of the state penitentiary commission, last night said he had been told in a telephone message from Little Rock that the execution of six negroes convicted of rioting at Elaine last year would not take place tomorrow.

Mr. Crockett was en route from South Bend to Little Rock when he was stopped at Pine Bluff by the telephone message from Warden Dempsey, who, he stated, said the execution of the six negroes would not take place, but that the Arkansas supreme court would act on the cases Monday.

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Little Rock, Ark., June 10.—The state supreme court late yesterday refused to grant an immediate writ of prohibition against orders of the local chancery court holding up execution of six Elaine negroes who were to have been electrocuted tomorrow morning. Instead the court granted the appeal of the negroes' attorneys for a postponement until Monday to give them an opportunity to prepare a defense.

### To Fight Execution of Arkansas Colored Farmers

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 70 Fifth avenue, New York, today announced that efforts would be made to obtain from the Supreme Court of the United States a writ of certiorari in behalf of six Arkansas colored farmers condemned to die on September 23 for their connection with the Arkansas riots of 1919. It is then contemplated applying to a federal court for a writ of habeas corpus.

It was for appealing to the Governor of Arkansas in behalf of these men that Professor Robert T. Kerlin was handed a resolution of dismissal by the Board of Visitors of Virginia Military Institute.

Six others of the colored farmers are to be tried at Marianna, Ark. in October.

Receipt was announced of a telegram from the National Association's counsel in Little Rock which said in part: "Have great confidence of victory in final outcome if given proper assistance."

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Arkansas (Elaine)

LITTLE ROCK ARK DEMOCRAT
JUNE 9, 1921

# HABEAS CORPUS PETITION STAYS EXECUTION OF SIX OF ELAINE'S NEGRO RIOTERS

## Complaint of Attorneys Says Negroes Were Not Given Fair Trial—Officials Deny Charge.

Just when pleas for and against stays of executions for the six Elaine negro rioters who were to have been electrocuted Friday has reached a crucial stage, Governor McRae late Wednesday was relieved of the responsibility of acting through the filing of a petition for a writ of habeas corpus in the Pulaski Chancery Court by attorneys for the condemned negroes.

Chancellor Martineau granted a temporary restraining order, which was served on Warden E. H. Dempsey at the state penitentiary, the order instructing him to take no further action toward carrying out the executions pending further orders of the court. The order also instructed him to have the six negroes in court at 2 o'clock Friday afternoon, when there will be a hearing on the petition.

Filing of the petition will indefinitely delay final action in the six negroes' cases. Should the negroes gain a victory, based on charges of their attorneys that they were not accorded a fair trial at Helena, their cases would go back to Helena for new trials. Should they lose the decision in Chancellor Martineau's court, an appeal to the Supreme Court would again stay the executions.

Governor McRae was adverse to ruling on the final pleas for a stay of execution, taking the position that if charges that the negroes had not had a fair trial were true, it was a matter for the courts, not for the executive. On the other hand, if the charges were not true, he was adverse to executive action setting aside the findings of the courts.

News of the filing of the habeas corpus proceedings was received at the governor's office during a conference with leading men of Phillips county, headed by former Senator John Ike Moore, who entered a vigorous protest against a further delay in electrocution of the negroes. The protests were supported by reports of Judge J. M. Jackson, who presided at the trials, and John E. Miller, prosecuting attorney. Both declared the negroes had had a fair trial and that there had been a widespread plot for an uprising among the negroes of Phillips county.

### Negroes' Complaint.

The petition filed by the negroes' attorneys follows:

"Your petitioners, Frank Moore, Ed Hicks, J. E. Knox, Ed Coleman and Paul Hall, each for himself, states that he is a citizen of the state of Arkansas, and is now residing in Little Rock, confined in the Arkansas state penitentiary, within the jurisdiction of this court; that the defendant, E. H. Dempsey, is the keeper of the Arkansas state penitentiary, and as such is unlawfully restraining your petitioners of their liberty, and will, unless prevented from so doing by the issuance of the writ herein prayed for, deprive them and each of them of their lives on the 10th day of June, 1921, in violation of the constitution and laws of the United States, and the constitution and laws of the state of Arkansas.

"Petitioners further say that they are negroes, of African descent, black in color, and that prior to the time hereinafter mentioned were citizens and residents of Phillips County, Arkansas, at Elaine; that on the — day of October, 1919, they were arrested, placed in the Phillips county jail, and thereafter, until their trial, were kept in close confinement upon an alleged charge of murder in the first degree for the killing of one Clinton Lee, a white man, said to have occurred on October 1, 1919; that said Clinton Lee was killed, as he is informed, while a member of a posse of white men who were said to be attempting to quell a race riot, growing out of the killing of W. A. Adkins on the night of September 30, 1919, at Hoop Spur in said county and state; that said Adkins was killed, as they were advised, under these circumstances and conditions; petitioners and a large number of the members of their race were peaceably and lawfully assembled in their church house at or near Hoop Spur, with no unlawful purpose in view, and with no desire or purpose to injure or do any wrong to anyone; that while they were thus assembled white persons began firing guns or pistols from the outside into and through said church house, through the windows and shooting the lights out therein; that the white persons so firing on said church came there in automobiles, of which there were several, and came for the purpose of breaking up said meeting; that said Atkins was killed either by members of his own party or by some other persons unknown to your petitioner; that the white men sent out the word to Helena, the county seat, that said Adkins had been killed by the negroes, shot down in cold blood while on a peaceable mission, by an armed force of negroes, assembled at said church, which caused great excitement all over the city of Helena and Phillips county; that the report of said killing spread like wildfire into other counties, all over the state of Arkansas, and into other states, notably the state of Mississippi.

"That early the next day a large number of white men of said county armed themselves and rushed to the scene of the trouble and to adjacent regions, the vicinity of Elaine being one of them, and began the indiscriminate hunting down, shooting and killing of negroes; that in a short time white men from adjoining counties and from the state of Mississippi likewise armed themselves, rushed to the scene of the trouble and began the indiscriminate shooting down of negroes, both men and women, particularly the posse from the state of Mississippi, who shot down in cold blood innocent negro men and women, many of whom were at the time in the fields picking cotton; that highly inflammatory articles were published in the press of Arkansas, and especially of Helena and throughout the United States, in which the trouble was variously called a 'race riot,' 'an uprising of the negroes,' and a 'deliberately planned insurrection among the negroes against the whites' of that part of Phillips county; that the officers of Phillips county, especially the sheriff, called upon the governor of the state, and the governor in turn called upon the commanding officer at Camp Pike for a large number of United States soldiers to assist the citizens in quelling the so-called 'race riot,' 'uprising' or 'insurrection;' that a company of soldiers was dispatched to the scene of the trouble, who took charge of the situation and finally succeeded in stopping the slaughter.

### Abuse Is Charged.

"Your petitioners further say that they, together with a large number of their race, both men and women, were taken to the Phillips county jail, at Helena, incarcerarted therein and charged with murder; that a committee of seven, composed of leading Helena business men and officials, to-wit: Sebastian Straub, chairman; H. D. Moore, county judge; F. F. Kitchens, sheriff; J. G. Knight, mayor; E. M. Allen, J. E. Horner and T. W. Keesee, was selected for the purpose of probing into the situation and picking out those to be condemned to death and those to be sentenced to the penitentiary; that said committee assumed charge of the matter and proceeded to have brought before them a large number of those incarcerated in jail and examined them regarding their own connection and the connection of others charged with participation in said trouble; that if evidence satisfactory to said committee was not given, they would be sent out and certain of their keepers would take them to a room in the jail, which was immediately adjoining and a part of the courthouse building where said committee was sitting, and torture them by beating and whipping them with leather whips or straps with metal in them, cutting the blood at every lick, until the victims would agree to testify to anything their torturers demanded of them; that there was also provided in said jail, to further frighten and torture them, an electric chair, in which they would be put naked and the current turned on to shock and frighten them into giving damaging statements against themselves and others, also strangling drugs were put up their noses for the same purpose, and by these methods and means false evidence was extorted from negroes to be used and was used against your petitioners.

### Blames Newspapers.

"Petitioners further say that on every day from October 1 until after their trial on November 3, 1919, the press of Helena and the state of Arkansas carried inflammatory articles giving accounts of the trouble, which were calculated to arouse and did arouse bitter feeling against your petitioners and the other members of their race; that on October 7, 1919, the Helena World, a newspaper printed and published in the city of Helena and having a wide and almost universal circulation throughout said county, published an article written and given out by Mr. E. M. Allen, a member of said committee of seven, for and on behalf of said committee, purporting to give the facts concerning what he called 'not a race riot,' but a deliberately planned insurrection of the negroes against the whites, in which it was stated that the union, of which petitioners were members, was 'established for the purpose of banding negroes together for the killing of white people;' that a copy of said article is attached hereto, made a part hereof and marked 'Exhibit A;' that shortly after being placed in jail, a mob was formed in the city of Helena, composed of hundreds of men, who marched to the county jail for the purpose and with the intent of lynching your petitioners and others, and would have done so but for the interference of United States soldiers and the promise of some of said committee and other leading officials that if the mob would stay its hand they would execute those found guilty in the form of law.

"Petitioners further say that prior to October 1, 1919, they were farmers, share croppers; that nearly all the land in Phillips county is owned by white men; that same is rented out to share croppers to be tilled on the shares, one-half to the tenant and the other half to the owner; that for some years past there has grown up a system among the land owners of furnishing the negro tenants supplies on which to make crops and which is calculated to deprive and does deprive the negro tenants of all their interest in the crops produced by them; that in pursuance of this system, they refuse to give the share croppers any itemized statement of account of their indebtedness for supplies so furnished, refuse to let them move or sell any part of their crops, but themselves sell and dispose of the same at such prices as they please, and then give to the negroes no account thereof, pay them only such amount as they wish, and in this way kept them down, poverty stricken and effectually under their control; that for the purpose of protecting themselves, if possible, against the oppressive and ruinous effects of this system, the negro farmers organized societies with the view and purpose of uniting their financial resources in moral and legal measures to overcome the same, which fact became quickly known to the plantation owners; that said owners were bitterly opposed to such societies, sought to prevent their organization, ordered the members to discontinue their meetings and sought by every means they could employ to disrupt them; that on the 30th day of September, 1919, petitioners and other members of the Ratio Lodge, near Elaine, learned that some of the negro farmers of a near-by plantation had employed U. S. Bratton, an attorney of Little Rock, Ark., to represent them in effecting a settlement for them with their landlords, or if he could not, to institute legal proceedings to protect their interests, and that either he, or his representative, would be there on the following day to meet with all the parties concerned, perfect the arrangements, and learn all the facts as far as possible, and decided to hold a meeting with the view of seeing him while there, and engaging him as an attorney to protect their interests.

### Bratton Appears.

"That accordingly they met that night at the Hoop Spur churchhouse, which resulted, as hereinbefore set out, in the killing of said Adkins and the breaking up of said meeting; that on the morning of October 1, O. S. Bratton, son and agent of Attorney U. S. Bratton, arirved in Elaine for consultation with those who might desire to employ his father, was arrested, barely escaped being mobbed, notwithstarding it was well known that he was there only for the purpose of advising with those negroes as to their rights, and getting from them such facts as would enable his father intelligently to prepare for the protection of their legal rights; that he was carried thence to the county jail, thrown into it and kept closely confined on a charge of murder until the 31st day of the same month, when he was indicted on a charge of barratry, without any evidence to sustain the charge; that on that day he was told by officials that he would be discharged, but not to go up on the public streets anywhere, to keep the matter secret, to leave secretly in a closed automobile and to go to West Helena, four miles away, and there take the train, so as to avoid being mobbed; that he was told he would be mobbed, or would be in great danger of being mobbed, if his release became known publicly before he was out of reach; that the judge of the circuit court, the judge of the same court before whom petitioner was tried, facilitated his secret departure and himself went to West Helena and there remained until he had seen said Bratton safely on the train and the train departed.

"Petitioners further say that the Circuit Court of Phillips county convened on October 27, 1919; that a grand jury was organized composed wholly of white men, one of whom, T. W. Keesee, a member of the said committee of seven, and many of whom were in the posses organized to fight the negroes; that during the session petitioners and many others of the prisoners were frequently carried before it in an effort to extract from them false incriminating admissions and to testify against each other, and that both before and after, they were frequently whipped, beaten and tortured; that those in charge of them had some way of learning when the evidence given was unsatisfactory to the grand jury, and this was always followed by a beating and whipping; that by these methods some of the negro prisoners were forced to testify against others, two against your petitioners, though no one could testify truthfuly against them; that on October 29, 1919, a joint indictment was returned against petitioners accusing them of the murder of said Clinton Lee, a man petitioners did not know, and had never, to their knowledge, even seen; that thereafter on the 3d day of November, 1919, petitioners were taken into the court room, before the judge, told of the charge, and were informed that a certain lawyer was appointed to defend them; that they were given no opportunity to employ an attorney of their own choice; that the appointed attorney did not consult with them, took no steps to prepare for their defense, asked nothing about their witnesses, though there were many who knew that petitioners had nothing to do with the killing of said Lee; that they were immediately placed on sai dtrial before an

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exclusively white jury and the trial closed so far as the evidence was concerned with the state's witnesses alone; that after the court's instructions the jury retired just long enough to write a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree, as charged, and returned with it into court—not being out exceeding two or three minutes, and they were promptly sentenced to death by electrocution for December 27, 1919.

**Witnesses Retract.**

"Petitioners further say that during the course of said trial which lasted less than an hour that only two witnesses testified to anything to connect him in any way with the killing of said Clinton Lee; that said witnesses were George Ward and John Jefferson, both of whom are negroes and were under indictment at the same time for the killing of said Lee; that they were compelled to testify against them by the methods and means hereinbefore described; that their testimony was wholly false and that they gave such testimony through fear of torture and were further told that if they refused to so testify that they would be killed, but that if they did so testify, and would plead guilty, their punishment would be light; that they thereafter pleaded guilty to murder in the second degree and were sentenced to terms of imprisonment; that they attach hereto the affidavits of each of said witnesses showing the falsity of their testimony and the means of its acquisition, make them a part hereof and mark them 'Exhibits B and C' respectively; that they also attach hereto a certified transcript of the record of the proceedings in the Phillips Circuit Court as Exhibit D.

"Petitioners further say that large crowds of white people bent on petitioners' condemnation and death thronged the courthouse and grounds and streets of Helena all during the trial of petitioners and the negro defendants; that on account of the great publicity given their and the other cases, on account of their being charged with connection with an insurrection against the white people, and that four or five white men were killed on account of the fact that they are negroes and those who run the courts, the judge on the bench the sheriff, the clerk and all the jurors being white men, on account of the fact that it was stated and widely published that the purpose of the negroes was to kill the whites and take their property, and on account of all the race prejudice which normally exists and which was enhanced a thousand fold at that time, by bitterness beyond expression, it was impossible for them to get a fair and impartial trial in said court before a jury of white men; that the attorney appointed to defend them knew that the prejudice against them was such that they could not get a fair and impartial trial before a white jury of said county, yet he filed no petition for a change of venue, did not ask the court for time to prepare for a defense, and did nothing to protect their interests; that the court did not ask them whether they had counsel, or desired to employ counsel, or was able to do so, but simply said a lawyer whom he named would defend them; that they have, heretofore, not had a trial, have had no opportunity to make a defense, but that their case was closed against them as virtually and effectually as if on a plea of guilty; that if they had been given the opportunity they would have employed counsel of their own choice and have made a defense, their ability to do so having been demonstrated since their conviction; that the feeling against petitioners was such that it overawed the judge on the bench, the jury, the attorney appointed to defend them and everyone connected with said court; that all, judge, jury and counsel were dominated by the mob spirit that was universally present in court and out, so that if any juror had had the courage to investigate said charge with any spirit of fairness, and vote for an acquital, he, himself, would have been the victim of the mob; that such was the intensity of feeling against petitioners and the other defendants that had counsel for them objected to the testimony of the two witnesses against him, said Ward and Jefferson, on the ground that it was extorted by beating and torture, as they are advised he should have done, he would have himself been the victim of the mob; that it is possible counsel did not know how the evidence against him was obtained, and they did not desire to appear to criticise him, yet he knew that if the evidence against them was acquired as before stated it was incompetent and should have been excluded, a fact which petitioners did not know; that petitioners were ignorant of their rights, had never been in court before, and had counsel asked them about this testimony they would have told him how it was obtained; that through fear of the mob spirit no witness was called in their behalf and they themselves were advised not to take the stand in their own behalf; that as a result of the mob domination of court, counsel and jury, the court, counsel and jury, the court, although a court of original jurisdiction in felony cases, lost its jurisdiction by virtue of such mob domination and the result was but an empty ceremony, carried through in the apparent form of law, and that the verdict of the jury was really a mob verdict, dictated by the spirit of the mob and pronounced and returned because no other verdict would have been tolerated.

**Committee's Program.**

"Petitioners further say that the entire trial, verdict and judgment against them was but an empty ceremony; that their real trial and condemnation had already taken place before said 'Committee of Seven', that said committee, in advance of the sitting of the court, had set in judgment upon their and all other cases and assumed and exercised the jurisdiction of the court by determining the guilt or innocence of those in jail, had acquired the evidence in the manner herein set out, and decided which of the defendants should be electrocuted and which sent to prison and the terms to be given them, and which to be discharged; that when court convened, the program laid out by said committee was carried through and the verdict against petitioners was pronounced not as the independent verdict of an unbiased jury, but as a part of the pre-arranged scheme and judgment of said committee; that in doing this the court did not exercise the jurisdiction given it by law and wholly lost its jurisdiction by substituting for its judgment the judgment of condemnation of said committee; that they attach hereto as Exhibit E a letter from said committee to the then governor of the state showing the truth of said charges.

**Law As to Jurors.**

"Petitioners further say that, ever since the law of Arkansas for the selection of jury commissioners and grand and petit jurors, as it now stands, was enacted, all the judges of the courts have been and now are white men, and that ever since then said judges have appointed, without exception, white commissioners to select the jurors, both grand and petit, and that such commissioners have uniformally selected only white men on such juries; that all this has been done in discrimination against the negor race, on account of their color; that such has been the unbroken practice in Phillips county for more than thirty years, notwithstanding the negro population in said county exceeds the white population by more than 5 to 1, and that a large proportion of them are electors and possess the legal, moral and intellectual qualifications required or necessary for such jurors; that the exclusion of said negroes from the juries was, at all times, intentional and because of their color, of their being negroes; that such was the case of the grand jury by which petitioners were indicted, and of the petit jury that pronounced them guilty; that under the law of Arkansas, as construed by the supreme court of the state, an objection to the indictment on the ground that it was found by a grand jury composed only of white men to the exclusion of negroes on account of their color, must be made at the impaneling of the grand and objection to the petit jury must be made before a plea is entered to the indictment; that at the time said indictment was found petitioners were confined in jail and did not know the grand jury had been organized, did not know that they were to be indicted for the killing of said Lee or any other person and did not know that they were charged or to be charged therewith; that it was impossible for them to make objection to the organization of said grand jury for the very simple reason that they were closely confined, had no attorney, and no opportunity to employ an attorney; that at their trial counsel appointed to defend them made no objection to the petit jury or to any previous proceeding; and that their failure to do so was thorugh fear of the mob for petitioners and himself, as he believes.

"Petitioners further say that after their conviction and sentence to death, their friends employed other counsel to represent them; that thorugh such counsel they filed a motion for a new trial, copied in the record attached hereto as Exhibit D, which was promptly overruled and an appeal was taken to the supreme court of Arkansas, the highest court in said state, where, on the 29th doy of March, 1920, the judgment of the Phillips circuit court was affirmed, a copy of the opinion of said court being atached hereto as Exhibit F. (Ed Hicks vs. State, 143 Ark. 158); that thereafter they applied to the supreme court of the United States for a writ of certiorari to the supreme court of Arkansas, praying that said court be required to send up the record and proceedings in said cause for review by the supreme court of the United States, but that on the 11th day of October, 1920, the application for said writ was denied; that the governor of the state of Arkansas did on the 29th day of April, 1921, issue a proclamation carrying into effect the judgment and sentence of the Phillips circuit court against petitioners, and in which he fixed June 10th, 1921, as the date of their execution, a copy of which proclamation is atteached hereto as Exhibit G.

**Executions Urged.**

"Petitioners further say that on the 19th day of October, 1920, the Richard L. Kitchens post of the American Legion of Helena, Ark., an organization composed of approximately 300 white ex-service men living in every part of Phillips county, issued a resolution calling on the governor of the state of Arkansas for the execution by death of petitioners and the seven other negroes condemned to death by said circuit court at the time and under the same circumstances as were petitioners and protesting against the commutation of the death sentences of any of said negroes, which said resolution was presented to the then governor of Arkansas, and a copy of same is attached hereto as Exhibit H; that at a meeting of the Rotary Club of Helena, Ark., attended by 75 members, representing as many leading industrial and commercial enterprises of said city, and of the Lions Club of said city, attended by 60 members, representing as many of the same kind of enterprises of said city, each adopted a resolution approving the action of the Richard L. Kitchens post of the American Legion in the premises, which said resolutions were presented to the then governor of the state of Arkansas and copies of each are attached hereto as Exhibits I and J, respectively; that said resolutions further and conclusively show the existence of the mob spirit prevalent among all the white people of Phillips county at the time petitioners and the other defendants were put through the form of trials, and show that the only reason the mob stayed its hand, the only reason they were not lynched, was that the leading citizens of the community made a solemn promise to the mob that they should be executed in the form of law.

"Petitioners further say that, to further show the overwhelming existence of the mob spirit and mob domination of their and the other trials of negro defendants at the October term, 1919 of the Phillips Circuit Court, there were six defendants convicted of murder in the first degree, to-wit: John Martin, Alf Banks, Will Wordlow, Albert Giles, Joe Fox and Ed Ware, whose cases were also appealed to the Supreme Court of Arkansas which were reversed on account of bad verdicts, due to the extreme haste in securing convictions and executions (Banks vs. State 143 Ark. 154) and remanded for a new trial; that upon a retrial of said cases, defendants were again convicted and appealed to the Supreme Court, and said cases again reversed, (Ware vs. State Vol. 4 Sup. Court Rep. No. 11, page 674) and remanded for a new trial on December 6, 1920; that said causes were coming on for trial again at the May term of the Phillips Circuit Court which convened May 2, 1921, and it was represented to the governor of the state of Arkansas by white citizens and officials of Phillips county that, unless a date of execution was set for petitioners there was grave danger of mob violence to the other six defendants whose cases would be called for trial at the May term of said court and that, in all probability they would be lynched; that in order to appease mob spirit still prevalent in Phillips county and in a measure to secure the safety of the six negroes whose cases were to be called for trial and were called on May 9, 1921, the governor issued the proclamation aforesaid, fixing the date of execution of the petitioners for June 10, 1921; that these facts conclusively show that the mob spirit, mob domination, is still universally present in Phillips county.

"Petitioners, therefore say that by the proceedings aforesaid, they were deprived of their rights and are about to be deprived of their lives in violation of the constitution of the United States, especially in violation of section 1 of the 14th article of amendment thereto and the laws of the United States enacted in pursuance thereto, in that they have been denied the equal protection of the law and have been convicted, condemned, and are about to be deprived of their lives without due process of law; that they are now in the custody of defendant, E. H. Dempsey, keeper of the Arkansas State Penitentiary, to be electrocuted on the 10th day of June, 1921; that they are now detained and held in custody by said keeper and will be electrocuted on said date unless prevented from so doing by the issuance of a writ of habeas corpus.

"Petitioners therefore pray that a writ of habeas corpus be issued to the end that they may be discharged from said unlawful imprisonment and said unlawful judgment and sentence to death.

**Judge Jackson's Report.**

A report to Governor McRae from Circuit Judge Jackson of Phillips county urges the governor not to manifest executive clemency toward the six negroes, and that the law be allowed to take its course. A report of the Elaine riot was also submitted to the governor by John E. Miller, prosecuting attorney, in which he, too, takes the position that the condemned men should be put to death. The letter and report follows:

"June 6th, 1921.

"Honorable Thomas C. McRae,
"Little Rock, Arkansas.
"Dear Governor:

"With reference to the petitions for suspension or commutation of sentence of the Elaaine prisoners, I most earnestly recommend that you do not grant such petitions. In my judgment the sentences imposed by law should be carried out.

"The defendants had a fair trial, and I doubt if anywhere a racial clash has been handled with the same degree of absence of mob violence, leniency and respect for law as that which was shown in the Elaine insurrection. So far as I know this is the first time the people have been tempered enough to try to handle such cases in the courts; for I assure you there was an armed insurrection with the deliberate purpose to kill and plunder.

"The reason that our people respected the law was that they were assured that the judgments of the courts would be carried out. So you can readily see that interference with the judgment of the courts in these cases would destroy the only incentive for observance of the law. If the promises made to our people, promises by our Christian leaders, are not carried out, then no more promises will be made.

"So far as the letter of Robert T. Kerlin is concerned let me call your attention to the fact that in almost every criminal case in which the public eye has been centered, there arise maudlin sentimentalists who take

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(From foregoing card "Habeas Corpus etc." Little Rock Ark. Democrat June 9, 1921)

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some statement published in a newspaper and from that protest to high heaven against the punishment of the criminal. There is no basis of fact for the statements in the Kerlin letter. The statement that the Progressive Farmers' and Householders' Union was a peaceful union founded for legitimate purposes is wholly untrue. The statement that the insurrectionists shot only in self-defense is false. The statement that the negroes were indiscriminately hunted, harried and shot down is a wicked lie. The principal facts were proven by boys of the American Legion, who, as members of the sheriff's posse, put down the riot, the identity of the defendants was established by testimony of the negroes themselves. Careful investigation was made during the trials of alleged whippings of the negroes to obtain testimony and from all that human testimony can show this was not done.

"The responsibility must rest on you in this matter. I gladly take my share, and urge you in the name of law and order, the protection of our women and children, and the peace of our community not to interfere with the judgment of the court.

"Yours very truly,

"J. M. Jackson, Circuit Judge.

"This is not confidential."

**Mr. Miller's Letter.**

Mr. Miller's report is as follows:

"**Searcy**, Ark., June 6, 1921.

"In re execution of Elaine prisoners.

"Hon. Thomas C. McRae, Governor,

"Little Rock, Ark.

"My Dear Sir: I have your letter of the 2nd instant asking for a full report from me relative to the charges that are being made by the friends and others interested in behalf of the condemned men. I also have the affidavits of Walter Ward, John Jefferson and George Green, and a copy of the letter that was written to you by one Robert T. Kerlin of Lexington, Va.

"A reading of the records in these cases is sufficient answer to the letter of Mr. Kerlin. The letter shows on its face that he is unadvised of the facts surrounding this awful event, and I am inclined to believe the writing of that letter was prompted by some outside influences, rather than the pleading of the 'still small voice.' I have never heard of this man and am not inclined to follow him as the appointed Moses to lead us out of the wilderness of error in which he says we are at this time. If he is inclined to know the truth then I am sure that the citizens of Phillips county would welcome an investigation and would accord him true Southern hospitality while so engaged, and they would only ask that he investigate the matter honestly and with a view of arriving at the true facts. If he had done this and had asked men of unquestionable integrity and honor for the facts then that letter never would have been written, if he is the man that he would have us believe him to be, and on this question I must reserve my opinion.

"The affidavits of Walter Ward, John Jefferson and George Green speak for themselves and a casual reading of them will suffice to show the reader that they were written by some subtle hand with an end in view of creating public sentiment. These are not the only affidavits that have been procured, and doubtless, if you will take the time to investigate you will find that the parties who are making this fight for these negroes can supply you with other affidavits written by the same party and sworn to by other prisoners. This is but natural and is to be expected. It is not the first time that prosecuting witnesses have changed their testimony under the careful leadership of some interested party.

**No Partiality Shown.**

"As you know, I am not a resident of Phillips county and at the time this insurrection occurred I had only held one court in that county. I was practically unknown and did not know scarcely any one in the county. I was under no obligations to any one, either politically or otherwise, and I went about my investigation of this matter with only one desire and that was to arrive at the actual facts and the actual cause of this trouble. When I arrived at Helena I found something like 300 negroes in jail, being held for investigation. The investigation was under way and was being conducted by some of the very best and most honorable citizens of the county. They were not vindictive and used no cruel methods in their investigation, but worked to arrive at the facts and often the plantation owner would be called to help get the facts from some negro whom he had known and befriended for years. This investigation resulted in the freeing of all of the negroes except something like 100. The majority of the ones that were turned loose were members of the Progressive Farmer and Household Union and had participated in the insurrection, but had only performed minor parts. They could easily have been convicted of the crime of night-riding, but it was not my desire, nor the desire of the good citizens of Phillips county to convict men and women who had been led into the matter by others and who had taken no great or active part in the insurrection, therefore they were turned loose and asked to return to the farms, which they did, and they are now living on the farms and happy and free from the sinister influences that had so nearly resulted in their undoing.

**Hill Was Leader.**

"The investigation showed conclusively that the entire country around Elaine had been organized by Robert L. Hill and the men who are condemned to die, for the purpose of acting in concert to gain their fancied rights. There had been no wrong committed, but the average plantation negro had been led to believe that he was being wronged by the white man. These men who had innocently participated were released, but the ones who had assisted in the killings were tried and convicted. The facts are that a date had been set for a general uprising of the lodge and it is fortunate that the trouble began before that date, for if the trouble had not begun before the date set, then it is my honest opinion that there would not have been a white man, woman or child left in that part of the country to tell the story of their death and the devastation of the country. The members of the various lodges carried their guns to the meetings and were posted around the meeting places armed and with instructions to allow no one to approach the lodge while in session. The lodge at Hoop Spur was in session the night the trouble began and when an automobile carrying a deputy sheriff and a special agent of the Missouri Pacific Railroad Company and a negro trusty was passing by the place it was fired upon by these armed guards. The special agent was killed outright, the deputy sheriff was wounded, but managed to escape, and the negro trusty escaped by reaching the woods near by.

"The automobile was shattered by bullets fired into it by the armed guards. Not a single guard was injured and not a single shot was fired into the lodge by the officers. It was a complete surprise to them. They were on their way to Elaine at that time to arrest a white man for making whiskey and were expecting nothing. A very short time after this Mr. W. K. Monroe, an engineer in the service of the United States, passed in his automobile, and upon seeing the car of the officers standing in the road and seeing the lifeless form of the special agent lying beside the car, stopped to investigate. He had no more than stopped than the guards began firing at him and he at once left the scene. This occurred about 12:30 o'clock in the morning and the facts are that the men who were in attendance at that lodge that night immediately dispatched couriers to call the other members of the other lodges. These couriers went over the country and in the early morning hours arousing all members and urging them to meet at Frank Moore's home for duty. By daylight something like 100 men had assembled at Frank Moore's home, armed and ready to fight in accordance with the teachings of the lodge and their leaders. Shortly after sunrise the men, under the leadership of Frank Hicks, Frank Moore and others, left, marching in columns of two, going to Elaine to take charge of the town and await the coming of the officers or any one who might interfere with their plans. They were expecting to be joined by other men who had been instructed to join them by the couriers that had been dispatched, and in truth and in fact a body of about 75 negroes mobilized on the Yellow Banks plantation and had marched 12 miles by 11 o'clock in the morning.

**Plans Kept Secret.**

"The above conditions actually existed and existed without the knowledge of the citizens of Phillips county. The matter of an insurrection on the part of the negroes of that country was unthought of by the white men and white citizens. After the killing of the special agent at Hoop Spur Lodge, the sheriff of the county sent some five or six deputy sheriffs to the scene to investigate and arrest the offenders. When they arrived, about daybreak, they found the conditions as above stated. The negroes were all under arms and under the leadership of the very men who have been tried for first degree murder. They could not approach them. It was useless to try to peaceably arrest them, and a call was sent for more deputies. The American Legion at Helena was called upon and they responded to a man. They were deputized as special deputy sheriffs and placed under the leadership of the cool and experienced men, and in their efforts to arrest the men who had thus rebelled, some of them were killed and several of the negroes were killed, but my investigation failed to show that a single negro was killed unnecessarily.

"The investigation showed that this was premeditated upon the part of the negroes. They had carefully armed themselves with high-powered rifles, guns that would carry for a distance of one-half mile. Every lodge member was ordered to arm himself in order to be ready when the appointed time arrived and if this trouble had not been brought about by the untimely action of the negro guards at Hoop Spur, we would have had an entirely different condition to have faced, and Arkansas would not have some of her best citizens alive today. The trouble at Tulsa would have been no comparison to the outcome of what would have happened.

"The testimony that the witnesses gave at the trial of these men is true. It cannot be otherwise, notwithstanding the affidavits to the contrary. The witnesses detailed every little circumstance, every conversation, and their testimony exactly agreed with the physical facts and the physical conditions and the things that the officers saw. The witnesses could not have told of these things if they had not known, and no man could have framed up the testimony for them to have given in the manner in which it was given. The witnesses appeared before the grand jury and there, in the presence of the grand jury, a body of representative citizens, gav this testimony and it is true.

"As stated above, I am not a citizen of Phillips county, but let me tell you that country has suffered more than most counties would endure. They knew they were right and they passed such outbursts as that of Mr. Kerlin by, trusting in the officers and the law, and now to commute the sentences of these men, or to longer postpone their execution, would, in my opinion, be the gravest insult that can be given to a body of law-abiding people. I warn that if such a course if taken it will not be safe; that some time in the future, although I hope not, there may be other trouble of this kind, and if there is, then I shudder to think of what may be the outcome if the law is not vindicated this time.

**Opposes Postponement.**

"It is said that the officers ought to take a stand and create sentiment for these condemned men. Personally, I am not governed by public sentiment, and if public sentiment were demanding that these men be freed I would be found asking that the law be carried out, and as an officer who has honestly tried to discharge his duty as required by the law, I make this appeal to you. I also appeal to you on behalf of the citizens of Phillips county who have suffered long and patiently from the insults of such men as Mr. Kerlin, who have tried to mould public sentiment without stating the facts as they existed.

"I have remained silent in the face of what has been said about these cases, hoping that some one would make an investigation with an end in view of ascertaining the facts and with a motive prompted by that desire, and not by money, and when such an investigation is made it will be determined that what I have said is true.

"You state that you will treat this report confidential, and in this connection I may say that you may do so, if you so desire, or you may give it such publicity as you may desire. This matter is immaterial with me.

"If you care to call on me again I shall be glad to respond with a frank statement. I do not have the record in each case at hand, but you have access to the court records and a careful reading of the records will disclose that what I have said is true.

"I, therefore, hope that you may allow the law to be carried out and justice done in these cases.

"Very respectfully,

"Jno. E. Miller,

"Prosecuting Attorney.

# STATE MAY RETURN ELAINE PRISONERS

## Threatens to Send Them Back Unless Phillips County Pays Board Bill.

## $1,440 IS ALLEGED DUE

### Each Side Contends That It Is Not Responsible for Delay in Executions of Negroes.

LITTLE ROCK ARK GAZETTE
JUNE 14, 1921

Unless Phillips county makes settlement before July 1 of $1440 alleged due the state penitentiary for care of the 12 Elaine negroes, under the provisions of Act 44 of 1921, requiring payment by the county of one dollar per day for all persons held in the death cell, the six negroes whose cases have been reversed by the Supreme Court will be returned to the Phillips county sheriff and suit against the county for the collection of the amount alleged due will be filed by the state, it is announced in a letter forwarded yesterday to County Judge William Larkin of Helena by C. E. Toole, clerk of the Penitentiary Board.

The Phillips county judge contends that the delay in carrying out the mandate of the court for the execution of the Elaine rioters is not the fault of the county, and that the county should not be charged with the expense of their safekeeping at the walls.

According to the Penitentiary Board, the penitentiary spent $4,936 for the care of the negroes from November 22, 1919, when they were brought to the walls, until February 1, 1921, when the new penitentiary act went into effect, and that the

(over)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

(From Over)

penitentiary should not be called upon to bear the additional amount of $1,440.

**County Refuses to Pay.**

Judge Larkin was notified early in April that the county was debtor to the penitentiary for the safekeeping of the negroes and at that time he advised the board that although in the case of six of the men the death sentences had been affirmed by the highest courts and that the county was in no way responsible for the delay in setting the date of execution, he would ask legal advice as to the county's liability and would pass on the account rendered accordingly.

Yesterday, however, word was received from Judge Larkin that he had been ordered to refuse to pay the account, and the Penitentiary Board, through George W. Morris, secretary, advised Judge Larkin that the board would take immediate steps to press its claims. The matter has been taken up with the attorney general and Judge Larkin was notified that the county might expect the return of the negroes whose cases have been reversed, as they are, in effect, county prisoners and not state prisoners.

The penitentiary has outstanding accounts against the various counties for May amounting to $502, of which $453 is due for the care of 15 men under death sentence, including the Elaine negroes, and $49 is due for the safekeeping of three men awaiting trial in county courts. These bills, however, will not be presented until after the execution of the prisoners or the verdict in the cases awaiting trial.

The letter forwarded to Judge Larkin from the Penitentiary Board follows:

**Letter to County Judge.**

"The State Penitentiary Board has authorized me to notify you that unless its claims aggregating $1,440 for the safekeeping of 12 prisoners from your county from February 1, 1921, to May 31, 1921, is allowed and paid by your court before their next board meeting, which is July 6, that they will instruct the attorney general of Arkansas to file suit for the collection of the amount.

"I am also instructed to advise you that unless the claim is paid by the time of their next meeting that they will deliver the following prisoners to the sheriff of your county, whose cases have been reversed by the state Supreme Court: Alf Banks Jr., Albert Giles, Joe Fox, John Martin, Ed Ware and Will Wordlow.

"I wish to call your attention to the fact that these prisoners were received by the penitentiary November 22, 1919, and that the penitentiary has borne the expense of keeping them from that date till February 1, 1921, and that Act 44 provides that the county from which any person is brought for confinement in the death cell of the penitentiary shall pay to the penitentiary the sum of $1 per day for each day such person is confined, and that the county shall pay $25 for the electrocution of such person.

"The Penitentiary Board is in no way responsible for the fact that the court order of Phillips county has not been executed and the penitentiary management feels that your county should honor at once their claim for the keeping of these men.

"C. E. Toole, Clerk."

VICKSBURG MISS HERALD
JUNE 23, 1921

**INJUNCTIONS DISSOLVED— ARKANSAS RIOTERS TO BE ELECTROCUTED.**

The case of the negroes condemned to death for complicity in the Elaine murders and riotings have again been passed upon by the State's Supreme Court and the original sentence affirmed. The trial has been much complicated by unusual appeals and proceedings; including an appeal to the United States Supreme Court. As it carries a most important lesson, one of vital interest indeed to the many negroes in the South, who like those in this case, are led to first plot against the law and then to violate it by Northern counsellors and conspirators. The following press despatch is quoted:

Little Rock, Ark., June 20.—The state today won its fight in the supreme court against further delay in the electrocution of the six Elaine negroes, who were sentenced to die June 10. The court granted the writ of prohibition filed by the state against Chancellor Martineau to prevent the chancellor from hearing the habeas corpus writ filed by attorneys for the negroes a few days ago.

While passing directly on the cases of the six Elaine negroes, Ed and Frank Hicks, Ed Coleman, Paul Hall, Frank Moore and J. E. Knox, the decision also applies to the case of Ofie Norsworthy, the Cross county negro, who was to have been electrocuted last Friday. His case had been taken into the chancery court in Cross county. The supreme court early last week issued a stay of execution pending disposition of his appeal.

Chief Justice McCulloch wrote the opinion handed down today. "The doctrine has been announced repeatedly", the opinion says, "that courts of equity in this state are not clothed with jurisdiction to review proceedings in criminal court or to interfere with such proceedings, either by injunction or under the writ of habeas corpus."

And in spite of this familiar "doctrine Northern instigators of this virtual uprising against the peace and dignity of Arkansas, so far imposed upon the ignorance of the dupes and victims that they now stand condemned to death as violators of the law and now the attorneys for the condemned men propose to keep up the farce further in the announcement that they will appeal again to the Supreme Court for relief. The fact is repeated; that the lesson is against dependence, except from the local authorities, and the Tulsa riot is a similar and an even more persuasive lesson.

# Veil of Secrecy Thrown Around Decision of Pen Board on Elaine Negroes

LITTLE ROCK ARK DEMOCRAT
JUNE 24, 1921

## Conflicting Reports as to Decision of Commission, but It Is Understood Negroes Will Not Be Returned to Phillips County —Governor Declines to Give Decision.

**NEGROES TO LEE COUNTY.**

The veil of secrecy which state officials attempted to throw around the disposition of the six Elaine negroes, was penetrated by Democrat reporters shortly after 2 o'clock, and it was learned that the negroes would leave Little Rock, accompanied by the squad of officers at 3:10 o'clock on the Rock Island. They will change trains at Brinkley, going on to Marianna. Every assurance was said to have been given state officials that the negroes would be safely lodged in the Lee county jail. Officials at the penitentiary, when asked what time the negroes left the penitentiary, refused to talk. A Democrat reporter was near by, however, when the negroes were taken from the pen.

Although a tight screen of secrecy was thrown around their actions, it was understood Friday afternoon that Governor McRae and the penitentiary commission had backed up Warden E. H. Dempsey in his refusal to surrender six of the Elaine negro rioters to Sheriff J. D. Mays and a squad of Phillips county officers.

No explanation for the veil of secrecy could be obtained by the Arkansas Democrat. Members of the board declined to talk, and Governor McRae said he did not care to discuss the matter, or to divulge what action the commission had taken.

"I know what they did, but I don't think it should be made public," said Governor McRae. He said he wouldn't discuss the matter, when asked whether the negroes were still at the penitentiary.

At the penitentiary it was said that the commission had sent no instructions and that the status of the negroes remained the same. No information had been received at the penitentiary, it was said, as to the action of the board.

**May Go to Marianna.**

It was reported, but the report could not be verified, that the commission might have agreed to turn the six negroes over to Lee county officers, to escort the negroes to Marianna, county seat of Lee county, where their cases have been sent from Phillips county on changes of venue. Fear of mob violence while the negroes were en route, it was pointd out, might account for the secrecy.

On the other hand, the Phillips county officers were reported to have been considerably incensed because of their inability to get the prisoners when they applied Wednesday afternoon, and when they renewed their demands Thursday morning. Refusal of the board to make any statement, it was said, might have been agreed upon to prevent further dissention.

In view of the recent controversy between the penitentiary commission and Phillips county for boarding the negroes, it was said, however, that it was unlikely the state would prevent their being sent to Lee county. Their cases, while venued to Lee county, are not slated to come for trial before next October.

**Result of "Board" Row.**

It was said that the demands of the state for payment of the "board money" had caused the Phillips county officers to decide to get the prisoners and take them to Lee count yto await trial.

Attorneys for the negroes appeared at the capitol Friday morning and urged that the negroes not be returned to Phillips county, on grounds that there would be danger of mob violence. They apparently won their fight, for if the negroes are removed, they will go to Lee county, it was understood.

# Change Of Venue In Six Elaine Cases Go To Marianna

**JUDGE JACKSON GRANTS APPLICATION OF ATTORNEYS FOR CONDEMNED MEN— NOT TO BE TRIED UNTIL OCTOBER**

Vanguard 6/23/21

Helena, June 20.—Judge J. M. Jackson of the Phillips circuit court at 10:00 o'clock this morning granted the application of Ed. Ware, Will Wordlaw, Albert Giles, Joe Fox, John Martin and Alf Banks Jr., for a change of venue.

The Negroes, all of whom are to be retried on charge of murder in the first degree, growing out of the Elaine insurrection of October, 1919 will be transferred to Marianna to be tried during the October term of the Lee county circuit court.

The six Negroes twice have been sentenced to electrocution, following trials in the circuit court. In each instance the supreme court of the state reversed the decisions on technicalities. The men now are at the state penitentiary as safe keepers.

Attorneys for Ed and Frank Hicks J. C. Knox, Ed Coleman, Paul Hall and Frank Moore, who were to have been electrocuted June 10, have been endeavoring to have their executions postponed pending final disposition of the six cases which are to go to Marianna for trial.

—Arkansas Democrat.

## *Six Negroes Lose Move in Struggle Against Execution*

Little Rock, Ark., August 5.—Associate Justice Holmes, of the United States supreme court today denied a petition for a writ of error in the case of six Elaine, Ark., negroes now under death sentence for participation in the riots at Elaine in October, 1919, according to a message received here from Beverley, Mass., where E. L. McHaney, local attorney for the negroes, submitted the petition to Justice Holmes. A. E. Dunaway, also an attorney for the negroes, said a petition for a writ of certiorari probably would be submitted to the supreme court in Washington after it reconvenes, in a final effort to prevent execution of the negroes.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Arkansas. (Elaine)

Riots – 1921.

LITTLE ROCK ARK DEMOCRAT
JANUARY 26, 1921

# TO REQUEST DATE OF EXECUTIONS HELD UP

## Committee to Ask McRae to Defer Electrocution of Elaine Negroes.

A stirring denunciation of the methods by which he said evidence against the 12 Elaine rioters now under sentence of death, was prepared for the Phillips County courts in which they were convicted, was voiced Tuesday night before the Business Men's League of the Second Presbyterian Church by E. L. McHaney, lawyer, associate of the late Col. George W. Murphy, who was chief counsel for the negroes in the appeal of their cases to the supreme court.

Mr. McHaney was the principal speaker at the monthly dinner of the league, served in the church parlors by the women of one of the women's circles of the church.

As a result of the talk, Dallas Herndon of the Arkansas History Commission, a member of the church, was named as chairman of a committee to request Governor Thomas C. McRae not to set the date of the electrocution of the six negroes whose cases finallly have been affirmed, until the new trials of the remaining six have been held. Mr. Herndon was empowered to select his associates on a committee of three which will present the matter to the governor.

**Says Cruelty "Unbelievable."**

Mr. McHaney, tracing the record of the Elaine trials, declared the physical cruelty which was used in getting certain of the rioters to testify against the 12 negroes sentenced to be executed, was "unbelievable."

He said the negro witnesses, after the Helena trials, testified that they had been taken into the basement of the Phillips County court house, stripped and flogged and lacerated until they had agreed to testify against the 12.

Mr. McHaney declared it was impossible to secure an impartial jury in Phillips County, and that his future efforts on behalf of the six sent back for new trial would be to secure a change of venue. He said all of the 12 cases were virtually the same, and that none of the negroes ought to be electrocuted, at least until all have finally been disposed of by the courts.

The Rev. Hay Watson Smith presided at the meeting.

# REPORT MADE ON ELAINE TROUBLE BY COMMITTEE

Birmingham Reporter

Little Rock, Ark., 3/12/21
March 7, 1921.

Special To The Reporter:

The Citizens' Defense Fund Commission of Arkansas, headed by Dr. J. G. Thornton as Chairman, J. H. McConico, Secretary, Dr. H. W. Suggs, Treasurer, Rev. J. P. Robinson and R. M. Caver members, makes a flattering report respecting their service in the Elaine, Phillip County, Arkansas, trouble where 12 Negroes were sentenced to die in the electric chair and 67 to serve penal sentences ranging from one to twenty years.

The Citizens' Defense Fund Commission was organized to protect these individuals and they have secured new trials for a number of them and quite a few have been released. It is well known what started the trouble and how Negroe farmers were slain and robbed of their property, and especially subjected to a peonage system of handling labor, all of which caused an insurrection and the organization of the colored people for protection and consideration. Below is a statement of the committee of its collctions and disbursements:

| | |
|---|---|
| Receipts | $11,303.01 |
| **Disbursements.** | |
| Atty Fees | $6,100.00 |
| Atty's Expense Acct. | 795.34 |
| Court Cost, Filing Fees, Printing Briefs | 1,279.60 |
| Postage | 354.00 |
| Clerk Hire | 180.75 |
| Court Stenographers | 1,221.31 |
| Detective Service | 517.20 |
| Donations Recalled | 89.50 |
| Incidentals | 1.30 |
| | $10,639.00 |
| | 764.01 |
| | $11,303.01 |

Signed
J. G. THORNTON,
Chairman.
J. H. McCONICO,
Secretary.

# Citizens Defense Fund Commission Reports. Elaine, Case

Baptist Vanguard 3/10/21

Little Rock, Ark., March 2, 1921.

Dear Editor:—

Enclosed you will find a report covering Organization, Purpose and Financial Statements of the Citizens Defense Fund Commission.

Said organization has collected a fund to cover cost of defense of the Negroes convicted in connection with the race riot at Elaine, Ark., Oct. 1919.

J. H. McConico, Secretary

### ORGANIZATION

During the month of December, 1919, leading Negroes from all parts of Arkansas assembled in Little Rock to confer with the Governor in reference to organizing the Inter-Racial Congress. After the completion of that business a meeting was called and the Citizens Defense Fund Commission was organized.

The following gentlemen were selected to serve on the Commission:—Dr. J. G. Thornton, Chairman, J. H. McConico, Sec'y., Dr. H. W. Suggs, Treas., Revs. J. P. Robinson and R. M. Caver.

### PURPOSE

During October 1919, serious trouble occured between the Negroes and White people of Elaine, Ark., Phillips County and as a result 12 Negroes were sentenced to die in the Electric Chair and 67 to serve penal sentences ranging from one to 20 years. Those men were rushed into trial without securing aid or advise from any counsel except those appointed by the court.

The Citizens Defense Fund Commission was organized to raise a fund and employ counsel to re-open these cases and conduct a defense for these 79 convicted Negroes.

### DIRECTION OF LAWSUIT

During the month of January, the Commission open its books for subscriptions and donations. Scipio A. Jones, Atty. was called in and through him the Commission learned that steps had been taken to secure a new trial and to that end about $1500.00 had been collected and disbursed. The leaders in this first step were Bishop J.M. Connor, Scipio A. Jones, Henry Avant, J. A. Hibbler, J. R. Booker and several other men in Phillips County. Scipio A. Jones, Atty., was employed to represent the Commission in defending the men and to employ whatever additional Counsel that would be needed.

Mr. Jones informed the Commission that he desired to associate with him Col. Geo. W. Murphy as Chief Counsel as the N.A. A. C. P. was negotiating with him to represent them. A Conference was arranged with Col. Murphy, Scipio A. Jones and the Chairman and Secy. of the Commission.

The terms of the contract, etc were agreed upon and Attorneys took charge of the Cases. From that date the Citizens Defense Fund Commission has had supervision of the legal fight, paying Attorneys, Court Cost and Attendant expenses. The Commission got in touch with the N. A. A. C. P. and requested that the two organizations work in Union and keep each other informed as to each step taken.

The Commission has done this and has mailed Statements of Disbursements to the Headquarters of the N. A. A. C. P. While collecting and putting into these Cases more than $10,000.00, no member of the Commission has received one cent and has steadfastly refused to accept the services of any one who desired to profit in any manner. In view of this service, as well as the fact that the Commission has disbursed more money upon the cases in question than any other organization, we felt that any published Statement as to cost which ommitted this fact especially when data was available, was too outstanding to be passed up lightly. Below is a Statement of Collections and Disbursements.

| | |
|---|---|
| Receipts | $11,303.01 |
| **DISBURSEMENTS** | |
| Atty Fees | $ 6,100.00 |
| Att'ys Expense Acct. | ,795.34 |
| Court Cost, Filing Fees Printing Briefs | 1,279.60 |
| Postage | 354.00 |
| Clerk Hire | 180.00 |
| Court Stenographers | 1,221.31 |
| Detective Service | 517.20 |
| Donations Recalled | 89.50 |
| Incidentals | 1.30 |
| | $10,539.00 |
| | 764.01 |
| | $11,303.01 |

Signed
J. G. Thornton, Chairman.
J. H. McConico, Secretary.

# Arkansas Governor Sets June 10, As Date For Executing Six Negroes

St Louis Argus 5/6/21

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., May 29—Governor McRay has set Friday, June 10 as the date for the execution of six Colored men who were sentenced to death on murder charges growing out of the Elaine riot in October 1916.

## ELAINE NEGROES GO TO TRIAL ON MONDAY.

Six Face Hearing For Third Time At Helena.

Plain Dealer 5/7/21

Helena, Ark., May 4.—Ed Ward, John Martin, Joe Fox, Albert Giles, Will Wardlow and Alex Banks, six Negroes convicted of murder in the first degree in connection with the Elaine insurrection of October, 1919, will face trial for a third time during the sitting of the Phillips Circuit Court, which convenes here Monday. The Negroes have already been tried twice, found guilty and sentenced to electrocution. The lower court was reversed after the first trial because the verdict did not specify the degree of murder. The second reversal was had on the ground that the Negroes had been tried by a jury composed exclusively of white men. The date for electrocution of six other Negroes tried and found guilty of the same offense has been set for June 10, by Governor McRae.

BROOKLYN, N. Y. EAGLE
SEPTEMBER 8, 1921

# WRIT CANNOT SAVE 6 DOOMED NEGROES

Washington, Sept. 8—Execution of the six negroes convicted of murder in connection with the Elaine, Ark., riots of two years ago, which has been set for Sept. 23, can not be prevented or deferred through filing with the clerk of the United States Supreme Court of an application for writ of certiorari, officials of the court said today.

Court officials, when advised that applications for a writ had been forwarded by the negroes' counsel from Little Rock, Ark., pointed out that the court does not convene until Oct. 3, and consequently before action could be taken on the application the order for execution would have been carried out. The only Federal judicial action which would operate to stay the execution, court officials said, would be an order for a stay issued by a justice of the Supreme Court upon showing by the negroes' counsel.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

# ARKANSAS MEN TO FIGHT DEATH CHAIR THIRD TIME

Chicago Defender 5/7/21

Helena, Ark., May 6.—Ed Ware, John Martin, Albert Giles, Will Warlow and Alex Banks, convicted of first degree murder in connection with the Elaine "riots" of October, 1919, will face trial for a third time during the sitting of the Phillips County Circuit Court, which convened Monday.

The men have already been tried twice, found guilty and sentenced to electrocution. The lower court was reversed after the first trial because the verdict did not specify the degree of murder. A second reversal was had on the ground that the men had been tried by a jury composed exclusively of white men.

The date for the electrocution of six other men tried and found guilty of the same offense has been set for June 10 by Governor McRae.

The Elaine riot was the outgrowth of the old peonage system prevalent in this section and throughout the state of Georgia. These men, it has been proven, were worked like cattle and denied wages, in some instances. They formed an organization to demand better treatment, hired an attorney, and were on the eve of presenting their grievances to the white farmers when a riot was started. The first shot was fired by a white man connected with a railway company here when he sent several shots into a crowd of people attending a church. He is said to have been killed with his own weapon. The fight after this became general.

### Innocent Men Slain

Innocent people were shot down because they were dark, as was proven in the case of the four Johnson brothers who were killed on their way home. It was established that the Johnson boys were unaware of the conflict, and were returning to Helena from a fishing trip. It is reported that Sheriff Jarmon was generally accredited with taking part in this affair. Two white men were killed when the smoke cleared away.

Persons who made a careful investigation of this section shortly after the "riot," declared that the term "insurrection" was created by officials in order to shield the white people, who actually fanned the bloody war flames into action. The farm laborers, helpless and without funds to protect themselves, were thrown into prison and tortured by the guards, who attempted to make them confess that they had planned a massacre of the whites.

### No Whites Arrested

Ex-Governor Brough gave official sanction to the inflamed public sentiment by declaring that the "Negroes had planned an uprising." Justice was absent, according to reports, when the men were brought to trial. In some cases the jury only deliberated from six to twelve minutes. No whites were arrested, despite the fact that some openly proclaimed that they fired shots during the conflict. In the event the men are again convicted the cases will be appealed to the United States Supreme Court

# OVERNOR SILENT ON ELAINE CASES

## However, General Belief Is That He Will Decline to Intervene.

LITTLE ROCK ARK GAZETTE
JUNE 3 1921

At the close of an hour's conference with attorneys representing the six Elaine negroes now under sentence of death at the state penitentiary, Governor McRae yesterday said that he had no statement to make.

Not only E. L. McHaney and Scipio Jones, attorneys for the negroes, urged stay of execution yesterday, but other delegations or persons also sought clemency, or postponement. The request of the attorneys was that the date of electrocution be delayed until disposition is made of the six other cases now pending in Phillips county Circuit Court.

Governor McRae in his inaugural message, and frequently since, has enunciated his conviction that it is not the function of the executive to go back of the acts of the judiciary. With specific reference to the Elaine cases the governor has said that inasmuch as both Circuit and Supreme Courts have passed on the question of the negroes' guilt, he would refuse to be in the attitude of challenging the courts by modifying their decrees through executive clemency. The governor said the matter should come before the courts and not before the chief executive.

Governor McRae yesterday said that he had found no occasion to change his views as expressed in his inaugural address, but would authorize no further statement.

# WRIT REFUSED BY ARKANSAS COURT

(Associated Press)

6/5/21

LITTLE ROCK, ARK., June 9—The state supreme court late today refused to grant an immediate writ of prohibition against orders of the local chancery court holding up execution of six Elaine negroes, who were to have been electrocuted tomorrow morning. Instead, the court granted the appeal of the negroes' attorney's for a postponement until Monday to give them an opportunity to prepare a defense.

# ELAINE NEGROES GET NEW DELAY

## Supreme Court to Decide Chancellor's Jurisdiction Next Monday.

## THEN ANOTHER APPEAL

### Rioters' Lawyers Plan to Take Case to U. S. Supreme or Federal District Court.

LITTLE ROCK ARK GAZETTE
JUNE 14, 1921

Overruling efforts for a longer delay in the case of the six Elaine negroes held in the death cells of the state penitentiary, the Supreme Court yesterday afternoon took under advisement the question as to whether the Pulaski Chancery Court could assume jurisdiction. It is expected that the higher court's decree will be handed down Monday. It is generally believed that the writ of prohibition denying jurisdiction of the Chancery Court will be issued, but, in the meantime, the temporary injunction of the Chancery Court against an execution will remain in effect.

By consent the Chancery Court will take no further action but will await the decree of the Supreme Court. This was made apparent at the close of the argument yesterday when Chief Justice E. A. McCulloch asked whether it would be necessary to issue a temporary writ to restrain further proceedings in chancery. He was told that the lower court intended to defer any further action until the question of jurisdiction was established. Thus, the condemnned Elaine negroes gain another week's respite.

### Another Appeal Planned.

It is very likely that the delay will be even longer as attorneys for the defense said yesterday that should the Supreme Court issue the writ of prohibition denying the jurisdiction of the Chancery Court and automatically dissolving the temporary injunction now in effect, they will either appeal directly to the United States Supreme Court on a writ of error, or file habeas corpus proceedings in United States District Court.

The federal question was brought into the case through the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States which guarantees to all citizens a fair and impartial trial. In their petition before the Chancery Court for an injunction against the execution of the negroes, attorneys for the defense attacked the Phillips Circuit Court bitterly, declaring that both judge and jury had been dominated by mob spirit, and that the court thereby had lost jurisdiction. This they alleged as the reason for bringing the matter into Chancery Court.

Elbert Godwin, assistant attorney general, who handled the matter for the state yesterday, won the first skirmish when he opposed the efforts of the negroes' lawyers for a delay. E. L. McHaney, one of the attorneys for the negroes, during the morning session of the court, declared that the defense had been given no time to prepare its answer to the state's application for a writ of prohibition, and that, under the statutes, 10 days should be allowed. Mr. Godwin contended that this provision did not apply to the Supreme Court, but only to courts of original jurisdiction. During the noo recess the matter was deliberated upon, and a majority of the Supreme Court justices took the view advanced by the state's attorney.

The question upon which the court is to pass is whether the Pulaski Chancery Court had jurisdiction when it granted the temporary injunction against the execution. That the court will decide in the negative was strongly indicated at several points during the argument yesterday when attention was called to former decisions of the Supreme Court which held that the Chancery Court has no jurisdiction in criminal matters.

### Court Bitterly Attacked.

Mr. Gowdin scored the petition of attorneys for the defense for the habeas corpus proceedings filed in Chancery Court as one of the "bitterest attacks ever made on a court of any community."

The petition presented to Chancellor Martindeau last week alleged that the negroes had never received a fair trial and that the indictment, the trial and the verdict were "under the domination of the mob." In an attempt to justify statements that the state's testimony had been obtained under duress, Mr. McHaney was stopped by the chief justice, who called attention to the fact that the case was not on trial by the court, and that all argument must be confined to the question as to whether or not the Chancery Court was of competent jurisdiction.

Both Mr. McHaney and J. H. Carmichael for the defense and Mr. Godwin for the state brought in the Leo Frank case of Georgia, where a similar question concerning loss of jurisdiction through alleged mob domination of a court was involved.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots – 1921.

Arkansas.

# NIGHT RIDER IS ON TRIAL IN ARKANSAS

Montgomery Advertiser 4/21/21

(Associated Press.)

JONESBORO, ARK., April 20.—The trial of Dewitt Garrett, the first of thirty alleged night riders in the Craighead criminal court, was opened this morning and after a day of examination only three jurors were selected. Sheriff Johnson tonight has armed guards around the county jail and has been authorized to deputize a force of 100 citizens guards as a result of information that friends of the alleged night riders were planning to release them.

# STATE RESTS IN FIRST ARKANSAS NIGHT RIDER CASE

Montgomery Advertiser 4/26/21

(Associated Press)

JONESBORO, ARK., April 25—The state late today rested it's case in the trial of Dewitt Garrett, th: first of thirty-one men to face a jury here on charges of night riding and arson in connection with the burning of cotton gins, barns and other buildings with a view to bringing about a higher price for cotton last fall.

# 23 PLEAD GUILTY TO NIGHT-RIDING

## Arkansas Vandals Sentenced to Prison Terms Ranging From Two Months to One Year.

Constitution 4/28/21

Jonesboro, Ark., April 27.—Twenty-three men under indictment on charges growing out of night riding here last fall today pleaded guilty and were sentenced to prison terms ranging from two months to a year. They included Dewitt Garrett, who has been on trial for practically a week and whose attorneys last night asked permission for him to change his please from not guilty to guilty.

Charges against three other men were dismissed because of lack of evidence and three others were granted immunity as state witnesses. Three still are to be tried.

Sentence was suspended in the cases of two of the men who plead guilty today.

All were charged with having been members of a band which terrorized a part of the county last fall, burned cotton gins and other buildings and threatened farmers with dire consequences if they sold their cotton at a low price and did not agree to reduce acreage this year.

# DENIES THAT ARKANSANS DROVE UNDERWOOD FROM BRINKLEY

Chicago Tribune 3/19/21

Brinkley, Ark., March 16.—Replying to newspaper stories that Dr. B. L. Underwood was driven from Brinkley, Ark., by white citizens of that town, influential citizens of this city, headed by Dr. J. E. Brooks, D.D.S., come out with a statement to the eeffct that Dr. Underwood left Brinkley of his own volition, and that during his stay in Brinkley he was not the victim of any racial friction.

It is claimed that Dr. Underwood attributes his departure from Brinkley to racial friction in order to hide the real reason.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots - 1921.

Elaine (Ark.)

# Col. Kerlin Dismissed From Factulty For Inter-Racial Activities

Atlanta Independent 9/1/21

The Negro Press

By Frederick G. Detwiler.

(Associated Negro Press.)

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 1.—Colonel Robert T. Kerlin, who wrote to the governor of Arkansas an open letter published in the New York Nation in which he asked for justice for the Elaine men condemned to death, has been summarily dismissed from his professorship by the board of Virginia Military Institute of Lexington, Va. Colonel Kerlin, who is a doctor of philosophy from Yale, has been for some time professor of English at the above institution. He is known to colored people as the author of the Voice of the Negro, a work setting forth the appeal to the nation made by the Negro Press; and also as member of the inter-racial committee of the state of Virginia. For several years, he has given himself without stint to the cause of racial justice, and there is not a man among the white group who has done so with finer idealism or truer spirit of democracy.

On June 15 of this year the Nation printed over Col. Kerlin's name an open letter to Governor McCrea, pleading the cause of the condemned men in connection with the so-called "insurrection" near Hoop Spur, Ark. The facts of the farcical trial of scores of Negroes "without legal counsel, without witnesses," are recited and a most solemn appeal is made to Magna Carta, the American Constitution, and the Bible itself.

The board of Virginia Military Institute, a school that receives part of its support from the government, demanded Professor Kerlin's resignation in a meeting held August 20 at Richmond. On his refusal to resign the board autocratically dismissed him with these words:

"It is the opinion of this board that Colonel Kerlin, by reason of his interposition in the 'Elaine Insurrection' cases as exemplified by his letter to the governor of Arkansas reflecting upon the administration of justice in that state, and those upon whom the solemn duty rests of enforcing the laws therein (in which connection the board has considered his general activities in inter-racial matters), has rendered his further connection with the Virginia Military Institute undesirable, and his retention in the professorship instead of promoting the beneficial ends for which the institute was established, would prove harmful and detrimental thereto, and embarrassing to those responsible for its conduct and management and prejudicial to the interests which it is their duty to guard and protect."

Professor Kerlin will not be without friends in this experience who will stand by him to the last ditch. It is for Virginia we are sorry, for it is hard to see such things happen in a state so rich in American traditions. Why should Virginia soil her soul by excusing the crime of Arkansas?

## PROFESSOR KERLIN'S DISMISSAL

Wilmington Advocate 9/3/21

At last Professor W. T. Kerlin has paid the penalty for his opinion of the essential human qualities of the Negro. His resignation was demanded by the authorities of the Virginia Military Institute where he was head of the Department of English and his resignation not being forthcoming he was dismissed. Such action on the part of the institution was not unexpected by the friends of Prof. Kerlin who felt that subsequent to later his outspoken championing of the cause of the colored man, and frank expression of belief in his ultimate ability would be punished. The wonder is that the southern school which was graced by his presence did not earlier rid itself of a man whose ideals and beliefs are so much at variance with the convictions of the South.

The disgrace is not to the stalwart professor, who is one of the big, outstanding figures in American education and letters today, but to the institution which rids itself of the best member of its faculty. School authorities often have a way of preferring little minds to big ones. Belief in the Negro by a white man is usually punished by attempted crucifixion of that man by his own race. Prof. Kerlin is one of the best friends of the Negro in America today, and it is greatly to be hoped that the members of the race whose cause he champions so fearlessly will show their appreciation of his work in some definite, tangible manner. He is eminently deserving of all praise, not only for calling the attention of the white people to what we have done, but of stimulating us to do better by his finely critical appreciation and suggestions. The school which in narrow prejudice dismissed him, is the sufferer, not the cultured, scholarly gentleman who graced its halls and honored the students whom he taught.

# Grant Elaine Men Third Respite From Death

The Chicago Whip 9/17/21

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Sept. 11.—All agencies which have been bitterly battling to save the lives of the six men condemned to die for the so-called Elaine Riots have been encouraged by a third lease on life given the condemned men by United States District Judge Trieber, who last week granted a writ of habeas corpus, and enjoined the state from executing sentence.

The men were to be executed Friday, but execution was stayed pending hearing of the case Monday.

The attorneys are basing their petition on the plea that the original court which tried the case and returned verdict in Phillips county was swayed by mob spirit.

### Third Stay in Case

This is the third time that the carrying out of the death sentence against these six men has been stayed within a short time of the day set for execution. Frank Hicks, Frank Moore Ed Hicks, J. E. Knox, Paul Hall and Ed Coleman, were the first to be tried and convicted of the murder of Clinton Lee, white, following the riots of October 1, 1919. The date of their execution, set by Governor McRae, for Friday morning, lacked one week of being two years after the outbreak in connection with which they were convicted of charge of first degree murder and sentenced to death.

During those two years, their cases in various forms have been passed on by the Arkansas Supreme Court and each time the decision of the Phillip's County Circuit Court in which they were convicted, was affirmed. The date for their execution has been set three times before.

## Federal Judge Saves 6 Negroes; Governor Refused Death Stay

N Y C TIMES
SEPTEMBER 22, 1921

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., Sept. 21.—United States Judge Treiber today granted a writ of habeas corpus in the case of six Elaine negroes, sentenced to be electrocuted Friday, and issued a temporary restraining order enjoining State authorities from executing sentence pending hearing of the case Monday. The negroes were convicted of murder in the Elaine riots of 1919.

Governor McRae had denied the request of attorneys for a stay of execution.

NEW YORK HERALD
SEPTEMBER 28, 1921

## SIX ELAINE APPEALS DENIED.

**Lawyers for Negroes to Appeal to United States Supreme Court.**

LITTLE ROCK, Sept. 27.—Habeas corpus proceedings in behalf of six Elaine, Ark., negroes under sentence of death for murder in connection with the rioting in Phillips county two years ago, were dismissed to-day by United States Judge John H. Cotteral.

Attorneys for the negroes gave notice of appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

# ELAINE CASE AGAIN TO SUPREME COURT

## Lawyers Will Appeal Following Adverse Decision by Judge Cotteral.

LITTLE ROCK ARK. GAZETT
SEPTEMBER 28, 1921

An order sustaining the demurrer filed by the state against the issuance of writ of habeas corpus in the case of the six Elaine negroes, whose executions, scheduled for last Friday, were delayed by petition to federal court for habeas corpus proceedings was handed down in United States District Court by Federal Judge H. H. Cotteral of Guthrie, Okla., yesterday. An appeal to the United States Supreme Court, returnable within 30 days, was granted by the court. The appeal acts as an automatic stay of sentence pending a decision in the higher court.

Judge Cotteral reviewed the petition filed by attorneys for the negroes. As to charges that they did not have a fair trial, due to alleged mob domination of the court, Judge Cotteral said that the court records showed that the negroes had been tried in accordance with the laws of the state and with the state constitution. This portion of the evidence, he said, had been previously passed upon by the Arkansas Supreme Court, which had discovered no error in the trial such as would have been caused by mob interference at the time of trial.

This ruling, in effect, sustained the demurrer of the state, entered on the ground that evidence of mob spirit once introduced in court could not again serve as a basis for court action in reviewing the case.

In regard to the second argument of the petitioners that the negroes had not had proper legal advice. Judge Cotteral held that the records showed two attorneys appointed by the Phillips Circuit Court, John I. Moore and the late Greenfield Quarles, both of whom were eminent and well-qualified lawyers. It was also shown by the records, Judge Cotteral said, that the negroes were allowed to retain other lawyers later. There had been no evidence entered, Judge Cotteral said, which would indicate that the attorneys first appointed by the court did not conduct the case according to law. The question of the manner in which they conducted any definite portion of the trial could not be ruled upon, Judge Cotteral said, as each attorney handled cases differently, and his method of procedure was wholly a matter of personality and not of law.

The question of discrimination in selecting the jury did not form a basis for a review of the case, Judge Cotteral said, as the question should have been raised at the time of the first trial and could not be introduced now. The plea that the petitioners were ignorant of the necessity for pleading discrimination in the Phillips Circuit Court could not be upheld, he said, as if it were sustained practically every criminal case could be reopened on the ground of such ignorance.

In closing, Judge Cotteral said that the State Supreme Court, which had passed upon the case and affirmed the judgment of the lower court, had reviewed the case in accordance with the state laws, in a spirit of impartiality, free from any suspicion of mob domination, and that, under the circumstances, the federal court would not, in his opinion, be justified in interfering.

## OPPOSES CLEMENCY FOR NEGRO PRISONERS

The Atlanta Constitution 10/1/21

Washington, September 30.—Opposition to any extension of executive clemency to the sixty-one enlisted men of the 24th infantry who are serving in Leavenworth prison as a result of rioting at Houston, Texas, in 1917, was expressed to President Harding today by Representative Garrett, of Texas. Mr. Garrett said he was assured by the president that he would have ample opportunity to present all the evidence at his disposal before action was taken.

Clemency for the prisoners, all of whom are negroes, has been requested of the president by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

## ARKANSAS SUES PHILIPS COUNTY

Savannah Ga.

Auburn 11/10/21

The National Association for the Aavancement of Colored People to day made public a quotation from the Arkansas Gazette of October 28th, showing that differences have arisen between the State of Arkansas and Phillips county in that state over the expense of keeping in prison the colored farmers condemned to death in connection with the Arkansas riot of 1919.

The colored men have been in prison for two years, from November 1919 and the Arkansas Penetentiary Commission is expected to su[illegible] county for a "board bill" [illegible] covering the period of 166 [illegible] which twelve prisoners f[illegible] were held in the penitenti[illegible]

"County Judge Willia[illegible] says the Arkansas Gaze[illegible] lips county several we[illegible] that he did not intend a[illegible] ment of the board bill [illegible] that the Negroes had b[illegible] walls for execution an[illegible] ing. At that time [illegible] board said that suit [illegible] be brought against th[illegible]

This action on the part o[illegible] has been interpreted as an indication that the state of Arkansas is not confidend the Negroes who were sent to the penitentiary for execution will really be executed, now that the National Associaion for the Advancement of Colored People has fought their cases up to the Supreme Court of the United States.

## N. A. A. C. P. APPEALS FOR HELP FOR ELAINE

The N. Y. Age 10/22/21

Miss Mary White Ovington, chairman of executive board of the N. A. A. C. P, is sending out a statement concerning the status of the cases of the twelve colored men under sentence of death following the Elaine riots. These men were sentenced to die on December 26th, but in six of the cases the verdict was overruled and new trials granted. After two reversals, a change of venue was granted and the third trial of these men was begun on October 10th at Mariana, Lee county.

In the cases of the other six men, they have been in danger of immediate execution on several occasions. They were to be executed on June 10th, but application for a writ of error, which was denied August 4th, postponed the date to September 23rd. A writ of habeaus corpus stayed that sentence and it is hoped that a favorable conclusion of the trial at Marianna will finally save the lives of these men.

The Association retained the firm of Murphy, McHaney and Dunaway, white, and Attorney Scipio A. Jones, colored, and the death of Col. Murphy on October 11, 1921, threw the work practically upon Mr. Jones shoulders, and the retaining of additional white counsel at Marianna. Funds are urgently needed for the proper handling of these cases.

Readers of The Age are asked to send contributions in any amount, either to The New York Age, 230 West 135th street, New York City, which will be acknowledged and promptly forwarded to the Association, or they may be sent direct to J. E. Spingarn, treasurer, N. A. A. C. P., 70 Fifth avenue, New York City.

## ELAINE NEGROES ARE RETURNED TO HELENA

Commercial Appeal Memphis Tenn.

### Allowed Undue Privileges at Marianna, Judge Heard.

11/26/21

HELENA, Ark., Nov. 25.—Ed Ware, Will Wordlow, Albert Giles, Joe Fox, John Martin and Alf Banks, Jr., six negroes awaiting retrial in Lee County on charges of murder growing out of the Elaine insurrection of October, 1919, were transferred from Lee County to Phillips County last night, and are now in the local jail for the third time since their initial arrest.

The action was taken in conformity with an order issued by Judge J. M. Jackson when the Phillips County Circuit Court held a short session. It followed reports that Ware and perhaps others of the six negroes had been granted liberties by the sheriff of Lee County. The official order issued by Judge Jackson reads as follows:

"Helena, Ark., Nov. 23, 1921.

"To J. S. Callaway, Sheriff, Lee County, Ark.

"It having come to my knowledge that you have made trusties out of certain prisoners committed to your jail under an order of the Phillips County Circuit Court, and that you have seen fit not to cause said prisoners, to-wit—Ed Ware, Will Wordlow, Albert Giles, Joe Fox, John Martin and Alf Banks, Jr—to be confined in the county jail of Lee County, awatiing trial for murder on a change of venue from Phillips County; you are therefore directed to deliver to J. D. Mays, sheriff of Phillips County, the said prisoners, to-wit: Ed Ware, Will Wordlow, Albert Giles, Joe Fox, John Martin and Alf Banks, Jr., to the end that said prisoners may be confined in the Phillips County jail until such time as their presence may be required in Lee County for trial.

"J. M. JACKSON.

"Judge of the First Judicial Circuit of Arkansas."

For several days reports had been reaching Helena to the effect that certain of the six Elaine prisoners were allowed undue liberties by the Lee County sheriff. One report was to the effect that Ed Ware and one or more others of the six had been made trusties, and that Ed Ware was acting as the Lee County sheriff's chauffeur. Others of the six, according to reports, were given liberties not accorded to some other prisoners.

Another report was that Ed Ware was seen at Rondo.

Ware is alleged to have been the secretary of the Hoop Spur Lodge of the union organized by the refugee, Hill, and which is said to have been the cause of the insurrection. Ware escaped from Phillips County, but was later captured in Gretna, La., and brought back to Helena for trial on a charge of murder.

Removal of the prisoners to Helena was accomplished by Sheriff Mays and his deputies last night, no previous announcement having been made of the incident.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots – 1921.

Illinois

## TWO "ABYSSINIANS" GET DEATH PENALTY

Chicago Defender 4/23/21

BY NETTIE GEORGE SPEEDY

Speculation was rife in the courtroom of Judge George Kersten when the jury, after deliberating five and one-half hours, let it be known that they had reached a verdict in the case of Grover C. Redding, 449 East 45th street, and his six companions—Oscar McGavock, 1322 West Randolph street; Henry Lee, 2041 Austin avenue; Edward Rush, 2027 Austin avenue; James Briggs, 2031 Austin avenue; Dennis Brown, 1652 West Walnut street, and Allen Willis, 2242 Fulton street, who had been accused of the murder of Robert Lawton Rose (white), a sailor, at 35th street and Indiana avenue, during what has become known as the Abyssinian riot.

**Sentenced to Hang**

The jury found Redding and McGavock guilty as charged, and fixed their punishment at death, but the instructions handed down by Judge Kersten, which covered a broad area, resulted in the acquittal of the other defendants. When the verdict was read Redding, who had feigned insanity during the trial, straightened up and said: "I do not want a new trial, judge; if they are going to hang me, let them do it now, so the worry will be over." Arguments for a new trial will be heard Jan. 31, and Redding asked the court, when he was considering the advisability of a new trial, would he also take under advisement the application of bail in his case.

**Exposes Redding**

Dr. William O. Krohn, an alienist of international repute, told the jury that upon his several examinations of Redding he had told him that he had no idea of committing murder upon the memorable Sunday afternoon, but had only gone into the scheme to make money. He saw that the people in Chicago were much more easily swayed than in some cities, for he had bought the Abyssinian flags in Detroit for 8 and 15 cents, and had sold them here to his followers for $1, and the physician then asked: "Is that your graft?" and Redding had replied, "No, that is my profit."

**Antics in Courtroom**

Redding, in order to impress the jury with his unfitness of mind, would call white women who entered the courtroom beautiful Cleopatras, and would call Race women "tar babies"; he threw law books about the room, match boxes at the judge's clerk, Chas. Stroop, and language unprintable was uttered by him. But it was so noticeable that he only indulged in these antics when incriminating evidence was given against him.

When Attorney F. L. Barnett closed his argument he pleaded for the liberty of the men identified with Redding; the latter jumped to his feet and began adjusting an imaginary rope about his neck.

## CHICAGO RIOTERS SENTENCED TO HANG, SECURE REPRIVE

4/30/21 Chicago Defender

(By The Associated Negro Press.)

Chicago, April 27.—Grover C. Redding and Oscar McGavick will not die on the gallows this week. Reprives until June 24 have been granted by Governor Len Small to allow attorneys time to take the case to the Supreme Court. This action was taken by the executive upon unanimous recommendation of the board of pardons.

All arrangements for the hangings had been completed by Jailer Lee. McGavick and Redding, the two men convicted of murdering a sailor during the "Abyssinian" riot last summer, roused all the prisoners in the pail with their singing when they learned that they were not to die on the next day. They shot G. L. Rose, a sailor, as he attempted to prevent them burning a United States flag last summer.

CHICAGO ILL EXAMINER
MARCH 21, 1921

## Union Leader Charges Packers Seek Race Riot

**Denunciation of the packers by a representative of the stock yards workers' union, who charged them with attempting to foment a race riot, featured yesterday's session of the Chicago Federation of Labor. "Brutal" was among the appellations applied to the "big five" packers. The janitors' union, through its president, William F. Quesse, also delivered a few caustic remarks about State's Attorney Crowe for his recent raid on their headquarters.**

## NEGROES ARE BUYING ARMS

### Young Negro Acting As Agent

Saturday Tribune 4/12/21

**Confesses Having Sold Firearms To More Than 300 People**

Chicago, Ill., March 30th (Associated Negro Press)—Consternation prevailed in police circles last Friday night after it had been discovered during the day that a group of South Side young Negroes had been making secret purchases of firearms for the past few weeks. More than a thousand young colored men are said to be included in this traffic of rifles, revolvers and ammunition. Fred Biffar, a dealer in firearms and ammunition in North Dearborn street, and Virgil Meyers, a young Negro who lives at 3400 South Wabash avenue, have been apprehended as the principles in the wholesale selling, the white man as the dispenser and the Negro as the go-between in the transactions.

The disclosure was brought about by the voluble enthusiasm of Meyers. His frequent visits to the gun shop of Biffar were noticed by Walter Copeland and Ernest Savage, two colored police officers, who ingratiated into the good graces of the colored man and learned from him secret of his calls to the gun dealer's place. Volunteering their co-operation to join with him in the profits and distribution of arms among the Negroes in the city, the officers were taken to the delivery station at the home of Meyers, where he opened his trunk and showed them ten revolvers twenty five boxes of ammunition and five holsters. The arrest followed.

Meyers told the police he had been buying the firearms and ammunition from Biffar for several weeks and selling the same, at large profit, to colored men in various sections of the city. He confessed to selling to more than 300 persons but efforts to get him to disclose the names of any of the people involved in the transaction failed completely.

The police are making a diligent search through the Negro sections in the hope that they will discover more of Biffar's agents. This step is being followed because of the fear that Chicago may be the supply station of a lynching reprisal movement somewhere in the South.

Attention is being called to the fact that the Negroes in Springfield, Ohio, appeared to be amply supplied with firearms and ammunition during the recent riot trouble in that city. It is thought that the supply may have been procured in Chicago and that Biffar and Meyers were the agents for the colored Chicagoans. This, however, has not been confirmed by the local police authorities. In the meantime, Biffar affects to know nothing beyond the selling of the material to Meyers and the young Negro is standing pat and keeping his mouth tightly shut.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
MAY 27, 1921

## Gets Verdict Against Chicago For Negro's Death in Race Riot

*Special to The New York Times.*

CHICAGO, May 26.—A verdict awarding to Mrs. Ada Dozier damages of $2,300 against the City of Chicago was returned by a jury of white men in the Supreme Court today. This was the first of the thirty-eight cases against the city originating in the race riots of July, 1919.

It was brought out at the trial that during the rioting a negro committee had waited on Mayor Thompson and had been assured of ample protection. The following day thousands of handbills were circulated in the South Side informing negroes who had been staying in their homes, afraid to go to work, that the Mayor guaranteed ample police protection.

William Henry Dozier, husband of Mrs. Dozier, was killed by a mob at the entrance to the stock yards the following day.

CHICAGO ILL TRIBUNE
JUNE 25, 1921

## TWO MEN HANGED, BODIES GUARDED TO INSURE DEATH

Oscar McGavick and Grover C. Redding, Negro leaders in the "Abyssinian" riots on the south side last summer in which two men were killed, were hanged in the jail yard at 7:30 a. m. yesterday.

They went to the gallows hoping to the last they would be reprieved on the petitions of insanity which their attorneys filed in a last desperate attempt to save them. The petitions were denied by Judge George Kersten.

Contrary to the usual custom of turning the bodies over to an undertaker the moment they are cut down, Sheriff Peters explained that an attempt was made to bring an executed man to life some time ago in Chicago, and that it almost succeeded, the dead body showing some signs of life.

## CHARGES MARRIAGE OF NEGRO RESULTS IN RIOT

East-Tennessee Reporter 6/30/21

**(By The Associated Negro Press)**

**Chicago, June 27.—Five hundred bathers took in a Jewish riot at Clarendon Beach last Sunday afternoon, in which women were beaten, children trampled and four persons arrested. Because fences were being torn down and playgrounds apparatus was broken, Sueprintendent G. J. Custer had ordered life guards to keep close watch. Life Guard Ted Ratner was standing near a group when a woman made a derogatory remark.**

**"I understand," she is reported to have said, "that one of these life guards married a black girl." As he moved off he is alleged to have made a remark concerning Jews—and the fight was on. Mrs. Mary Murner, 1147 South St. Louis avenue, is alleged to have seized a hammer and struck at him. Alexander Ratler, 1117 South Richmond avenue, attacked ihm from the side. Ritner shouted for help. Bathers and life guards came from all directions and ina moment the fighting had become general. Women attacked each other, pulled hair** hicked and scratched. The bathers fought with fists, oars, pop bottles and anything that came handy.

# WHITES RESENT BEACH CLOSING AT 39TH STREET

### Citizens See Serious Race Clash Unless Haldane Is Removed

7/9/21 Chicago Defender

Chicago was thrown into a turmoil of anxiety on Saturday morning, July 2, when the Chicago Tribune and the Herald-Examiner published misleading stories of a race riot at the 29th and 39th streets bathing beaches. According to these newspaper accounts, 100 (one paper said 500) of our people formed in military order and marched on the 39th street beach. N. B. Haldane (white), director of this beach, called the Stanton avenue station and the invaders were dispersed by the police. These newspaper headlines credit the police with preventing a race riot.

**The True Story**

The Chicago Defender started an investigation immediately, assigning its entire staff to the job. Here are the facts: There are two bathing beaches, one at 26th and another at 38th streets. Between these points many people swim, but there's no regular bathing equipment of life ropes or life guards. Captain Gallery, in charge of the Cottage Grove avenue police station, just back of the beach at 26th street, denied that there had been any trouble at that beach or in his district, which disposes of the alleged trouble at 29th street. A few bathers presented themselves at the 38th street beach on Saturday morning and were directed to bathe at one end of the beach by the guards in charge.

**Sign Says Dangerous**

At this particular point an official sign had already been put up, which reads, "Dangerous; No Bathing North of Beach." The spot indicated was obviously what the sign claimed for it, being rocky and full of broken piles from an old breakwater.

Our people insisted that they were going to swim, as they were on a public beach within the rights of citizens. Some argument followed, during which the man in charge lost his head and grossly insulted the bathers. It is claimed that a boy was struck during the argument. Haldane, the beach director, called the police. Sergeant McCann, in charge of the Stanton avenue station, at that time answered the call with just two other men and told the Defender representatives that our folks were orderly and obeyed his requests and directions without any trouble.

**Haldane Must Go**

Here is a beach in the very center of our district where the director and his assistants assume to dictate to orderly self-respecting citizens as to

(OVER)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

(From Over)

where they must bathe, attempting to reserve a public beach for white people only. On the morning of the trouble this man abruptly and impudently refused to give the facts to persons interested in preventing trouble. The South Park Commissioners who control this beach are taking a grave risk in leaving a man of Haldane's evident lack of tact and realization of his responsibility in charge of such an important task. Leading Chicago citizens in the interest of peace and order demand his removal before he causes a real riot, which he came very near doing on Saturday. This beach ought to be in charge of a capable man with some common sense who can command the confidence and respect of both races, who realizes that he is there to serve the public and not to dictate according to his private prejudices or those of his friends.

### Newspapers Excite Riot

The daily papers carry a heavy responsibility for printing stories of race riots without the facts. Surely Chicago's experience of two years ago ought to make everybody careful to avoid exaggeration of such situations. There is a big difference between news and the truth where law and order are at stake.

The Park Commission closed the beach until late afternoon, when two special officers were detailed to keep order and permitted only persons in bathing costume to remain on the beach. Defender representatives covered the situation from Saturday through July 4th.

### Whites Assault Officer

Early Monday morning a riot call brought the reserves from Stanton avenue, Cottage Grove and Hyde Park police stations with shotguns and riot guns, only to find that there was no race riot, only a brawl between lawless white folks. Three white men and two white women of the kind who object to bathing with our folks had set upon the police officer when he told them to move. The officer is in the hospital severely beaten up. Report has it that he was shot. None of our people were concerned in this scuffle. No arrests were made and the names of the officer's assailants were withheld. It is easy to imagine what would have happened had the people concerned been of darker complexion. These people are the people whom Haldane thought too good to mix with our bathers. The Defender stands for law and order, but for right and justice also. There must be no more imaginary lines. Let everybody use the public parks and beaches regardless of race or color. Let them be ladies and gentlemen. Let trouble seeking public servants be shown the gate before it is too late.

### Whites Resent Closed Beach

While the Park Commission is to be complimented on the promptness with which the beach was closed when trouble resulted from the error of its employe, the white people took it so to heart that they wilfully assaulted a police officer because they were denied the use of the beach for a few hours. If white people feel that way about what they deem an abridgment of their privileges how must our people feel when they are denied the use of public facilities on account of their color?

If our people are the ones who usually start riots, it seems queer that in this instance when we were conspicuous by our absence this white man had a gun with which to attack a police officer. Where did he get it? What was he doing with it?

### Police Take Notice

This ought to serve notice on the police that instead of searching our folks it would be a good plan to search white men now and then. Failure to do so may result seriously again for other innocent officers. The Defender feels very strongly, for we are convinced that had it not been for prompt action in getting at the facts and putting them before the proper authorities and urging the metropolitan papers to correct the first misleading story we might have had a different story to tell as the result of Haldane's and the other attendant's stupidity. We do not yet believe that the South Park Commission feel the full gravity of the situation or Haldane would have been moved at once.

### Park Closed

The Douglas Park at the foot of 35th street and the lake, which ought to be a haven of refugee for mothers and their babies, is now only open from 10 to 4. We understand the state authorities at Springfield control this park. Our representatives ought to get busy; see to it that this park is open to the public at usable hours and properly policed. It is a disgrace to have it closed during such sweltering weather when it might give aid to countless mothers and babies.

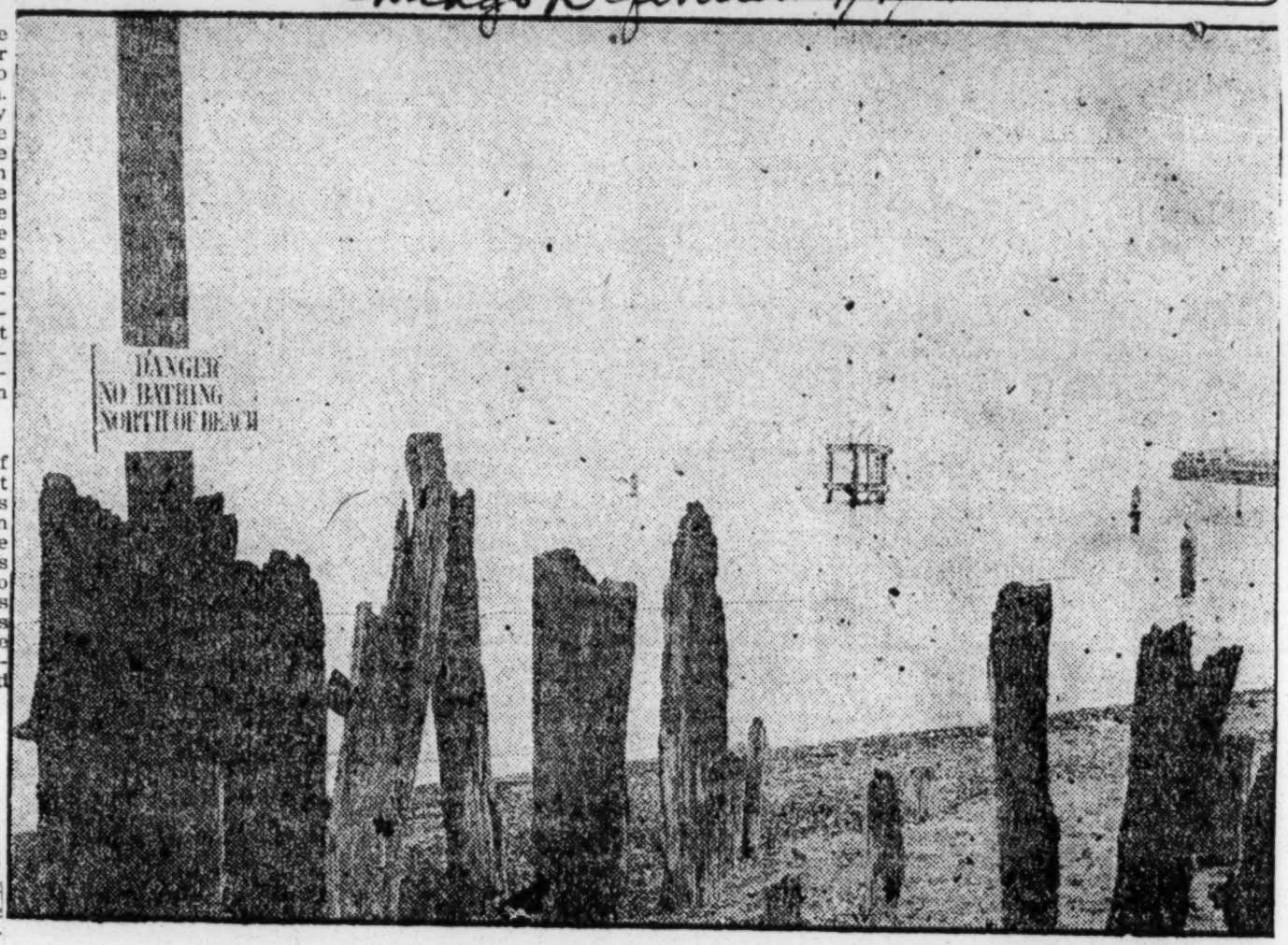
## COURT CONFISCATES GUNS SENT HERE THROUGH MAIL

Chicago Defender 7/16/21

According to the testimony of Officer Paldena, detective bureau, the United States government notified the police department that guns were being sent through the mails C. O. D. into Chicago. When revolvers arrived addressed to Louis A. Smith, 1558 Wabash avenue; Israel J. Holmes, 3653 Calumet avenue, and William Brown, 2510 West Park avenue, the officers followed the mail carriers to the different homes, and after the guns were paid for the purchasing parties were arrested and the guns carried to court. Each of the defendants was fined $50 and costs and the guns confiscated by Judge Wells M. Cook of the Harrison street court. The court based its ruling on the fact that the guns were bought contrary to the city ordinance prohibiting the buying of guns here without a permit.

## Trouble Point at 39th Street Beach

Chicago Defender 7/9/21




—Photo by Woodard.

View of 39th street bathing beach where whites objected to members of our Race swimming. The danger signal north of beach indicates spot where Haldane, beach superintendent, ordered bathers to use in order to separate them from the whites. The depth of the lake at this spot is unknown, and swimming there is prohibited by a rule of the South Park commissioners, who have control of the beach. Haldane, whose salary is paid by city taxpayers, took the authority to segregate members of our Race, his action almost terminating in a race riot. Citizens of both races are seeking to have him removed, fearing a continuation of his services at this beach will throw the entire city into a racial conflict. He is said to be a Southerner. The 39th street beach is for the use of Chicagoans, and is not "reserved" for any special race, as announced by the white daily papers.

## DELAYING JUSTICE

Chicago Defender 6/11/21

WHAT ABOUT the batch of alleged bombers that the Chicago police rounded up recently? We were promised some startling disclosures of the higher-ups who paid these puppets to wreck and kill. Some few days have rolled by and still silence reigns. Perhaps the sleuths are working under cover and when things get dull in the newspaper field they will again rush into print. Perhaps the men now held have a pull strong enough to free them, even though the evidence is strong and damaging against them.

EXPERIENCE has taught us that this latter "perhaps" is usually the right dope. The menace to society from indiscriminate discharge of habitual law breakers cannot be estimated. A large proportion of prisoners who are granted clemency use their regained freedom to re-embark upon their career of crime. It should be the policy of the powers that be to halt too frequent an application of the pardoning power or the dismissal through political pulls, threats or graft. It is the boast of many lawbreakers that no judge or jury dare convict them for fear the "gang" will get them. And, judging by the light of past events, they are right.

ONE OF THE PRISONERS is said to have confessed that he knew the men who did the bombing of our homes in Kenwood and Hyde Park. Why not force him to tell their names? They have found a way to secure confessions from those who committed other crimes. It seemed a good joke when the bombers confined their activities to wrecking our homes, but it is not so much of a joke now that the practice has become universal and homes, factories, stores and meeting places of the whites are bombed almost any time for causes real or imaginary.

THERE IS ONLY one way to deal with a man so low and debased that the taking of innocent human lives means nothing to him, and that is to give him the death penalty. This course eliminates the possibility of a pull getting him out to again prey upon society. If these cases in hand are not sifted to the bottom and justice meted out without fear of the consequences, we who have been sufferers from this method of lawlessness will feel that there is no justice in the city we call home for the man with a dark skin. And by our votes we will let our indignation be known.

## MOB DRIVES NEGROES FROM ILLINOIS TOWN

Chicago Tribune 8/7/21

Dixon, Ill., August 6.—A number of negroes were driven out of town last night by a band of several hundred men from Dixon and Polo, former home of William Coffey, world war veteran, who was shot to death in a negro resort east of town Monday night. Demonstrations were staged by the crowd in front of a negro tenement here and later small bands of men fired a negro resort on the outskirts of the town. Three negroes have been held to the grand jury in connection with the slaying of Coffey.

Riots – 1921.

Illinois

WORLD
AUGUST 7, 1921

## NEGROES FORCED TO FLEE.

**Illinois Whites Drive Them From Dixon Following Killing.**

DIXON, Ill., Aug. 6.—A number of negroes were driven out of town last night by a band of several hundred men from Dixon and Polo, former home of William Coffey, world war veteran, who was shot to death in a negro resort Monday night.

Demonstrations were staged in front of negro tenements here and later a small band of men fired a negro resort on the outskirts.

# RIOT VICTIM SUES CITY FOR LOSS OF SIGHT

Chicago Tribune Ill.
10/29/21

Trial of damage suits against the city growing out of the race riots of 1919 was resumed Tuesday.

Two of the first cases to be heard were the suit of Mrs. Carrie Lovett, 2032 Dearborn street, and James Grimes, 4145 Langley avenue.

Grimes is suing the city for the loss of his eyesight. He was shot in the head during one of the fights. Subsequently he became totally blind as a result of his wounds.

Mrs. Carrie Lovett is suing the city under the statute for the death of her husband, who was killed. Lovett's body was riddled with fifteen bullets in a fight on Lytle street, West Side.

Attorney A. L. Williams is in charge of the prosecution.

# *City Must Pay Victims of Rioters*

Chicago Defender
1/5/21

The City of Chicago is being forced to pay for injuries to property and person which resulted from the activities of the mob during the riots in 1919. Already, three victims have been given, in the aggregate, more than $10,000.

The cases tried in Chicago have attracted national attention. To gain a jury's verdict in such a case was regarded as the formation of a foundation for a precedent in civil law. A short while after the riots here, when it was noised about that the victims of the riot might seek legal redress, it was published in the daily papers that, although in exceptional cases the city might be held liable for damages to property, it could not be held accountable for personal injury and death.

Augustus L. Williams, attorney, declared that the city was responsible in either case. He filed suits for 21 persons.

In May of this year the case of the widow of Henry Dozier, killed in the riot, was tried before Judge Windes in the Circuit Court. A judgment of $2.300 was obtained for the widow.

Armed with this precedent, other cases were prepared for trial. That of Joseph Lovings, killed on the West Side, was brought into court. All the witnesses in the trial were white. These men all testified without fear or favor and gave in detail an account of the mob's activities. The city's motion to have the court direct a verdict against the plaintiff was overruled and the jury after several hours' consultation rendered a compromise verdict in the sum of $3,500. That was Oct. 26.

While the jury was out another case was called to trial, that of James G. Grimes against the City of Chicago. Mr. Grimes lost his sight as a result of manhandling on the part of the mob. With two adverse decisions the city retained five lawyers for the defense with a change in attorneys for the argument. Custom was shattered again, however, and the jury, after only five minutes' deliberation, awarded the plaintiff damages in the sum of $5,000.

# RIOT LEADERS TO BE HANGED

CHICAGO ILL JOURNAL
JANUARY 14, 1921

Grover C. Redding and Oscar McGavick, negro fanatics and leaders in the "Back to Abyssinia" movement here last spring, were found guilty of murder and sentenced to death on the gallows by a jury before Judge Kersten.

### Sailor Slain Protecting Flag

Robert L. Rose, a Great Lakes sailor who resented the burning of the American flag by paraders under the command of Redding and McGavick, was slain by them on June 20, the jury found. The death panalty voted is the first since State's Attorney Crowe took office.

Five other negroes, codefendants with the convicted men, were acquitted. Assistant State's Attorneys Lyons and Daniels prosecuted the case.

Last spring Redding assumed the title of "emperor," and McGavick that of "governor," of the "Empire of Abyssinia." Word was spread throughout the negro population here of the land of promise, a country peopled and ruled by the colored race where homes and lands were free, opportunities and high offices open and many and where race prejudice and distinction should be unknown.

### Marched in Picturesque Robes

A parade was arranged for the afternoon of June 20. In picturesque robes, the negroes proceeded to Thirty-fifth street and Indiana avenue. There an American flag was produced, saturated in oil and burned as an expression of disapproval of the way colored people are treated here. The Abyssinian flag was raised in its stead.

A colored police officer was wounded when he interfered. Then the sailor jumped into the melee to rescue the flag he had sworn to uphold. He was shot down. Rioting followed, but was quickly quelled by 1,200 police thrown into the district.

"Hang me now, so I can join the queen of Sheba, by mother!" shouted Redding when the verdict was read. He has been feigning insanity since the start of the trial.

# CHICAGO CITY ASKED TO RECOMPENSE THE VICTIMS OF 1919 RIOT

St. Louis Argus
Mo.
12/2/21

**Many Are Destitute And Without Funds To Substantiate Their Claims**

CHICAGO, Ill., Nov. 30.—A. L. Williams, attorney for twenty-one cases of riot victims who suffered from the riot of 1919 at Chicago has filed affidavit to the effect that many of the victims of the riot are destitute and without funds sufficient to substantiate their claims against the city for injuries reserved and for the loss of life and property during the riot.

Following the precedents set by the cities of East St. Louis, Illinois and Frankfort, Illinois, in the cases of victims of riots in those two places Alderman Frick introduced a resolution sending the Chicago cases directly to the Finance Committee. Alderman J. H. Lyle delvered an address of support of the resoluton and recommended that the city recompense the colored victims of the riot without delay for the losses in life and property which they sustained from the riot.

The total sums sued for by all of these twenty-one cases, $5,000.00 each, is $105,000.00. In three cases previously tried riot victims have been awarded damages in sums ranging from $2,300.00 to $5,000.00.

It is probable that as a result of the support which has been given the resolution introduced by Alderman Frick that the Finance Committee will vote the total sum called for by the riot sufferers.

The following is a partial list of damage claimants and the courts in which their cases are pending at this time:

### List Of Claimants

The following is a partial list of the claimants, each in the sum of five thousand dollars: Cornelia Baker, widow; Lewis C. Henry and wife, son and wife; Ada Banks, mother; Josephine Dozier, widow; Gertrude Crawford, widow; Lillian Bass, widow; Lila Williams, widow; Mary Sanford, widow; Robert Taylor, minor son; Attress and Hattie Lee, dependent brother and sister; Ollie Harris, widow and one child, and Celia Robinson, widow and six children: Julia Jackson, widow; Augusta Taylor, widow; Pearl Mills, widow.

All of the above cases are for the loss of relatives or husbands killed by mob violence and there are many others for personal injuries sustained by mob violence in varying degrees.

# CITY GIVES UP, SICK OF LOSING RIOT SUITS

Chicago Trib 12/3/21

The first three of twenty-one suits against the city arising out of damages sustained during the race riots have been won, and according to Alderman Henry L. Fick, these three have been enough to demonstrate that the law is clear on the point of damages suffered during race riots or other disturbance.

With a view to saving the city the cost of further suits, he has introduced in council a resolution directing the law department and the finance committee to arrange a settlement with the other plaintiffs.

The three cases which have been tried have resulted in verdicts against the city ranging from $3000 to $5000.

All the plaintiffs were represented by Attorney A. L. Williams.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots — 1921.

Illinois (East St. Louis)

# EAST ST. LOUIS PAYS $454,000 RIOT DAMAGES

Chicago Whip 7/16/21

**Victims Of 1917 Outburst Get Proceeds Of Municipal Bond Issue.**

EAST ST. LOUIS, Ill., July 16.—East Louis brought to an official close her race riots of July 1, 1917, last Monday, when $454,000 was paid as damages to those who suffered during the days and nights of violence.

The office of the city treasurer was opened promptly at 9 o'clock and those holding validated claims lined up to receive their money. Holders of validated claims were paid in full. Scores of minor claimants who failed to succeed in getting their claims validated received no compensation for alleged losses.

$450,000 of the money paid to riot victims was obtained by the city from the sale of a bond issue recently voted for the settlement of the judgments.

Dr. Leroy Bundy is the one outstanding figure of the East St. Louis riots who is most keenly remembered. As a result of his attempts to organize the residents of the stricken district for self-defense, Dr. Bundy was arrested and tried for inciting rioting. He was convicted and sentenced to prison. His attorneys succeeding in obtaining a reversal for him after he had served several months in jail.

He is now at liberty, practicing dentistry in Cleveland, Ohio, awaiting new

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Ohio

Riots — 1921.

N. Y. C. POST
MARCH 12, 1921

# Springfield Quiet; Troops Ready to Suppress Riots

## Machine Guns Mounted to Quell Any Further Disorders

## No More Trouble Seems Imminent —Only Two Known Wounded in Shooting

SPRINGFIELD, O., March 12.—Springfield was quiet this morning, following a night of disorder in which Patrolman Joseph Ryan and a negro were wounded in interchanges of shots between police and negroes.

Three companies of Ohio National Guardsmen, consisting of 150 officers and men, under command of Lieut. Col. H. D. Horner, were on duty today, with headquarters at the City Hall. Military law has not been declared, it having been announced that the troops would merely aid the local authorities in maintaining order.

The entire Fourth Ohio Infantry (900 officers and men) was mobilized to-day in anticipation of further rioting here, but Col. Horner said he did not think it necessary to call for the other units at this time.

The Fourth Regiment is composed mostly of World War veterans who fought overseas in the 166th Infantry, the Ohio regiment of the famous Rainbow Division. This is the first time a contingent of the Ohio militia has been called out for active duty since the reorganization of the Ohio National Guard.

Although the situation was quiet early to-day and no further trouble seemed imminent, both military and civil authorities said they would not relax their vigilance and are taking all precautions to avoid a recurrence to-night of the racial trouble.

### Machine Guns Mounted

Machine guns are mounted at the county jail and although the militiamen are not patrolling the streets, they are under arms and ready to answer riot calls. A truck with a machine gun mounted on it is available to make hurried trips.

The trouble, which started shortly before midnight last night with the shooting of Patrolman Ryan, after he had ordered a group of negroes to disperse, was the outgrowth of an assault last Monday night on eleven-year-old Marge Ferneau by an unknown negro, who escaped. Rumors that he had been arrested caused a crowd to gather at the county jail Wednesday night and again Thursday night, but these crowds were dispersed when it was proved the negro had not been caught. Crowds gathered again last night but had been dispersed when the shooting began.

Among the city's 60,000 population approximately one-eighth of whom are negroes, racial feeling is still strong and, although no further trouble is anticipated, authorities point out that conditions are such that anything may occur.

The National Guard companies on duty here are Company C, Fourth Ohio, from London, O., and two separate machine gun companies, with headquarters in this city. The Marysville Infantry Company is en route here.

### Third in City's History

Last night's rioting apparently came in three phases. The opening conflict between officers and negroes came when Patrolman Ryan was shot three times after he had attempted to break up a crowd of negroes at Centre and Jefferson Streets, within a block and a half of the police station. Ryan is expected to recover.

Later there was another brush, in which Shirley Shaffer, a negro, received a slight scalp wound, and later a general pitched battle, in which twenty or more shots were fired, between negroes and officers, the negroes dodging behind trees and buildings, and the officers barricading themselves behind a curbing.

Last night's racial disorders were the third in the history of Springfield.

The first took place in 1904, following the killing of Patrolman Charles Collis by Richard Dickson, a negro, who was taken from the jail and shot to death, after which his body was suspended from a telephone pole in the centre of the city. Before the rioting ceased, the notorious Levee in East Washington Street was burned.

Two years later the city was the scene of another riot, which followed the shooting of a railroad brakeman named Davis by a negro named Dean. The negro was captured, convicted, and sentenced to the penitentiary. The rioters turned their attention to burning negro houses.

### Mayor Is Fired Upon

While attempting to persuade negroes to return to their homes and desist from violence, City Manager Edgar Parsons, Mayor B. J. Westcott, and Police Prosecutor Robert Flack were fired upon but none of them was wounded.

Between twenty and thirty arrests were made during the night, including that of one negro thought to have been the assailant of Patrolman Ryan. The police, however, would not confirm his identity nor say where he had been taken. Most of the remaining prisoners were held on charges of disorderly conduct and for investigation.

Among those held was Asa Smith, white, who, police say, was found just outside the quarter where the shooting occurred with dynamite on his person.

Places of business, closed last night when large crowds gathered downtown and trouble seemed imminent, were opened for business again to-day. Mayor Westcott, however, was expected to issue an order during the day providing for the closing of all places of business at 8 P. M. Citizens also will be asked to remain at their homes to prevent congestion on the streets, it was said.

Last night's disturbances were not in the nature of mob disorders. There was no concerted attack either by whites or negroes, the shooting being isolated and entirely between blacks and authorities, who were attempting to have them return to their homes.

Large crowds were on the streets until an hour after midnight, but so far as is known none participated in the shootings.

# TROOPS MOUNT GUNS IN SPRINGFIELD, OHIO; FEAR MORE RIOTING

BROOKLYN N Y EAGLE
MARCH 12, 1921

Springfield, Ohio, March 12—Springfield was quiet this morning, following a night of disorder in which Patrolman Joseph Ryan and a negro were wounded in interchanges of shots between police and negroes.

Three companies of Ohio National Guardsmen, consisting of 150 officers and men, under command of Lt.-Col. H. D. Horner, were on duty today, with headquarters at the City Hall. The entire Fourth Ohio Infantry was mobilized today in anticipation of further rioting.

Machne guns are mounted at the county jail. A truck with a machine gun mounted on it is available to make hurried trips.

The trouble, which started shortly before midnight last night with the shooting of Patrolman Ryan, after he had ordered a group of negroes to disperse, was the outgrowth of an assault last Monday night on 11-year-old Marge Ferneau by a negro, who escaped.

The opening conflict between officers and negroes came when Patrolman Ryan was shot three times after he had attempted to break up a crowd of negroes. Ryan is expected to recover. Later there was another brush in which Shirley Shaffer, a negro, received a slight scalp wound and later a general pitched battle in which 20 or more shots were fired between negroes and officers, the negroes dodging behind trees and buildings and the officers barricading themselves behind a curbing.

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# Machine Guns Placed to Sweep Streets—Blacks Flee in All Sorts of Convevances.

N. Y. C. SUN
MARCH 12, 1921

*Special Despatch to* THE SUN

SPRINGFIELD, Ohio, March 12.—Troopers of the Ohio State Guard stationed at loaded machine guns were in control here to-day as the result of a race riot which started shortly before midnight and grew to such threatening proportions that the city was ordered under martial law. Bitter clashes between whites and negroes, and incendiarism, marked a night of disorders which broke out when a policeman was shot down by a negro. Five negroes were said to have been shot.

Unconfirmed later reports to the police said that fourteen negroes were shot in a gun battle between whites and negroes in the Yellow Springs street district. Many negroes are leaving the city by foot, in autos and by street cars to-day, fearing a recurrence of the riots, despite the presence of the State militia, which were rushed here from nearby towns to curb the disorders.

### Trouble Began Monday.

The wounded policeman, Patrolman Joseph Ryan, who is at the City Hospital with bullet wounds in the neck and hands, will recover, attendants at the hospital said.

Ill feeling has run high here since last Monday night, when an unknown negro assaulted Marge Ferneau, a white girl, 11 years old, and an outbreak had been inevitable. The girl is at the City Hospital, where it is said that she is improving. The climax came last night when a report gained circulation on the principal streets that the city authorities had captured a negro suspected of having been the one who shot Ryan.

Hundreds of men and boys immediately gathered in the centre of the city and at the command of some self-appointed leader, made a rush for the jail. The crowd, however, was soon cleared from the space around the jail by the report that the negro had been spirited out of town. A few blocks away, at Yellow Springs and Pleasant streets, a mob of negroes gathered and agitators stirred them to fever pitch. When officers started to disperse them there was a pitched battle.

### Pot Fixing in the Dark.

Both the negroes and the police took positions behind trees and buildings, pot firing at each other in the dark and with the scant aid of a few scattered street lights. Within a short time one negro was in a hospital with a bullet wound. The others who were reported shot are believed to have taken refuge in nearby negro quarters.

This was the second serious disturbance ofthe night. The first came when Ryan was shot while dispersing negroes who had congregated at Centre and Jefferson streets in the downtown district near the negro Y. M. C. A. While he was searching a negro for firearms the man pulled out a pistol and fired. Ryan fell wounded. The negro disappeared in the mob. The shooting caused great excitement and renewed disorders, which have been occurring nightly since the assault on the young girl.

After the shooting of Ryan every available policeman was rushed to the negro district, where series of pistol shots were heard frequently. Reports of a pitched battle between a white mob and negroes and the shooting of four more whites and negroes could not be verified.

### Mayor Has Narrow Escape.

Mayor B. J. Westcott and City Manager Edgar E. Parsons took an auto and rushed to the scene of the firing. They had a narrow escape from being injured by flying bullets.

At 1:30 o'clock this morning the firing had ceased and the city was comparatively quiet. Large crowds of whites which had milled around in the streets earlier in the night had thinned out and in some sections of the town had disbanded entirely.

State officials were appealed to any they ordered out the Fourth Regiment of the State troops and units were rushed here by railroad, trolley cars and auto trucks. City Manager Parsons in his appeal to the Adjutant General for troops said the situation threatened to break out of the control of the city authorities. The first units arrived here from London at 1:40 o'clock. In the meantime, two machine gun companies stationed in Springfield patrolled the streets, placing their guns so they would sweep the streets and preparing to fire to break up any serious clashes between opposing mobs.

One of the local National Guard companies with a machine gun mounted on a motorcycle went to the Euclid avenue district where it was reported a band of negroes had formed and were marching into the city. News of the approach of the troops reached the negro section and when the troopers arrived they found the mob had scattered.

The Marysville company of State guard had arrived here early this morning. This is the third time in twenty-five years that Springfield has experienced rioting and had to call in this company to assist in restoring order.

Col. H. B. Horner, representative of State Adjutant-Gen. Florence, arrived before midnight and directed the movement of the troops from nearby cities to Springfield. He said that he would call out the entire Fourth Regiment if it became necessary to have additional troops to maintain order. One of the first steps toward putting down the intense feeling was taken by City Manager Parsons, who last night ordered all poolrooms and sofe drink bars closed.

Mayor Westcott ordered this morning that all business houses in Springfield remain closed until 5 o'clock this evening. He also issued a proclamation asking all citizens to assist in maintaining order.

The police arrested a white man when the rioting was at high pitch. His name was not divulged. It was said that he was caught in the act of scattering dynamite just outside the negro section. He said he was going to use the exolosive to blow up stumps.

In the night threats were made that houses would be burned. Everett Larie, a white man, shortly before midnight found

(over)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

(From Over)

the rear porch of his home at 719 Orchard street aflame. It had been fired with coal oil. The blaze, however, was put out before it caused serious damage. The Fire Department had four calls within a short time, three of them being false alarms.

Additional steps are being taken today to preserve order. Besides the policemen and Sheriff David Jones's deputies there are on duty city firemen, members of the American Legion and Wittenberg College students, who have been sworn in as special deputies. The troopers, fully armed, are patrolling the principal streets and the negro sections.

Springfield is a city of 60,000 inhabitants and approximately one-fourth are negroes.

Patrolman Ryan is being hailed as the hero of the turbulent night. He worked untiringly before he was wounded, and when he had been taken to the hospital he said:

"Don't tell my wife I'm shot. Tell her I'm just busy on the street." He has several children, one of whom is only a few weeks old.

Dr. A. F. Potter, who examined Ryan said his wounds were not serious.

N Y C EVE WORLD
MARCH 12, 1921

# MACHINE GUNS STOP RACE RIOTS AT SPRINGFIELD, O.

## Three Companies of Militia Guard Streets and Fourth Infantry Is Mobilized.

SPRINGFIELD, O., March 12.—Machine guns are mounted at the county jail, following a night of disorder due to race rioting, and a truck loaded with a machine gun is available for hurried trips. Three companies of Ohio National Guardsmen, consisting of 150 officers and men under command of Lieut. Col. H. D. Horner, are on duty to-day with headquarters at the City Hall. Military law has not been declared, it having been announced that the troops would merely aid the local authorities in maintaining order.

The entire 4th Ohio Infantry, composed mostly of overseas men, is mobilized in anticipation of further rioting here, but Col. Horner said he did not think it necessary to call for the other units at this time.

Although the situation was quiet early to-day and no further trouble seemed imminent, both military and civil authorities said they would not relax their vigilance and are taking all precautions to avoid a recurrence to-night of the racial trouble.

The trouble was the outgrowth of an attack last Monday night on eleven-year-old Marge Ferneau by an unidentified negro who escaped. Rumors that he had been arrested caused a crowd to gather at the County Jail Wednesday night and again Thursday night, but these crowds were dispersed when it was proven the negro had not been caught. Crowds gathered again last night, but had been dispersed when the shooting began.

Among the city's 60,000 population, approximately one-eighth of whom are negroes, racial feeling is still strong.

Last night's rioting apparently came in three phases. The opening conflict between officers and negroes came when Patrolman Ryan was shot three times after he had attempted to break up a crowd of negroes at Centre and Jefferson Streets, within a block and a half of the police station. Ryan is expected to recover.

Later there was another brush in which Shirley Shaffer, a negro, received a slight scalp wound, and later a general pitched battle in which twenty or more shots were fired between negroes and police. The negroes dodging behind trees and buildings and the police barricading themselves behind a curbing.

Between twenty and thirty arrests were made during the night, including that of one negro thought to have been the assailant of Patrolman Ryan.

Places of business, closed last night, were opened again to-day. Mayor Westcott was expected to issue an order providing for the closing of all places of business at 8 P. M.

Last night's racial disorders were the third in the history of Springfield.

N. Y. C. JOURNAL
MARCH 12, 1921

## Springfield Policeman and Dozen Negroes Wounded. Militia Quells Fighting.

**By International News Service.**

SPRINGFIELD, O., March 12.—Policeman Joseph Ryan and a dozen negroes were shot during a night of race rioting that was quelled by the State militia this morning.

Race feeling has been high since the assault on an eleven-year-old white girl by a negro Monday night. Police have been watching the situation with care, but it was not until 1 o'clock this morning that street fighting commenced.

Ryan was shot three times by a negro who was being searched for firearms. Race disorders followed in the Yellow Springs street negro district. Ryan is expected to recover. Every available officers was at once detailed to service in the district.

Shots are said to have been exchanged between officers and negroes who stood behind trees and buildings, firing in the dark and making use of nearby street lights. It was reported that about fourteen negroes were hit.

**Dynamite Scattered Among Negroes.**

Caught scattering dynamite near the negro section, a white man was arrested.

Before the police broke up a crowd of white men and boys in the down-town section, the crowd had threatened to storm the jail and City Hall.

Soon after the trouble started Mayor Westcott ordered pool rooms and soft drinks places closed, directed citizens not to carry firearms and decreed that all business houses remain closed until five o'clock this evening.

In an effort to get out of harm's way many negroes climbed trees, while others, it is said, left the city by interurban lines, automobiles and on foot.

The machine gun companies have mounted machine guns around the county jail.

Every precaution is being taken to prevent the large Saturday afternoon and night crowds from causing more trouble.

Guard companies from London and Marysville were the first to arrive. Other companies came in later and still more are on the way.

# MACHINE GUNS HALT RIOTERS' JAIL ATTACK

## Military Control Ordered to Quell Disorders in Springfield, Ohio—Negroes Fire on Mayor.

N. Y. C. TELEGRAM
MARCH 12, 1921

SPRINGFIELD, Ohio, Saturday.—After a hectic night marked by continuous clashes between white and negro mobs, in which at least twenty persons were wounded, Springfild is outwardly calm today, with the Fourth Regiment, Ohio National Guard, patrolling the streets with fixed bayonets and machine gun squads stationed at strategic points.

The disorders, which started at midnight, followed minor racial differences lasting two days resulting from an assault last Monday night by an unidentified negro on an eleven-year-old white girl. The immediate cause of the riot was the shooting of Policeman Joseph Ryan by an unidentified negro, whom he had stopped to search for firearms. Ryan, while seriously injured, is expected to live.

Following the Ryan shooting every available policeman and deputy sheriff was rushed to the negro district, where many shots were heard. A pitched battle was being waged between whites and negroes in Yellow Springs street. The mob was broken up.

Everett Larie, white, found the rear porch of his home, No. 719 Orchard street, in flames at the height of the uproar and the roar of the fire engines was added to the general din.

**Negroes Fire at Mayor.**

The police arrested a white man in the act of scattering dynamite just outside the negro section.

Mayor Westcott and City Manager Parsons, who accompanied police reserves to Yellow Springs street, were fired upon by negroes, but were not struck. Immediately the Mayor called for State aid and issued orders for all business houses inSpringfield to remain closed until five o'clock today. Pool rooms and drinking saloons were ordered closed when the first crowds started to form and citizens were ordered not to carry firearms.

During the battles many negroes took shelter by climbing trees and hundreds are reported to have left the city on foot, in automobiles and by traction.

At eight o'clock the police said they believe the arrival of the troops would halt the rioting and explained that the troops were necessary because of the crowds coming into town from the countryside on Saturday.

**Fourteen Shot in First Clash.**

Policeman Ryan was shot at a few minutes after midnight and as the news circulated throughout the town, groups of angry men formed on the corners. As their numbers increased the police became alarmed and an attempt was made to break up the gatherings and to clear the streets. While reserves were working to this end the fighting in the negro district started. To add to the confusion a report was circulated that bands of negroes from the countryside had formed and were marching on the city. Within an hour practically every able bodied man was in the streets intent on revenge.

Following the first clash in the negro district in which negroes and whites fired on each other from points of vantage, behind walls and trees and from house windows, fourteen wounded negroes were found. The number of white men injured was impossible to determine.

**Fear More Riots.**

The first group of troops to arrive were members of the local machine gun company, who mounted their guns on motorcycles and went into the Euclid avenue district. From that time on the streets were cleared gradually, although there were outbreaks everywhere for more than two hours following. Guardsmen from neighboring cities were rushed into Springfield by railway, traction and automobiles and ordered to patrol duty. Military control was ordered and all persons sent home.

The Clark County Jail was the object of a series of assaults, which were halted only after machine guns had been mounted on the steps and on points of vantage on the walls. There are numbers of negroes in prison, and it is believed it was the intention of the assailing parties to lynch the convicts.

Grave fears are expressed that the men of the countryside will attempt to renew the rioting today in spite of the presence of the troops.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

# Outbreak Checked by Hasty Action

## Machine Gun Cools Desire of Rowdies to Stage Bloody Battles

Chicago Defender 3/19/21

Springfield, Ohio, March 18.—In anticipation of further rioting here, following the outbreak Saturday night, three companies of Ohio national guardsmen, consisting of 150 officers and men, were on duty today with headquarters at the city hall. The troops have been stationed here merely to aid the local authorities to maintain order, it not being necessary to establish martial law. Although no further trouble seems imminent, both military and civil authorities are taking all precautions to avoid a recurrence of the disorder, and guardsmen on foot, in army trucks and pleasure cars furnished them by citizens, are patrolling the streets.

### Shooting Starts Trouble

The trouble, which resulted in the shooting of three men, two of whom were white policemen, started shortly before midnight Saturday when Patrolman Ryan tried to use force in dispersing a group of Race men at Center and Jefferson streets. Ryan was shot and seriously wounded by one of the crowd, who escaped. Rumors that he had been arrested caused a crowd to gather at the county jail Wednesday night and again Thursday night. A report, which was later proven to be false, that a white girl had been attacked, added fuel to the flames of racial hatred which had become prevalent.

### Pitched Battles Follow

Crowds of frenzied men of both races then began to gather in all sections of the city. A general pitched battle in the southern part of the city then followed, during which 20 or more shots were fired between policemen and Race men. Trees and buildings were used as barricades. Later there was another brush, in which Shirley Shaffner was slightly wounded.

Places of business were closed down earlier in the week when large crowds gathered downtown and trouble seemed imminent. Between 20 and 30 arrests have been made, including that of a man who was thought to have been the assailant of Patrolman Ryan. Police, however, would not confirm his identity nor say where he had been taken. Most of the remaining prisoners were held on charges of disorderly conduct.

### Racial Feeling Strong

The disturbances Saturday night were not in the nature of mob disorders. There was no concerted attack by either race, the shootings being isolated and principally between officers and members of the Race who resented the brutality of the authorities in their attempt to get them to return to their homes.

Among the city's 60,000 population, approximately one-eighth of whom are members of the Race, racial feeling is still strong, and although no further troubles are anticipated, authorities point out that conditions are such that anything may occur.

Mayor Westcott is expected to issue an order at some time this week providing for the closing of all business places at 8 o'clock. Citizens also will be asked to remain in their homes to prevent further congestion on the streets. Poolrooms and other places where crowds form are likely to be closed until peace has been established. Saturday night5s racial disorders were the third in the history of Springfield.

# DAILY PAPERS EXAGGERATE OHIO "RIOT"

Whip 3/19/21

## One Man And One Policeman Slightly Injured As Cops Terrorize Ohio City.

Springfield, O., March 16.—After the excitement spread throughout the country by extravagant reports of race rioting here Friday night, giving reports of wounded as amounting to eighteen, has died away, it may be authoritatively said that two people were wounded in the "rioting" which took place.

The wounded are Shirley Shaffer, who received a slight scalp wound, and Policeman Joseph Ryan (white), who was wounded by James White, age 15. White was captured by a posse several miles north of Springfield, and pleaded guilty to the act in the Juvenile Court.

Policeman Ryan is said to have been shot while attempting to disperse groups of citizens peacefully standing around in the streets.

Feelings have been high among the whites since Margaret Ferneau, a young white girl is alleged to have been attacked by some unknown individual.

After the shooting of Policeman Ryan, at Center and Jefferson Sts., scores of policemen rushed into the neighborhood. Considerable sniping then took place, in which Shaffer was wounded.

### Catch White Man With Dynamite

Policemen arrested Asa Smith, white, whom they charge with placing dynamite around homes in the vicinity of the trouble. During the days following the trouble, business houses closed, and more fighting seemed imminent, but the presence of three companies of Ohio National Guardsmen quieted the situation.

Ohio

# POLITICS AT BOTTOM OF SPRINGFIELD RACE RIOTS

## Old Cry Raised By Police—Denied By The Best Citizens

## EVERYTHING QUIETED IN FEW DAYS

Wilmington Advocate 3/19/21

(By the Associated Negro Press.)

Springfield, Ohio, March 16.—The attempt of a drunken policeman to maltreat a Negro who did not get out of his way quick enough, when ordered to step off the sidewalk by the officer, caused the death of the policeman and about eighteen other black and white citizens last Friday night. Rioting continued through the night but quiet was restored in the early morning hours after the militia had been called to the scenes of strife and the streets fortified with machine guns.

It was in the early evening time when the fighting began. No one seems to have a clear idea of how the trouble started. It was confined wholly in the Negro district, where it began, and is believed to have had its origin in a series of minor clashes that have occurred between police officers and alleged rowdy Negroes during the past few weeks. The killing of the policeman was the culmination of these smaller fights.

Before the Friday night clash had continued far large crowds of whites joined the officers called to the Negro district to quell the rioting. The Negroes, regarding the invasion of the district as an effort to punish them for the results of the riots of two years ago, resisted arrests and calmly engaged the police and their allies in the sanguinary street battle which lasted through the entire night.

Several attempts to dynamite homes of the Negroes were frustrated by them. One white man discovered in the act of placing a bomb near the residence of a Negro was roughly handled but was rescued by the police after a desperate battle in the course of which several combatants were severely wounded and as many more killed.

The police department declares that the origin of the trouble is to be traced to an atttempted rape on a young white girl by a Negro several days ago. This is stoutly denied by Negro citizens of all classes who declare that the police have been assiduously seeking to create trouble in the Negro district for political reasons.

There has been no serious recurrence of the rioting since order was restored by the National Guard last Saturday morning. The public resorts ordered closed by Mayor Wescott are, in the majority of cases, still shut. There is no general fear that the rioting will be resumed.

# ALABAMA PAPER, SHORT OF COPY INVENTS STORY

The Chicago Whip 5-28-21

WASHINGTON, D. C., May 28.—Careful check of a story appearing in The Birmingham (Ala.) Age-Herald, Thursday, May 19, results in the discovery that the story is absolutely without foundation, and was evidently fabricated in its entirety in the Birmingham office.

The story, which purports to come from Washington, D. C., is as follows:

### NEGROES ARRIVING IN NORTH CAUSES CALL FOR RIFLES

WASHINGTON, May 18.—(Special.)—Cincinnati policemen, noting the arrival of innumerable negroes from southern states, and fearing trouble, have appealed through Representative Nicholas Longworth to the war department for rifles.

The appeal carried with it a petition for bayonets, also, because of the belief that bayonets have a psyohological effect in overawing the colored men. Representative Longworth conveyed the petition of the Cincinnati constabulary to the war department.

It is understood that the war department, in making answer, took the position that the army rifle was too destructive, on account of its carrying power, for use within city limits, but advised the use of machine guns which it offered Cincinnati for $250 each.

There is and has been no trouble in Cincinnati between the races. It is evident, however, that the constabulary is preparing a warm welcome for the southern negro when he spreads his wing for "the land of freedom, opportunity and equality."

Representative Longworth is a son- -law to the late Theodore Ro velt. He is a tentative r late for the Senate. There 000 negro oters in Ohio.

# DETECTIVES ARREST GIRL ON FAKE OUTCRY CHARGE

Defender 6/11/21

Columbus, Ohio, June 10.—Miss Irene Simms, a young white woman living in the university residential district, was held in the city prison recently on a charge of having made a false report to the police.

Two weeks ago she reported two "Negro thugs" entered her home, bound and gagged her and struck her over the head.

Admitting the report to be false, Miss Simms confessed to detectives she had told the story because she wanted her mother to make a "fuss over her" and give her more attention than a sister was receiving.

Miss Simms had pulled out bureau and sideboard drawers, littered the house with papers and articles, put her rings in her mouth, tied a cloth around her face and planned the entire episode, police said.

# STREET RAILWAY OFFICIALS BEATEN BY OHIO MOB

Atlanta Constitution 8/1/21

Bridgeport, Ohio, July 31.—C. P. Billings, manager of the Wheeling Traction company, and his assistant, Charles Marsh, left here early today after a crowd has dispersed which gathered around the jail in which they were confined last night on a charge of inciting to riot. The two men had been beaten last night by a crowd, and, after giving bail had feared to leave the jail until the crowd dispersed.

The attack of the two men here followed the report last night of the arrest of a score of bus drivers at Wheeling, W. Va., operating between the Ohio and West Virginia river points, by special constables on a charge of violating certain sections of the West Virginia state road law.

A controversy between traction officials and operators of the bus lines seems to have come to a head with the arrest of the bus drivers throughout the district. Crowds collected on the car tracks of the Wheeling Traction company at Martin's Ferry, Ohio, and at Wheeling last night, blocking traffic. The mob at Wheeling was dispersed only after riot squads of the police had been sent to the scene, when regular police threatened to arrest the special constables for blocking traffic. The constables had taken the bus drivers in tow, leaving the machines on the streets. Tracks were greased in the vicinity of Martin's Ferry and traffic tied up there. At midnight last night the cars of the traction company were ordered withdrawn from the Ohio side of the river.

The appearance of Billings and Marsh here has not been explained, and it was with some difficulty that their bonds were obtained. The former was held under $300 bond, and the latter under $100 bond, according to police at Bridgeport. They left in the direction of Wheeling in an automobile, after the crowd about the jail dispersed peaceably, the police said.

# RACE RIOT IN CANTON, O.

## TWO DEATHS RESULTS

Baltimore Afro

**Trouble Began Over Right Of Way On Sidewalks**

9742 1

Canton, Ohio, Sept. 5.—Two men are dead, four are in a local hospital and two are in jail following a race riot here last night between Italians and Neroes in the "Jungles" district. Revolvers and knives were the weapons. "Jock" Lowe, Negro, and

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Tony Santellia, Italian, are the fatalities.

Of the casualties in the hospital three are Negroes and one Italian.

The trouble started when an Italian and a Negro argued over the right of way of the sidewalk. A fight followed and the race riot grew. A patrol load of police were rushed to the scene and the policemen were forced to draw their guns to quell the mob.

A squad of police was kept on guard in the district all night to prevent another outbreak.

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Riots — 1921.

Ohio

# OHIO CITY QUIET AFTER RACE RIOT

## Business Closed and Traffic Stopped After Dark—Militia on Guard.

N Y C CALL
MARCH 13, 1921

SPRINGFIELD, Ohio, March 13.—Following the race riots, which broke out last night and which resulted in the mobilization of state troops, city and special police and deputy sheriffs in this city, all places of business were closed up after 6 o'clock this evening.

After 7 o'clock tonight no street cars were permitted to operate and automobiles were kept off the street, following an order by Col. Robert Haubrich, in charge of the troops. Auto trucks, each carrying from five to 25 soldiers armed with side-arms and rifles, and provided with a machine gun, patrolled the streets all night.

Earlier in the day it was reported that James White, Negro, who is charged with having shot and wounded Policeman John Ryan last night, had been arrested on a farm three miles north of here, following a gun battle. Both Ryan and Shirley Shafer, who was shot through the thigh by policemen, are in the hospital. Thirty men were in the county jail today to answer various charges in connection with the rioting. They were rounded up last night by police and deputy sheriffs.

The outbreak last night came as a result of ill feeling that began Monday night when an unidentified negro is said to have attacked a white girl. Wild rumors flew about the city that negroes and whites were massing forces in Cliff Park preceding the clash.

**Ryan Wounded.**

Patrolman Ryan, one of the wounded men, was shot through the neck and right hand by a negro said to be White, whom he had attempted to disarm. Ryan's assailant escaped, but was captured today, it is said. Shafer was shot in an exchange of fire between a crowd of negroes and policemen. The 30 men arrested were rounded up when policemen and soldiers met resistance in dispersing crowds of negroes and whites at different hours throughout the night.

Today Col. H. C. Horner, assistant adjutant general, issued an appeal for order. He asked Springfield citizens to stay at home if business did not require them out in the open.

Col. Horner said the city would not be placed under martial law unless the situation grew more serious, explaining that so far the troops are here "merely to give aid to the civil authorities in preserving order and protecting property."

**Bitter Feeling Noticeable.**

Bitter feeling has been noticeable in all parts of the city since Monday night when a Negro is said to have attacked Marge Ferneau, 11 years old, and increased when police search of the city failed to disclose the perpetrator of the crime. Early last evening Patrolman Ryan attempted to disarm a Negro and was shot.

A few blocks away, at Yellow Springs and Pleasant street, Negroes, alarmed at the demonstration at the jail, hastily gathered and under the leadership of eager agitators quickly became a fevered mob. A squad of policemen answered a riot call sent to headquarters and a clash resulted. Both the Negroes and policemen took positions behind trees and buildings, pot firing at each other in the dark, with the scant aid of a few scattered street lights. Several Negroes are reported to have been shot and to have been cared for in nearby Negro quarters.

# SPRINGFIELD QUIET AFTER RACE RIOTS

## Sheriff Orders Citizens to Stay at Home, and Stops Traffic.

NEW YORK CITY TIMES
FEBRUARY 13, 1921

## MILITIA PATROL STREETS

### Negro Who Shot Ohio Policeman Gets Quick Trial—Machine Guns Guard Jail.

SPRINGFIELD, Ohio, March 12.—After a day of preparation Springfield officials tonight announced that they were ready to cope with any situation that might arise following the racial disturbances which last night resulted in the wounding of a policeman and a negro, and which have kept the city in a turmoil since last Monday, when an unknown negro assaulted Marge Ferneau, 11 years old.

Sheriff David Jones, placed in complete charge of the situation, and with eight companies of National Guardsmen as his aide, tonight had barred all traffic from city streets, suspended street car service, closed stores, theatres and all public gathering places, and ordered all citizens to remain in their homes after 6 P. M.

To enforce these orders, guardsmen patrolled the streets on foot, in army trucks with machine guns poking threatening muzzles over their sides, and in pleasure cars furnished by citizens.

Another precautionary measure was the expeditious bringing to justice of James White, a 17-year-old negro and confessed assailant of Patrolman Joseph Ryan, whom he shot three times last night in the opening phase of the disorder. Captured just before noon today by a posse of farmers, following a running pistol battle, White was brought to this city, taken before Judge Geiger in the Juvenile Court and hustled away in a speedy automobile to the Mansfield Reformatory, following his plea of guilty to carrying concealed weapons and shooting with intent to kill. The whole procedure was accomplished before it became generally known that White had been captured.

**Mayor and City Manager Fired On.**

While attempting to persuade negroes to return to their homes and desist from violence, City Manager Edgar Parsons, Mayor B. J. Westcott and Police Prosecutor Robert Flack were fired upon last night, but none of them was wounded.

Today passed quietly with no untoward incidents. Chief interest was aroused by military preparations and the arrest of White, but at no time was there anything but transquillity. People gathered on the streets, discussing the incidents of last night and speculating on the possibility of a recurrence of the clashes between officials and negroes, or possible disturbances of a more serious nature. Many officials admitted during the day that they were apprehensive of further outbreaks but the arrival of four additional guard companies from Columbus late in the afternoon seemed to lend encouragement. The situation, however, was admitted to have many and serious possibilities.

Adjutant General George Florence, who spent the early part of the day here conferring with city officials as to plans for maintaining order, returned to Columbus during the afternoon and left Colonel Robert Haubrich in charge of the military forces.

Police Chief O'Brien had his full force of patrolmen on duty, augmented by twenty-five specials and a detachment of city firemen. Sheriff Jones announced that he had sworn in only four special deputies. Remaining companies of the Fourth Regiment are held in readiness to entrain for Springfield if the present contingent is not sufficient. Patrolman Ryan was said to be improving at the City Hospital tonight. He will recover, it is said.

The Ferneau girl is in the City Hospital, and her chances for recovery were said tonight to be fairly good.

**Troops Guard Jail.**

Shirley Shafer, the negro who was shot during the street fighting last night, was transferred today from the hospital to the county jail, where a score or more men and boys arrested last night are held for investigation. The prisoners were being held without bail. Many of them are youths, and the authorities have not as yet placed any formal charges against them. Several are said to have had concealed weapons and others were locked up for refusing to obey the orders of the police to "move on."

The jail was constantly under guard of machine gunners and armed infantrymen, who patrolled the block surrounding it.

Springfield civic and other organizations were co-operating tonight with the city and military organizations in trying to prevent further disorders. The local posts of the American Legion, including one negro post, adopted resolutions declaring for law and order, "for obtaining justice through the orderly prosecution of crime," and condemning mob violence. Last night's racial disorders were the third in the history of Springfield. The first took place in 1904, following the killing of Patrolman Charles Collis by Richard Dickson, a negro, who was taken from the jail and shot to death, after which his body was suspended from a telephone pole in the centre of the city. Before the rioting ceased the notorious levee in East Washington Street was burned.

Two years later the city was the scene of another riot, which followed the shooting of a railroad brakeman named Davis by a negro named Dean. The negro was captured, convicted and sentenced to the penitentiary. The rioters turned their attention to burning negro houses.

# CURFEW ORDERED IN SPRINGFIELD, O.

## Militia and Police Patrol Streets, Which Were Closed to Public After Rioting.

N Y C WORLD
MARCH 13, 1921

SPRINGFIELD O., March 12.—After a day of preparation, Springfield officials to-night announced that they were ready to cope with any situation that might arise in connection with racial disturbances, which last night resulted in the wounding of a policeman and a negro, and which have kept the city in a turmoil since last Monday when an unidentified negro assaulted eleven-year-old Marge Ferneau.

Sheriff David Jones, placed in complete charge of the situation and with eight companies of National Guardsmen as his aids, to-night had barred all traffic from city streets, suspended street car service, closed stores, theatres and all public gathering places and ordered all citizens to remain in their homes after 6 P. M. As measures to enforce orders of the Sheriff, guardsmen patrolled the streets on foot, in army trucks with machine guns and in ordinary pleasure cars furnished by citizens.

**Negro Sent to Reformatory.**

Another precautionary measure taken by the authorities was the expeditious bringing to justice of James White, seventeen-year-old negro and confessed assailant of Patrolman Joseph Ryan, whom he shot three times last night in the opening phase of the disorder. Captured shortly before noon to-day by a posse of farmers following a running pistol battle, White was brought to this city, taken before Judge Geiger in Juvenile Court, and hustled away in a speedy automobile to the Mansfield Reformatory following his plea of guilty to carrying concealed weapons and shooting with intent to kill. The whole procedure was accomplished before it became generally known that White had been captured.

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**Every Policeman on Duty.**

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CHICAGO ILL JOURNAL
MARCH 14, 1921

## The Race Riot Habit

Springfield, Ohio, seems just emerging from its third race riot in less than twenty years. In view of what has happened in Chicago, this city should be slow in criticizing any community on that score, but one can not help wondering if Springfield has not acquired the race riot habit.

For two sharply distinguished races to live together peaceably without fusion is the most difficult task that civilization ever set mankind. It is a task very imperfectly performed in the greater part of the United States. Thirty years ago the race question was a southern question, and the north looked on in virtuous disapproval from afar off. Now, the problem has penetrated almost every part of the United States east of the Rocky mountains, and it does not appear as though the north were much wiser on the matter than the folk south of Mason-Dixon's line.

## TROOPS WITHDRAWN FROM SPRINGFIELD

Constitution 3/16/21

Springfield, Ohio, March 15.—All national guard troops who have been on duty here since last Friday night to prevent racial disturbances, as a result of the mistreatment of a little white girl by an unidentified negro and the shooting of a policeman while he was attempting to disperse a crowd of negroes on the streets, were withdrawn today.

City authorities announced they were prepared to deal with any further disturbances. There were no disorders last night. The two local machine gun companies of the national guard had turned their equipment over to the police and ex-service men, who will be on duty tonight.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

CONCORD N. C. TRIBUNE
MARCH 15, 1921

## THE NEGRO IN OHIO.

In Springfield, Ohio, a negro made an assault upon a white girl, and escaped. The whole town turned out in a man hunt, and rumors that the assailant had been caught sent a surging crowd to the jail. Meantime, policemen undertaking to search suspected negroes for pistols, were shot down. As a matter of course, the town is soon in a turmoil, Northern town as it was, and for the greater part of the week mob conditions prevailed with business suspended. The local machine gun companies were called out and troops were sent to the rescue by the Governor. Dozens of Negroes were arrested and the only reason a lynching did not occur in the Ohio town was because the military was overpoweringly strong. When the negroes get into trouble in the Western and Northern cities he is likely to find tha the is possibly not quite so much among his friends, as when he gets into trouble in a Southern city.—Charlotte Observer.

This talk about the North and West being better to the negro than is the South is all talk anyway. More negroes are lynched in the South than in the West or North perhaps, but there are millions more of them in the South than in other parts of the country, and they commit more crimes in the South. The majority of the lynchings in the South are caused by negroes assaulting white women, and the same offense in the North or West will arouse public sentiment as quickly as it does in the South. The Southerner is as truly the negro's friend as the Westerner or the Northerner, as the Observer indicates.

# OHIO RACE RIOT CAUSED BY BOYS UNDER TWENTY

New York News

### Fifty Young Hoodlums Now in County Jail Waiting Sentence to State Penitentiary, Caught With Firearms Loaded

3/17/21

On account of serious racial disturbances here during the past week when James White, a young colored lad under cross examination pleaded guilty to an attack on an eleven-year-old white girl, this town has been under military authority. Many of the smaller business places are closed, awaiting normal conditions again.

The trouble that nearly caused very serious race riots was started by some young juveniles under twenty years old who wanted to start something.

More than twenty persons, most of them boys under twenty,. arrested by the police and military authorities in connection with racial disturbances here, were to be arraigned in Police Court today. Carrying concealed weapons was the charge against most of them. Judge Golden C. Davis was to hold court in Police Headquarters because the courtrooms were occupied as headquarters for the troops.

There was no serious trouble over Sunday, although there were reports of shots being fired in several parts of the city.

The county jail was taxed to capacity today with more than fifty prisoners. There was a heavy guard of troops around the jail and all persons passing in the vicinity were haled.

Colonel Haubrich, in command of the troops, and city authorities were to confer today. This conference was expected to determine whether restrictions against public assemblage, opening of cigar stores, poolrooms and theatres, and suspension of transportation shall rule again tonight.

### Trouble Starts Saturday

Springfield, Ohio, Mar. 12.—National Guard troops are patrolling the streets here tonight to guard against a renewal of the race rioting that last night resulted in the shooting of a policeman and a colored man. All traffic on the streets was stopped at 7 o'clock this evening and all public meetings after 6 o'clock were forbidden, under police orders. Motion picture houses and theatres are closed.

Sheriff David Jones, of Clark County, was placed in complete charge of the situation, after a conference of military and civil officials. Chief of Police O'Brien did not attend the conference, asserting that he thought the trouble was all over. About 750 troops are in the city, under command of Colonel Robert Haudrick.

Mayor B. J. Westcott announced that it was the opinion of the conference that the situation could be handled by the Sheriff and he was placed in charge in preference to putting the city under military or martial law.

#### White Is Hastened Away.

James White, 15-year-old colored boy, pleaded guilty in Juvenile Court to delinquency and shooting with intent to kill in the wounding last night of Patrolman Joseph Ryan in the disorders. Ten minutes later he was on his way to the Mansfield, Ohio, reformatory to serve an indefinite term. The police wanted to get White out of town before dark.

White had been captured by an armed posse of farmers after an exchange of pistol shots shortly before noon in a woods three miles north of Springfield.

Many people disclaim any feeling in the matter, declaring that the trouble has been precipitated by "drifters"—who have come here from the South—and not participated in by the local population in general.

Police say they have information that many of the population are armed with Springfield rifles, which they purchased several years ago, following previous race riots, when the government placed a large number of the firearms on the market.

#### Girl Victim in Hospital.

Marge Ferneau, 11 years old, whose mistreatment at the hands of an unidentified man last Monday night brought on the present bad feelings between whites and blacks was reported at noon as being in "fairly good" condition.

Ryan, the patrolman, who got three bullet wounds, was reported as improving. Shirley Shaffer received only a scalp wound.

The possibility of a third person having been wounded in last night's fighting was indicated today when the police announced that a trail of blood led from the scene of the final encounter last night, in which at least twenty shots are said to have been fired. The trail was followed from the street to an old building, where it was lost. No further casualties have been reported to the officials.

## Springfield Colored Man Kills Officer Who Ordered Him Off The Sidewalk

### RIOT FOLLOWS

### Police And Whites Kept Out Of Colored Section By Bullets

Afro-American 3/18/21

Springfield, Ohio, March 16—The attempt of a drunken policeman to maltreat a Negro who did not get out of his way quick enough, when ordered to step off the sidewalk by the officer, caused the dath of the policeman and about eighteen other black and white citizens last Friday night. Rioting continued through the night but quiet was restored in the early morning hours after the militia had been called to the scenes of strife and the strets fortified with machine guns.

## GEOGRAPHICAL SAFETY

Plain Dealer 3/19/21

**The Birmingham Age-Herald** of March 15th, speaking editorially of the recent Springfield, Ohio, racial conflicts, after pointing out that in the North all Negroes are affected, while "in the South rancor does not extend beyond the Negro that has committed the crime," winds up in the following sing-song manner:

> "The Negro residing in the North never knows when a race riot is to break out. When it does occur, the best behaved Negro in the place is as apt to be shot down and have his home burned as though he were the Negro known to have started the trouble.
>
> "It is a matter of choice. If the Negro prefers that life to one of safety pending good behavior in the South, none will gainsay him his preference."

Our doubts are overwhelming as to the soundness, or even sincerity of this relish served in old Southern style about "safety."

If the well behaved Negro is safe in the South, WHY were countless innocent ones slain in Atlanta in 1906?

**Why** was it that a number of Negroes were chased and beaten out of Longview, Texas, because one Negro had committed a crime?

**Why** were the good Negroes of Elaine, Arkansas, while gathered in a church for the purpose of securing just compensation for their wages, murdered?

**Why** did "white friends" in Bogalusa, Louisiana, allow the doors of Negro homes to be broken down and the Negroes run out of town?

**Why** the ruthless killing of innocent Negroes in Knoxville, Tennessee, because of the alleged crime of one Negro?

**Why,** down in Florida, were an unknown number of Negro men, women and children burned in their homes and murdered last November?

**Why** the recent wholesale driving of Negroes out of three counties in Georgia?

**And tell us why,** throughout the South, is it that Negroes can be taken from officers of the law to be lynched before their innocence of guilt can be established?

There lingers in the South a tendency to seek excuse for its lawlessness by comparison with the lawlessness in other sections. But until now no two wrongs ever equalled a single right.

**In the South, as in the North, innocent Negroes suffer from white vengeance, and whether in Bogalusa or Duluth, Carson City or Boston, it is inexcusable and un-American.**

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots – 1921.

Alabama.

## NIGHT-RIDING IN ALABAMA.

Montgomery Advertiser 3/3/21

Night-riding in North Alabama has become a considerable evil, if reports are to be accepted as true. What is believed to be the climax of these lawless activities in that section of the State occurred Sunday afternoon when a band of 15 night-riders undertook to rescue four of their comrades who had been put in jail at Stevenson. A street battle followed this attempt in which it is said 150 citizens participated. Fortunately no damage was done in the fighting and the officers think they will have no difficult in running down the guilty men.

This night-riding has been done mostly, of late, by organized tenant farmers whose one idea seems to be to compel all men of their class to join a union.

Night-riding or other forms of lawlessness will do the agricultural interests of a State more harm than good. Night-riding is next of kin to anarchy. It is pure lawlessness.

Mules and horses should be plowed in the day time and permitted to rest at night, particularly at this time when the spring weather is so pretty and inviting. The most essential thing for farmers now is hard work and intelligent consideration of their planting problems. Most of them know this. They know that it is a poor time to waste precious hours doing physical harm to one's neighbors for no other reason than that these neighbors do not agree with them as to what they should do.

Mobs cannot solve the economic problems of any people.

George Alexander, of the Fairfield police department, receiving a bullet wound in the leg.

# ARMED CITIZENS PATROL STREETS

Montgomery Advertiser 4/29/21

(Associated Press)

BIRMINGHAM, ALA., April 28.—Hundreds of armed citizens continued tonight to patrol the streets of Fairfield and Ensley, working in regular shifts and a close watch is being kept on all automobiles and street cars passing through the town.

The object is to prevent a possible racial outbreak, it is reported. Reports from the towns say several mass meetings have been held by negroes during the past forty-eight hours. A negro was killed and a policeman wounded in Fairfield Tuesday night when seven negroes attacked the jail in an effort to secure a negro prisoner.

## *NEGROES STORM JAIL*

### *One Killed in Vain Effort to Free Prisoner.*

Constitution 4/27/21

Birmingham, Ala., April 26.—Five negroes stormed the jail at Fairfield tonight in an attempt to release a negro prisoner, one of the attackers being killed by officers guarding the prison, and Officer

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Ricts

District of Columbia.

### RACE MAN AND DAUGHTER TO BE TRIED AS RESULT OF WASHINGTON RACE RIOT.

(By Associated Negro Press)

Washington, Jan. 7.—Charles Johnson and young daughter, Clara, 17 years old, charged with having killed Detective Sergeant Harry Wilson on July 21, 1919, during the race riot, will be brought to trial January 4, 1921. It appears that Detective Wilson was shot and killed when he entered the home of Johnson and his daughter to make an arrest. He is said to have started up stairs with revolver drawn and was shot down. These unfortunates are to be tried on charges of first degree murder before Justice Gould. The prosecution has outlined the trial. Another case of considerable importance to be tried after this case is that of William Henry Campbell who is charged with the murder of Mrs. Gertrude Harrison Hays sometime during March last.

### Fixed by the Court at $5,000 and Is Furnished by the National Race Congress, Rev. William H. Jernagin, President.

Washington Bee 1/22/21

Carrie Johnson, the 18-year-old girl who has been in confinement since the race riot in this city, July 21, 1919, was convicted of manslaughter January 13, 1921, and the case of her father, Benjamin Johnson, who was also charged with the killing of Detective Wilson, was nolle prossed.

The Government had difficulty to prove that the defendant fired the shot that killed Detective Wilson. The circumstances, as shown by the witnesses for the prosecution intending to convict the accused, were purely circumstantial.

The charge of manslaughter found was a compromise from a layman's point of view, as the indictment was for murder in the first degree.

The squashing of the indictment found by the grand jury against the father, Benjamin Johnson, for the same crime, in the presence of the jury during the trial of the girl, was an unusual proceeding. The defense made by Attorneys B. L. Gaskins and T. M. Watson was masterly and they deserve words of commendation. The argument for a new trial will be made at the first opportunity.

A bond of $5,000 was requested by the court or the girl remain in jail. The National Race Congress furnished the money to secure bond and court records in this case.

The Race Congress is determined to render every assistance possible to save this young and promising girl from serving a sentence for a crime of which we believe her innocent.

The Race Congress calls attention to the fact that out of all the shooting, killing and general disorder of the Washington riot of July 21, 1919, this young girl, who swears she never had a revolver in her hand, and none has been produced at the trial, is the only one, white or colored, to be convicted of even manslaughter.

Attention is called to the fact that the National Race Congress has never taken public money for this girl, because attorneys thought it unwise to do so. But now the conditions have changed, and the National Race Congress, in the interest of our womanhood, has, with the full apoval of her attorneys, issued a call for assistance in the defense of this inocent colored girl.

We are also asking every true and loyal member of the race to send to the office of the executive secretary, Henry J. Callis, 619 M street northwest, Washington, D. C., for any information desired concerning the National Race Congress. Also report to this office any money which may be secured as a contribution to help in the work of uplifting the race.

## CARRIE JOHNSON FREE

Guardian 7/2/21

### SHOT POLICEMAN WHO INVADED HER HOME DURING THE WASHINGTON RIOT

Washington, D. C., June 27, 1921—Miss Carrie Johnson, 17 years old, and a cripple, who killed a policeman who joined in teh attack upon the Johnson home by the rioters in 1918 instead of protecting her and he raged father, was freed on Monday. She had been granted a new trial, being at first convicted, by Justice Siddons, who mentioned that Justice Gould on his sick bed had said he felt he had been wrong in denying a new trial. The case was nolle prossed on Monday by the United States Prosecuting Attorney Benjamin L. Gaskins and Thomas M. Watson were Miss Johnson's attorneys. She has been in jail for 18 months.

# RIOT DECISION THREATENS SENSATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS

The Eagle 7/2/21

Unity of all factions of Washingtonians by the sudden inter-racial eruption occurring in this city two years ago has been threatened by the aftermath of the Carrie Johnson case. All castes of the Negro race in the national capital were united as a solid whole at that time, and have since demonstrated close co-operation. This unity is now threatened with destruction by the same agencies which once caused the maintenance of a division among colored people.

Carrie Johnson, today the heroine of the much-regretted Washington riot, is also the central figure in a racial controversy which threatens another tragedy with more far-reaching effects. According to public statements from which we are able to sift the truth, the Pollyanna Social Club, which gave a benefit for the Carrie Johnson legal fund, is under attack. The attitude of the club in this matter is disclosed in an authorized statement:

"Flush with the spoils and honors of victory in their fight for justice for Carrie Johnson, her attorneys seem to have become mentally unbalanced at sight of gold. Justice secured—in one respect is now abandoned—gold is the objective.

"Members of the Pollyanna Social Club are reported in the columns of the press as defendants in a suit instigated by Attorneys Gaskins and Watson on behalf of their client, Miss Carrie Johnson, for her signal bravery and racial loyalty. The Charity Ball given at the Coliseum Hall for her specific benefit on February 25 by the Pollyannas was generously patronized.

"From this ball the sum of $973 is now being held in trust for Carrie Johnson. In holding this money for her use, the club regards itself as proper and fitting custodian of funds which constitute the residue after deducting all necessary expenses, the labor of sixteen members not included.

"Attorneys Gaskins and Watson first made the statement that their services in defending Miss Johnson were prompted by race loyalty, and there would be no charges therefor. It is alleged that the sum of $250 was later demanded by these two Napoleons of the bar, and that at least one-half of this sum was paid to them by the brothers of their client.

"Subsequently, as recently as June 20, the Pollyannas offered to pay the remainder of this fee and all other legitimate bills which the attorneys or any one else may have against Miss Johnson. They also offered to deposit the rest of the fund in a proper institution in trust to be paid over to her in monthly installments to protect her best interests and to carry out the purpose and intent of the charity benefit.

"Section 1108 of Chapter 28 of the code of laws for the District of Columbia prescribes the fees of attorneys in cases identical with that of Miss Johnson. The Pollyanna Social Club at no time has refused or objected to the proper use of the fund for the benefit of Carrie Johnson, but insists on a correct construction and interpretation of the word proper."

"The club performed the singular and unusual act of publishing a statement immediately after the Charity Ball setting forth the amount of moneys received and expended and showing a residue. A moral duty devolves on Attorneys Gaskin and Watson, as members of the bar, identified with the highest and most dignified of the professions, to explain and make definitely clear to the public what they intend or propose to do with the $973, or how they would advise that it be used in order that Carrie Johnson may be benefited as intended.

"Did these attorneys, after asserting that their services were free, charge the sum of $250? Was any amount paid to them for Carrie Johnson? If so, how much? Do they oppose the proposition and plan of the Pollyanna Social Club to place this money in trust with a proper institution created by law for such purposes? How much is due them or any one else to their knowledge and for what?

"The public is entitled as a matter of right to know these facts. The public contributed the money and has an undivided interest therein. The Pollyanna Social Club appeals to the public at large for its advice, criticism and general opinions, and any member of the race is invited to send his or her communication in care of the Editor of The Washington Eagle."

Officers and members of the Pollyanna Social Club are: Annie Burwell, president; Ruth Savoy, secretary; Adele Parks, Ethel McKinney, May Hurst, Daisy Glenn, Helen Curtis, Marie Wilson, Sarah Clarke, Jessie Parks, Mamie Lewis, Miriam Wormley, Ethel Murray, Mrs. Emory B. Smith and Mrs. Edward Rattley.

## CARRIE JOHNSON GIVEN FREEDOM IN MURDER CASE.

Washington Press 7/2/21

HISTORY OF JOHNSON CASE.

Carrie Johnson, 17 years old, lived at 220 G Street, N. W.

Arrested night of July 21, 1919.

Charged with killing Detective Wilson.

Examined before Coroner's Jury, July 23.

Returned to jail, where she spent 18 months awaiting trial.

First Trial began January 3rd, 1921, before Justice Gould and Jury.

Jury rendered verdict of Manslaughter, January 12, 1921, and case appealed.

Bond of $5,000 secured January 14th.

Second trial before Justice Siddons, ended in nolle pros and Miss Miss Johnson was set free Monday, June 20, 1921.

### CASE NOLLE PROSSED.

Washington, D. C., July 7.—The mills of the gods grind slow but sure and so it is in case of Miss Carrie Johnson, who was convicted on a charge of manslaughter, before Justice Gold last January, in connection with the killing of Detective Sergt. Harry Wilson during the race riot of July, 1919 and was released Monday afternoon, when United States Attorney, John E. Laskey, nolle prossed the case before Justice Siddons.

The case has been a long drawn one and has been bitterly fought by the attorneys on both sides. Miss Johnson was arrested on the night of July 21, 1919, when the riot was at its height, on the charge of killing Detective Wilson, who entered the Johnson home at 22 G Street, N. W. Her father, Richard Johnson was also arrested at this time. They were confined in jail until the trial in January, 1921, after 18 months of incarceration. At this trial her father was given his freedom and Miss Johnson was released under a five thousand dollar bond.

A verdict was brought against Miss Johnson charging her with manslaughter. A motion for a new trial trial was immediately asked by her attorneys, Gaskins and Watson; on a plea of self defense, which was denied by the late Justice Gould. However, during Justice, Gould's illness he called Justice Giddons to his bedside and there told him that he could not die in peace with this girl's case unsettled and that it was clear in in his mind that she should have a new trial for there was doubt in his mind as to her being guilty.

When her attorneys went before Justice Siddons with the motion for a new trial, Justice Siddons said; "In sustaining the motion for a new trial on the points of law presented by the defendant's counsel, Ihave reviewed the condition leading u pto the riot and deplored the fact such a stain could be put upon the fair name of Washington City. Often it has been said from platform and press that this that this is a government of laws and not not of men, but the time has come when we must either make this true or, stand condemned before the nations of the world.

"I can easily understand the state of the defendant's mind, when she, a girl ofonly seventeen, was going thru this trying experience and in keeping with my conversation with the late Justice Gould, I grant the motion for a new trial."

The case was called last week, and on Monday the case was nolle prosed

(over)

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(From Over)

by the United States Attorney and Justice Siddons pronounced her free. When seen by a representative of the Tribune, Miss Johnson, was elated over the opportunity of her freedom which the decision brought her, and expressed her gratefulness to the attorneys and Justice Siddons.

Attorneys B. L. Gaskins and T. M Watson were proud of the decision, for it meant the third riot case for them to result in freedom of their defendant. The first, was that of Dr. Theodore Walker, charged with murdering a man on the corner of 15th and New York Avenue. For lack of evidence, this case was ignored by the grand jury and Dr. Walker was set free. The next was that of Richard Johnson, the father of Carrie. His case was nolle prossed in January at the trial before Justice Gould.

The National Race Congress agreed to pay the expenses of the case and during the course of the trial, turned over $450 to the Attorneys; $250 for the Bond and $200 for records. Rev. Jernagin is President of the Congress and Prof. John R. Hawkins is treasurer.

A local club of young ladies known as "The Pollyannas" stated some time ago as a result of their benefit dance, they had one thousand and five dollars ($1,0005) to turn over to Miss Johnson to assist her in the legal fight for her life. As yet, this has not been turned over, but it is expected to be at an early date, so as to assist her in cleaning up bills yet unpaid.

The photographs contributed by Mr. Daniel Freeman, on U Street, aided materially in helping the attorneys for the defendant, prove their case. His work was done free of charge and the pictures produced by him were the official exhibits in the case.

Since her release on bond in January, Miss Johnson has been working at her former employment and is proud of the fact that she is a free girl again. She was only seventeen

—Washington Tribune.

# 15 MEN AND WOMEN SENTENCED TO JAIL

WASHINGTON D C POST

OCTOBER 29, 1921

## William Lang, Colored, Gets 8 Years for Killing During Race Riots; Case Appealed.

### FORMER SOLDIER ON THE LIST

### Goes to Penitentiary for 3 Years in Hold-Up—Woman Found Guilty of False Pretense Paroled.

Penitentiary sentences ranging from one to five years were given to fifteen men and women yesterday in Criminal courts Nos. 1 and 2. The charges ranged from grand larceny to manslaughter.

William Laney, colored, arrested in 1919 in connection with the shooting and killing of Kenneth Crall, 17 years old, during the race disturbance in this city, was sentenced to eight years in the penitentiary on a charge of manslaughter. An appeal was noted by Attorneys Hughes, Cobb & Houston and bond for the release of the accused man was set at $4,000.

**Attacked Girl Charged.**

Convicted of attempting to commit an attack on a young colored girl, Louis Penn, colored, was sentenced to eight years in the penitentiary.

Sentence of five years in the penitentiary was imposed on George Herrick alias George Starr, of Pittsburgh, Pa., arrested September 5 in connection with the breaking into the store of Peter Christokos, 609 Pennsylvania avenue northwest, and the theft of $39.60.

Albert W. Krause, 22 years old, and Joseph Kelly were sentenced to four years and two years, respectively, on a joint charge of robbery in connection with the holding up of Albert Gates September 7 and the theft of $80.

**Held Up Car Conductor.**

Frank Allen, former service man, was sentenced to three years in the penitentiary on a charge of robbery. Allen is alleged to have held up Samuel Case, a Capital Traction conductor, at Seventeenth street and Pennsylvania avenue southeast September 1 and taking $27 from his victim.

Marcello Sulligoi was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary on a charge of pandering.

Other sentences were imposed in the cases of John W. McGee, charged with shooting Leonard Thompson, two years; Beulah Smith, grand larceny eighteen months; Edward Riley, assault with a dangerous weapon eighteen months; James R. Steele and Walter Leemon alias Lehman, housebreaking and larceny, two years each.

**Year for Stabbing Woman.**

Isaiah Goodall, one year in jail on a charge of forcible entry; Maurice Wespy, bringing stolen property into the District, one year. A similar sentence was imposed on Ruth Powell on a charge of stabbing Marguarette Jackson.

Mrs. Alice M. Oates, of 1609 D street southeast, was placed on probation under suspended sentence on a charge of presenting a false claim to the United States government. It is alleged that the woman endeavored to substitute a $1,000 mutilated liberty bond at the Treasury Department after making affidavit that the bond in question was her property. It was also stated that the bond was one of a series that had been stolen from the Treasury.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH PEL 14

Florida

Riots – 1921.

3/19/21

**WHITES SEIZE HOSPITAL**

Ocoee, Fla., March 18.—A plot of ground was bought near his city recently by the K. of P.'s for the purpose of erecting a hospital. When it was completed the white people threatened members of Race with death if they occupied it. The whites took it for themselves.

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Riots -- 1921.

General.

N. Y. C. Sun New Republic
JUNE 22 1921

# Moving Toward Race War

THERE are men who will frown upon us for even entertaining the hypothesis of a possible race war; for even naming the horror. Paint not the Devil on thy wall, says an old injunction. He will be sure to call to inspect his likeness. Talk about race war and we shall have it. Unhappily, all experience is against the theory that you can ban war and the Devil by refining them out of your vocabulary. We already have manifestations of race war whether we so denominate them or not. What was it but war when whites and blacks battled in Tulsa, killing and burning not out of private vengeance or in private interest, as in ordinary crime, but by collective impulse as in the rage of combat? What were the race riots at East St. Louis, Chicago, Washington, Omaha, but overt acts of war? And what but war spirit is the spirit prevailing on both sides far beyond the points of actual conflict?

Thousands of whites are looking to their guns and ammunition; hundreds of thousands are looking to arms as a last resort. Thousands of Negroes are beginning to look to their means of defence and offence. Fortunately there are no politicians, no generals, no sutlers and munition makers that can profit from a race war. There are no huge winds of self-interest blowing upon the embers. Between the races only a "popular war" is possible. Popular wars are slow in developing, but when they break they are terrible, as the Balkans bear witness.

What gives the American race problem a new and menacing aspect is the emergence of a spirit of forcible resistance on the part of the Negroes. "Get a gun," is the advice of scores of Negro leaders. "Hit back; make them respect you." That is dangerous doctrine; if we could kill it by preaching we should preach. But it is impossible to do anything with a doctrine unless you understand it. And we shall never understand the militant attitude among Negroes unless we try to put ourselves in their place. Suppose that America were mainly a black man's country, with nine Negroes to every white. Suppose that the blacks held all the offices, controlled the police and the courts, owned practically all the property, monopolized all lucrative businesses and professions. And then suppose that in addition to exploiting the whites, the Negroes sporadically rushed together in mobs and tore white men away from their families, beat them unmercifully, shot them down or hanged them or even burned them at the stake on charges of crimes that black men's courts would have dealt with not too gently if there had been any semblance of proof. Finally suppose that in some cases the burning of a white man was widely advertised in the press, a holiday declared, and excursion trains put on for the benefit of those who wished to view the spectacle. What white man is there among us who would not get a gun and urge all other white men to do likewise?

But it will be said that the Negroes will not improve their lot by using force; on the contrary, many more will be insulted and abused and slain than would be the case if they accepted the wrongs done them in the old spirit of resignation. We believe that is true. At Tulsa, if the Negroes had made no show of resistance, the most that might have happened was the lynching of one Negro, possibly an impudent fellow though not a criminal. Because a group of Negroes rallied to his defence over a score were killed and more than ten thousand were driven from their homes by fire—men, women and children, in ghastly fear of a mob more cruel than the flames. But a cold blooded calculation of this kind will not carry far in a world which has recently sacrificed twenty million lives to the Manes of an Austrian Archduke. It would not carry far with us whites if we were the minority from which the majority race selected victims to mutilate and torture to death. Why should we expect it to carry far with the Negroes? Are they utterly without a feeling of race solidarity? Are they altogether immune to that species of unreason that makes the white man say: Better ten thousand dead in battle than one single worthless individual wrongfully done to death in despite of his race or nation?

The Negroes are coming into a sense of solidarity: so it is declared by witnesses from all over the country, equally by those who deplore the fact and by those who rejoice in it. They are coming into a spirit of collective self-defence, often a truculent spirit. It is asserted by Southerners that the war is responsible for this spirit, and there is much to be said for this view. The Negroes who faced the German guns and were regarded as citizens of the first class when it came to stopping German bullets might easily become centres of disaffection with a civil status ranging from disfranchisement to death at the stake. But war or no war, it was probably bound to come. The servile acceptance of kindness or outrage at the hands of the white man could not survive slavery by many generations.

Whatever its origin, the spirit of collective resistance is abroad in the Negro population. And that spirit presents a grave challenge to Americans. Shall we go on about our other affairs as heretofore declaring complacently that the race problem is one that can never be solved? Or shall we address ourselves seriously to finding a modus vivendi under which the Negro will be assured of his ordinary rights as a man? Mob law and peonage, as every intelligent person now recognizes, can be maintained only at the cost of increasing race bitterness, breaking out sporadically in manifestations of race war. They must inevitably make life and property less secure for Americans of both races, not only in the South but wherever the Negroes have gained a foothold in the North. The Negro will no doubt suffer most from race war but the whites will also suffer incalculable losses. Are we not as a people possessed of sufficient common sense and political sagacity to check so disastrous a tendency while there is yet time? The problem is not an insoluble one. There are hundreds of communities, South and North, where the two races live together on terms of cordial goodwill. What has been done in some communities can be done in all, if we attack the problem in a spirit of common justice.

MOVING TOWARD RACIAL WAR IN UNITED STATES
Chicago Defender

Whatever its origin, the spirit of collective resistance is abroad in the Negro population. And that spirit presents a grave challenge to Americans. Shall we go on about our other affairs as heretofore, declaring complacently that the race problem is one that can never be solved? Or shall we address ourselves seriously to finding a modus vivendi unde which the Negro will be assured o his ordinary rights as a man? Mob law and peonage, as every intelligent person now recognizes, can be maintained only at the cost of increasing race bitterness, breaking out sporadically in manifestations of race war. They must inevitably make life and property less secure for Americans of both races, not only in the South but wherever the Negroes have gained a foothold in the North. The Negro will no doubt suffer most from race war, but the whites will also suffer incalculable losses. Are we not as a people possessed of sufficient common sense and political sagacity to check so disastrous a tendency while there is yet time?—The New Republic.

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PAWTUCKET R. I. TIMES
JUNE 8, 1921

## HARMFUL ADVICE.

Worse advice could [illegible] be given to the negroes [illegible] than that by Herbert [illegible] Harrison, president of the Liberal League of Negro [illegible] who urges [illegible] selves. Instead of that action those who are already armed should disarm and at the same time all whites who have no sound reason for carrying weapons should also disarm. Possession of weapons is one of the chief causes of race riots and outbreaks of lawlessness of every kind. It is folly to advise, as this leader does, the meeting of lawlessness with still greater lawlessness, and any one who urges that course is no real friend of the negro or of humanity. Reprisal is no cure for injustice. We have been shown that on the other side of the Atlantic. We do not need any proof of it on this side.

It is difficult to understand the point of view of Mr. Harrison, who in predicting other possible race riots before many months refers to them as "splendid." How can he rationally characterize unjustifiable slaugher of human beings, white or black, by such a term is beyond comprehension. Fortunately the great body of the negroes in this country cannot be deluded by any such advice as that given by Mr. Harrison. They know there is nothing to be gained but much to be lost by following his urging. Instead of adding fuel to the fire of race hatred he ought to be extinguishing it by advising strict compliance with the law and demanding the exercise of implicit impartiality in the enforcement of the law without regard to race, color or creed. That is the sane method to pursue in the present situation and if they do that the negroes will receive the support of all citizens who love justice and believe in obedience to the law.

## COMING RACE RIOTS

### A Few Cities in Which We May Expect Them.

MORE race riots are coming. We do not want to see them just as we do not desire to see more lynchings, but nevertheless they are coming.

All of the conditions necessary for a riot already obtain in Chicago. There is widespread unemployment there among both races. That means fight or competition for jobs. There is and has been weekly (almost daily) bombing of Negro homes for the last two years. The Mayor, police and detectives have pretended they were unable to catch or trap the systematic bombers. Next there is Ku Klux Klan propaganda in Chicago. Yellow journalism of the Tribune and Hearst papers is daily poisoning the public mind. Memories of the riot of 1919 still rankle in the breasts of both races. Beware of Chicago.

In Pittsburg we have avoided a race riot about two or three times within the last two years by the narrowest breadth. White labor sees Negroes in their former jobs in the steel mills. White labor remembers that the importation of Negro scab workers by white capital broke the steel strike. Negroes recall how a white officer shot a Negro bellman in one of the hotels not so long ago. So much for Pittsburg.

There is trouble brewing in Detroit. This is the automobile center to which Negroes migrated during the war. Poor, hard-pressed, unorganized, they are forced to work for a meagre wage. This is their only avenue to employment, at all, sometimes. Besides, the Ku Klux Klan has been active in Detroit for some while stirring up race prejudice, trying to get Negroes to return South, inducing charity to offer them railroad fare back south, but to refuse relief.

Remember Detroit, please!

In New York, also, right here with us, the embers of riot are smoldering. Men arrested in the Negro district frequently come out and tell how the police beat them up in the station house. Negro refugees from the Southland, seeking asylum here, bear with them news of the treatment of their black brothers and sisters in Dixie. Unemployment in New York frequently forces Negroes to accept jobs as longshoremen, waist, dress and cloak makers, much to the injury of race relations between labor. Moreover, the "Birth of a Nation," that vile and venomous motion picture which foully libels the Negro, painting him as a rapist, has just had a two weeks' run in New York, leaving its train of race prejudice, race hate and strained relations to plague us. The Ku Klux Klan is here, too working indefatigably to pull down the modest pyramid of racial peace. New York, according to the late census, has 158,000 Negroes.

In Philadelphia there are 148,000 Negroes. Unemployment is rife here. Negroes, too, are competing fiercely for jobs. The Pennsylvania legislature has just refused to pass a Civil Rights bill for the Negroes. Resentment against this act of perfidy on the part of Pennsylvania Republicans is so high 'tis unbelievable. Keep an eye on the city of brotherly love!

In Richmond, Va., a riot was barely averted a few months ago. Lest we forget, don't tread on Richmond.

In Washington, D. C., as well as Baltimore, Maryland, there are 100,000 Negroes to each city. Washington has had one riot. A southern army officer has just shot a Negro on duty in Washington. Baltimore has been tingling on the verge of race trouble for some time.

Watch your step in the Washington and Baltimore subways.

In Boston quite recently a Harvard Southern professor shot a Negro policeman without provocation. Boston Negroes are very sensitive to race slights. Unless you go slow, there'll be another Boston Tea Party. No one knows better than colored Bostonians that taxation without representation is tyranny.

Finally, Negroes all over the United States are reading the papers. They read the white papers and they read their own papers. They have read of John S. Williams' killing Negroes like flies in Georgia. They have learned of the castration of a prominent Negro dentist in Houston, Texas, by a group of "so-called respectable white citizens," aided and abetted by a skilled surgeon. The Negroes read daily of lynchings; the whites read of Negro rape stories. The Ku Klux Klan goes merrily on its way. "The Birth of a Nation" inoculates the public mind with its virulent poison. The yellow press sings its hymn of race hate. While race prejudice, with putrescent breath, continues to emit its foul and deleterious odors, the Saturn of Race Preudice moves upon the troubled waters gritting his teeth, clenching his fists, frothing at the mouth!

The tempest is coming. Will the sane white and colored people have sufficient vision and sense of brotherhood to pour oil upon the troubled waters? It is our business and our duty to say, Peace, be still! Let us rise to the occasion.

## THE RACE PROBLEM

Grover Cleveland, now conceded to have been one of the sanest and best thinkers of his time, said that the only problem for which he could see no solution was that of the relation of the white and black races in this country. We believe that there is an antidote for racial antagonism and intolerance but we realize the seriousness of the race prob-

Within the past four years in five cities alone—East St. Louis, Illinois; Washington, District of Columbia; Chicago, Illinois; Elain, Arkansas; and Omaha, Nebraska—there have been more than two hundred killed and upwards of two thousand wounded in race riots. The comparatively recent disgraceful race war in Tulsa, Oklahoma, resulting in the death of some thirty persons, the wounding of hundreds of others and the burning out of house and home of no fewer than five thousand negroes by a mob of whites, emphasizes anew the necessity of our settling this danger-

While no doubt many things—among them corrupt politics, the all too prevailing spirit of lynch law, peonage and even the self assertive spirit of the negro—are among the causes of such shameful and disastrous outbreaks, the principal cause appears to be the deep-seated prejudice of the one race of people against the other. And while additional legislation, strict law enforcement and the like may prove helpful in the solution of the problem, its only real and final settlement is in the application of the Golden Rule by both black and white in their dealings one with the other.

In this connection we commend to our readers for their careful perusal the article elsewhere in this issue by the Hon. Bolton Smith entitled, "Neglected Aspects of the Race Problem."

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots - 1921.

Georgia.

# Three Killed and Eight Wounded In Race Riot at Augusta, Georgia When Negro Runs Amuck With Gun

Montgomery Advertiser

8/17/21

(Associated Press)

**AUGUSTA, GA., Aug. 16—Three persons are dead and eight wounded as the result of a shooting affray here this afternoon in which white persons, negroes and city and county police took part.**

The dead:

Ben Tillman Hightower, manager of a local wagon works.

W. W. Moore, policeman.

Walter Smalley, negro.

The wounded:

William F. Britt, police chauffeur.

W. U. Reid, chief of detectives.

Alfred Stewart.

Grover C. Reid.

J. H. Stanton.

L. N. Blackstone.

A. Evans.

All the identified wounded are white although two negroes are reported wounded and an unidentified white woman is said to have been shot as she passed in an automobile.

The trouble began at the wagon works when the negro, Smalley, who, it is said, had been struck by Mr. Hightower earlier in the day after he had called the wagon works' manager "a liar" returned with a shotgun and shot Mr. Hightower to death. Mr. Hightower at the time was talking to Dr. W. W. Battey, the negro's employer, who summoned the police after the shooting.

From the wagon works, Smalley is said by witnesses to have walked out on the sidewalk, seated himself on the curbing and started firing at every white person he saw. When the police arrived the negro fired upon them, wounding Britt and Hardeman. He then fled to Perry's bottom, a negro settlement in the neighborhood and took refuge in a house. Leaving the house later, he continued firing and was shot to his knees by police. Reloading his gun, he killed Moore. A few seconds later he was himself slain being practically riddled with bullets.

Before the negro was killed, a number of white men, heavily armed, gathered in the section. Several negroes were threatened with violence and attempted to escape but were captured and cries heard of "lynch 'em" were heard by the crowd. Police reserves, however, reached the scene in time to rescue them.

City police and county deputies dispersed the crowds gathered in the vicinity of the affray but for several hours crowds continued to form and several times demonstrations were made against negroes. The authorities, however, managed to prevent further trouble.

The entire police force was held on duty throughout the night.

Five negroes are held by the police for investigation.

Incendiarism against negroes' property was reported in two cases early this morning. The automobile in which Smalley drove to the wagon works is said to have been set on fire, and late tonight autoists coming into the city said they had been stopped on the outskirts and asked to furnish some gasoline to make another negro's automobile burn. They said a crowd of white persons was about the car.

# MAY CALL TROOPS INTO HALL COUNTY

## Alleged Lawlessness in Quillians District of State Unit Likely to Result in Appeal for Soldiers—Negroes on Run.

Gainesville, Ga., January 9.—(Special.)—Lawlessness is raging in Quillians district, in the north part of Hall county, and all the negroes in the district have been run out except four families. This condition is a recrudescence of the trouble of two years ago, when a negro was accused of assaulting a white woman. At that time many negroes were forced to leave their homes.

There are about 100 negroes in and near Gainesville, about forty in one house. Some are being hired to go to South Georgia. Jim Goodin, one of the expelled negroes, moved his stuff from his house and then burned the house down. He was arrested by the sheriff and is now in jail.

Wiley Grier, a prominent white farmer, who had several good negroes working for him, has been notified to leave.

It is reported that there is trouble at Helen, in White county, the terminus of the G. and N. W. railroad, and that many negroes had been attacked. The governor will be asked to offer rewards and send troops, if the trouble does not subside.

# NEGROES FLOCK TO GAINESVILLE

## Serious Economic Situation Caused in Hall County Town as the Result of

### Anonymous Notices.

The critical racial situation which has obtained in northern portions of Hall county since last Friday when notices that no negro would be permitted to remain "north of the Chattahoochee in Hall county" were anonymously served by hand and through the mails upon negro residents has steadily grown worse, according to dispatches received from Gainesville Tuesday night.

The number of negro refugees who have come into Gainesville for protection is estimated as running well up into the hundreds. The problem of feeding and housing has become serious. Trouble within the town is feared unless prohibitive measures are taken shortly.

Appeals for aid have come to Governor Hugh M. Dorsey from white people of Hall county. Governor Dorsey declined to make any statment relative to the matter, on Tuesday night, beyond the fact that he is now investigating the situation as brought to his attention.

**Critical Economic Situation.**

Statements made by promnent citizens of Gainesville and vicinity indicate that a critical economic situation is resulting from the attempt to drive out all negro labor. The Gainesville and Northwestern railroad has been handicapped by the loss of all negro workmen. Two large lumber mills, one a million-dollar concern, are operating under armed guards in an effort to retain negro employes. A few farmers have armed their tenants with shotguns and maintain regular patrols, while others are crippled by the resulting labor shortage.

According to statements made by citizens of Gainesville to a Constitution reporter Tuesday night the trouble has its origin back in February of 1920, when a negro was caught stealing a washpot from his employer. The thief's home was "shot up" by unknown parties. The antagonism and prejudice increased rapidly, leading to the burning of negro lodges and homes throughout that portion of the county.

These citizens declared that no overt crime on the part of negroes was responsible for the outbreak in February nor for that of more recent date. They stated that the majority of the negroes who have been forced to flee their homes are of the servant class and possess good reputations in their communities. Many of the negro refugees are said to be taxpaying citizens who have been forced to abandon property of considerable value.

**Plan Armed Patrols.**

There was some recrudescence of the trouble this past fall when negro farms were first posted and negro laborers were first warned that they must leave the county. It was at this time, according to the statements of citizens in close touch with the situation, that certain white men determined to retain and protect their employees and resorted to armed patrols as the only effective means.

This course of action on the part of whites brought a number of threats against their own property and personal safety.

The majority of the anonymous mail communications have been posted at Brookton and Clermont.

Those who communicated with The Constitution feel that a most serious racial and economic crisis is pending as a result of the loss of labor and treatment of same.

# NASH WILL PROBE RACIAL TROUBLES

## Adjutant General Ordered by Governor to Investigate Alleged Intimidation of Negroes in Hall County.

Adjutant General Van Holt Nash, of the national guard, has been ordered to the scene of the recent inter-racial trouble in Hall county by Governor Hugh M. Dorsey, according to official announcements Thursday night.

General Nash left Atlanta by automobile on Thursday, under orders to visit Brookton, Clermont, Chestatee, Helen and Gainesville, all of which have been the seats of more or less racial friction. He was accompanied by Major Arthur McCullough and other officers of his staff.

The purpose of this official visit on the part of General Nash and his staff, as stated by Governor Dorsey, is to make an investigation as to the cause of house burning and intimidation of negro citizens by whites and to ascertain whether or not a continuance of lawlessness is probable, in order that the necessary protective measures may be taken.

Special Deputy W. T. Smith, especially commissioned by Governor Dorsey, is already on the ground of the disturbance, and effected the capture of J. S. Black on Wednesday. Black is charged with posting anonymous notices warning negroes of the section "to vacate the territory south of the Chattahoochee," and other threatening notes.

Lawlessness has been in existence in the northern and southern parts of Hall, Lumpkin and White counties, manifested sporadically since February, 1920.

Several large firms, among them the Morse Bros. Lumber company, the Chestatee Pyrites mines and the Gainesville and Northwestern railroad, have been seriously handicapped by the scarcity of negro help resultant from the racial disturbances, and operations have been conducted under armed guard for the past few weeks.

Governor Dorsey's action in the matter is the result of continued appeals from residents in the disturbed section.

Another move on the part of authorities was made Thursday when Sheriff W. A. Crow, of Hall county, went in the company of Deputy Sheriff H. W. Ward to a farm near Bolton, Ga., about fourteen miles from Gainesville on the Chattahoochee river and effected the arrest of Dick Smith, a resident of Hall county, who is charged with being one of the ring-leaders in the recent threatening moves on the part of whites, and the writer of anomymous notices that have stirred black residents of that section. Smith, who is being held without bond in the Hall county jail, appears to be in a very nervous and excited condition.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

## AUGUSTA'S UNFORTUNATE AFFAIR.

Augusta, one of Georgia's largest, quiet and most peaceful cities came in for her share of publicity during the week with several murdered, several wounded, and one "burned to a crisp" as one of the headlines read. It shall not be our purpose to discuss this unfortunate affair in any of its phases, for anything whatsoever that leads to the commission of crime in any form is bad within itself, and the commission of crime and any form of lawlessness extremely worse.

Supreme Liberty News 8/20/21

It shall be one purpose to forget as far as possible the commissionof any crime and help in a feeble endear for Georgia the boasted Empire State of the South with all of her resources to reclaim her stand in every way along with the other states of the union.

It is in Georgia that we were born and it is in Georgia we expect to be, and possibly when those final summons come it will no doubt find us "doing business at the same old stand."

The subject of this article resulted from the most unfortunate affair that occurred in Augusta on this week and which has again disturbed the peace of the State and has caused us to be criticised no little from the outside.

In the last quarter Georgia has two burnings credited to her account, a record of which we cannot feel proud no matter what the causes were that lead up to it. Two burnings! Think of it! And likewise after thinking let us reason together. And after reasoning let us endeavor to apply the remedy and prevent as far as we can a re-currence of like crimes which gives our state a black mark in the country's history.

We just as well wake up now and face the issue and look the truth squarely in the face and base our actions as nearly as possible as He would do and as He has given to us in his blessed Book of Books.

We have as good white people here in Georgia as to be found anywhere on the globe. Reasonable, kind and generous and sympathetic. Right here in this city we have never gone to them with a proposition worth the while, but for what it did not play upon a favorable chord and receive a generous response. The city council has never failed to lend it mercenary assistance and other wise help in creating a favorable impression upon civic and fraternal bodies coming into our midst, and they have been many. Every word of this is true and cannot meet with a single denial.

Now then what is the trouble? Why should there be the slightest friction of any kind between the races that would result in an unfortunate affair as staged in Augusta this week? Is there any need for such an occurance, isnt it possible for the thoughtful elements of both sides to bring about better conditions and more harmonious relations.

We venture the assertion that the main hinderance of it all has been, that as long as we have been living together in this state, we have not fully understood each other, and that the fundamental characteristics, needs and deserts of the black man, have not been weighed and re-weighed in order that the remedy might have been applied in time by the dominant race.

We are perfectly willing to give the opposite race a full earned need of praise for everything that they have done for us and we believe with the proper influence and pressure brought to bear that they will exert themselves for the bringing about of better conditions.

That we as a people are inclined along elevated lines and are willing to do the right to respect and obey the law and follow the right kind of lead was fully shown in our country's hour of supreme trial. Conditions were people and everybody was bent on doing something to help win the war.

Your speakers come to us telling us what they wanted us to do and we did it. Your committees formulated plans for us and we carried them out.

The Red Cross agents taught our women to make bandages and etc., and they made them, not because it wasn't our duty to make them just as much so as any one, but it was the willing and generous spirit.

Now we have that same willing and generous spirit now to make our state just what it should be and reclaim its exaulted place among the other states of the union, just as we had to make our country win the war. We are ready to blend our efforts to promote peace and harmony, and if such comes there must be a little concerted action, and there must be a beginning. Our white friends on account of station position and influence and otherwise were forced to take the iniative during the war and they did and they carried out their plans successfully with our full co-operation. We are likewise calling upon them to take the iniative in helping to make Georgia a better and more peaceful and quiet state, and we assure them that we will follow their lead. We will hear their speakers and heed their advice, we will carry out the plans of your committees and we will help bandage the relations within the confines of our state in a manner so peaceful until not one drop of blood will be spilled save for the rightful protection of its borders.

Lawlessness is impending the progress and prosperity of this state, and credits anr other considerations are being denied the farmers, for one reason that his mostt dependable labor is or has deserted the farms for other quarters. You can ride for miles and see farm lands lying idle, possibly because of the depression and because there can be found no available tenants. The lands then depreciate in value, and who is the loser? On the other hand the tenants properly encouraged and housed will be making a crop to the glory of himself and the gratification of the landlord and thereby cause the property to hold its market value.

There is no need or cause for any strained relation existing anywhere in the state between the races, and a little concerted action by those higher up in the councils of affairs of state and city will certainly have its lessening effect.

We stand for the promotion of peace and harmony and we believe it will in time come. We believe in the solution of every problem and that without friction and we believe its on the way. We believe and have abiding faith in the broadness and the bigheartedness and generous all round good spirit of those high up in state and city, and in time we will get more of it.

We do not believe however in such acts as brought forth the unfortunate affair in Augusta this week, which afforded us thought for this article. It is harmony that we must have, and peace that must abide.

REEL 14

Riots – 1921.

GAINESVILLE GA. NEWS
JANUARY 12, 1921

## RACIAL TROUBLE ACUTE IN UPPER HALL.

For six months there has been considerable trouble in Quillians district between certain parties, presumably white people, and the negroes in that section. It will be recalled that one or more negro houses, as well as a negro church and school house, were set fire and destroyed last fall in the neighborhood of Dewberry church No. 2. Who the guilty parties are has not been ascertained, although the county authorities offered ample rewards for the apprehension of the offenders against the law.

An acute situation arose before the Holidays when general warning was given by posted notices and otherwise that all negroes had to leave. Many negroes did leave, many of whom came to this city. Some of the land-owners in the vicinity, in order to protect their negro tenants, posted guards around their property and let it be known that every protection would be given those, white and colored, who lived upon their property.

During the week, Governor Dorsey and the Federal authorities have been appealed to, with the result that a number of officers have been dispatched to the section affected, and it is hourly expected that arrests will be made and a stop put to the racial trouble.

It is said that some prominent citizens who let it be known that they would protect their tenants have been served with notice to leave the community also. This they will not do, but on the other hand have served notice that they will protect their person and property at all hazards.

It is hoped that the trouble will shortly be put down, and that law and order will prevail throughout the affected section.

## RACE TROUBLE RUMOR DECLARED UNFOUNDED

Atlanta Constitution

**Report of Cartersville Difficulties Arose From Quarrel Among Few Negroes.**

2/6/21.

Reports of the brewing of race difficulties in the vicinity of Cartersville, Ga., are entirely unfounded, according to statements Saturday night by the sheriff at Cartersville, and other residents of the city. The sheriff expressed considerable surprise Saturday at receipt of a telegram from Governor Hugh M. Dorsey authorizing him to swear in as many additional deputies as necessary to handle the supposed situation.

Rumors of inter-racial difficulties arose, according to statements by M. L. Fleetwood, editor of The Cartersville Tribune-News, from threats by four or five negroes near Cartersville against other negroes employed by the Nashville, Chattanooga and St. Louis railroad.

Mr. Fleetwood said that negroes living in the vicinity of Rogers Station attempted to frighten away negro employees of the road, evidently thinking that by so doing they would secure more work for themselves. He said that four or five negroes had on Friday night approached a bunk car, in which the negro workmen were sleeping, and made threats of what they would do if these negroes did not forsake their jobs. No white persons were concerned in the altercation, Mr. Fleetwood states, and there was nothing to indicate any possibility of race difficulties in the section.

Governor Dorsey stated Saturday night that he did not care to make public the name of the person who had informed him of the supposed trouble. He stated that after dispatching a telegram to the Cartersville sheriff, informing him that he had the support of the state government in any difficulties that might arise, he received a communication from the sheriff stating that there was no such trouble as had been supposed.

## NEGRO BUILDING DYNAMITED AND GINNERY BURNED

Montgomery Advertiser 3/7/21

**ATLANTA, GA., March —A negro lodge building was dynamited and a fire believed to be of incendiary origin levelled to ground the cotton ginnery of E. E. Fullilove at High Shoals, Oconee county early Sunday morning following the dynamiting of a negro school house at Shady Grove in the same county Friday night. The sheriff and a number of deputies are investigating.**

## NEGROES KILLED FIGHTING POSSE; OTHERS WOUNDED

Constitution 5/19/21.
5/19/21

Other Blacks May Die; White Man at Point of Death at Byromville. Twenty Negroes Jailed.

Georgia.

### GEORGIA TOWN QUIET FOLLOWING DISORDER

### Marshal Forced to Shoot Negro During Round-up of Rioters by Sheriff on Wednesday Morning.

Byromville, Ga., May 18.—(Special.)—Two negroes are dead, one white man is at the point of death and four negroes are wounded, one seriously, as a result of a gun battle that began here late last night and extended into today. The trouble began over an attempt of Chief of Police Cunningham to collect city taxes from Fate Chapman, a negro on Will Byrom's farm. The negro is said to have refused to settle.

Twenty negroes banded themselves in Chapman's house, where they defied the authorities.

It was nearly midnight last night when Sheriff Vinson, deputy sheriff Carl Lewis and others in a posse, including L. C. Davis, a former soldier who was enroute to Fort Valley to pack peaches, moved on the negroes quarter. They found more than twenty barricaded in Chapman's house.

As the white men approached, the negroes are alleged to have opened fire. Davis fell wounded, receiving eight wounds, the worst being in the thigh.

The negroes continued to hold the house until the posse of officers, which had been increased in size, threatened to burn the structure. The negroes then piled out but there was more shooting, and in the exchange, one negro was killed and four were wounded.

**Jim Beddenfield Killed.**

The negro killed at that time was Jim Beddenfield. The names of only one wounded was obtained, that being Tom West. One of the negroes, a son of Fate Chapman, got away from the possee and was traced, to Lilly, Ga., where at 8:30 o'clock this morning he again put up a fight and was shot down by officers, being dead when officers reached his side. In the round-up of negroes, Sheriff Vinson and his deputies captured twenty blacks, and seized twenty-five pieces of firing arms of various sizes.

There were a number of the very latest pattern rifles, some shot guns and the rest revolvers.

All of the negroes were carried to Vienna, the county seat of Dooly county, where the wounded ones are receiving attention.

It is reported that there was considerable promiscuous firing in the vicinity of Chapman's house prior to the approach of the sheriff and his deputies. As the officers drew near to the house, they were fired upon by the negroes. The posse then returned the fire.

Byromville is quiet tonight and with the remaining negroes disarmed no further trouble is anticipated.

# TWO NEGROES ARE KILLED IN GUN FIGHT AT BYROMVILLE

### Trouble Growing Out of Levying on Negro's Mule Results in Death of Two Blacks, Seriously Wounding of White Man and Two Negroes and Jailing of 18 Negroes

Advertiser 5/19/21

(Associated Press)

**BYROMVILLE, GA., May 18—Two negroes are dead and one white man is at the point of death in a Cordele hospital as a result of a gun fight that began near here last night and extended into today.**

**Twenty negroes have been placed under arrest and at least twenty-five guns of various sizes have been taken from negroes by the officers of Dooly county.**

**At the hospital at Cordele the wounded white man's name was given as L. C. Davis, of Sommerville, N. J. He is a former soldier passing through enroute to Fort Valley to pack peaches, when he deputized by the sheriff. His condition is critical. He was wounded eight times.**

Of the twenty negroes placed under arrest and taken to Vienna for safe keep four are seriously wounded.

The twenty negroes barricaded themselves in Pate Chapman's home on the Will Byrom farm and defied the authorities late last night, after Chief of Police Cunningham had failed in an effort to collect city taxes from Chapman.

Sheriff Vinson, deputy Sheriff Carl Lewis and a posse especially deputized moved on the baricaded house shortly before midnight after there had been intermittent firing.

As the posse approached they were fired upon, Davis falling wounded, receiving eight wounds.

The negroes continued to hold their fort until the posse threatened to burn the house. Then they left their barricade and continued to fire on the posse. In this affray one negro, Jim Baddenfield, fell dead and four others were wounded, the worst wounded being Tom West.

One of the negroes, a son of Pate Chapman, got away from the posse and he was traced to Lilly, Ga., where he again put up a fight at 8:30 o'clock this morning, he was shot dead.

(Associated Press)

**CORDELE, GA., May 18.—In a fight gowing out of the town marshall of Byromville levying on a negro's mule, two negroes were killed, two probably fatally injured and a white man seriously hurt near Byromville early today.**

**Eighteen negroes were in jail tonight at Vienna and according to word from Sheriff Vinson of Dooly county the situation is well in hand hand and no repetition is expected of last night's trouble in which more than 100 shots were exchanged between barricaded negroes and a sheriff's posse.**

Marshall Cunningham had attempted to levy on the mules of a neggro named Chapman who had not paid taxes on them and this started the trouble late yesterday, according to reports received here tonight. Attempts later in the night to arrest the negro were followed by a pitched battle.

A white man giving the name of Robert Davis of Somerville, N. J., was in the crowd that went to the aid of the officers and according to the version told here shouted: "I'm a stranger but if some one will give me a gun, I'll introduce myself." The weapon was forthcoming and he joined in the firing.

Davis was in the hospital here tonight with a buckshot wound and it was said he might not survive. He said he was an ex-service man who had gone to Florida expecting to settle but did not like the land there and was going a foot to Fort Valley to work during the peach season.

## BYROMVILLE NEGROES TO BE TRIED JUNE 6

5-26-21

Constitution

Vienna, Ga., May 25.—Judge O. T. Bower, of the Cordele circuit having jurisdiction over the Dooly county superior court, today called a special term of court for June 6 to try twenty-four negroes charged with murder in connection with the recent gun fight at Byromville.

In the clash two negroes and one white man were killed and a number of negroes were wounded.

(over)

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

N Y C EVE WORLD
MAY 19, 1921

# POSSE KILLS TWO NEGROES.

**Twenty Others Arrested After Officer Is Wounded.**

BYRONVILLE, Ga., May 19.—Two negroes were killed, four others wounded and L. C. Davis of Somerville, N. J., perhaps fatally wounded in a clash between twenty negroes and a Sheriff's posse near here Tuesday night. Twenty negroes have been arrested and taken to Vienna, in Dooly County, for safekeeping.

According to the county authorities, the negroes barricaded themselves in a house on a farm near here after the Chief of Police had sought to collect city taxes from one of them. Sheriff Vinson deputized a posse and undertook to arrest them. The negroes were said to have opened fire as the officers approached, Davis falling with eight wounds. Threats to fire the house caused the negroes to leave their retreat.

# RIOT OF BLOOD OVER POLL TAXES IN GEORGIA TOWN

Chicago Defender

## Twenty Men in Barricade With Latest Weapons Battle Armed Posse

6-28-21

Byromville, Ga., May 27.—Five men are reported to have been killed, two of our Race and three whites, following a pitched battle between a mob, led by an officer, and twenty farm hands in this vicinity. The trouble began early Saturday morning when Chief of Police Cunningham attempted to collect poll tax from Fate Chapman, who is employed on the farm of Will Byrom (white). Chapman refused to pay the amount, declaring he was not permitted to vote and did not see why he should be taxed.

**Chief Starts Trouble**

Cunningham, who, it is claimed, has made a practice of collecting such tax, was angered when Chapman refused. He attempted to draw his revolver, but was knocked down. Chapman seized the weapon and fired on Cunningham, but missed him. Other laborers ran to Chapman's assistance, but the white man had escaped to the woods.

He returned later with a posse and fired on men and women working in the fields. Chapman, who was in his cabin, returned the fire, dangerously wounding Robert Davis, a member of the mob. Other men on the plantation rushed to their homes, seized their guns and joined Chapman, who had barricaded himself securely in his cabin. For hours Chapman, with the aid of his companions, rained lead on the mob. Jim Beddenfield, a member of Chapman's clan, was killed and Tom West badly injured. Two white men who were killed were spirited away.

**War Veteran Slain**

Robert Davis (white), son of Leonard C. Davis, a prominent contractor of Somerville, N. J., had stopped off at Byromville. Davis was a world war veteran and had been taking a course in aviation at Carlstrom field, Arcadia, Fla., and was on his way home when he asked Sheriff Vinson for a gun to help "shoot the darkies." As the posse closed in on Chapman Davis was the first to fall. He was shot eight times.

# NEGROES TO FACE CHARGE OF MURDER

Constitution 6/7/21

Cordele, Ga., Jnue 6.—(Special.) Dooly county superior court will convene in extraordinary session today for the purpose of trying twenty-four negroes charged with murder and riot. Two women are included in the number. The charge of murder grows out of the racial clash which took place at Byromville May 17, and in which one white man was killed outright, and four negroes met death.

All of the negroes are held in jail at Vienna and the grand jury drawn to investigate the killings and riot will begin their investigation of the troubles on the opening of special term of the court today.

County officers state that they have secured confessions from several of the negroes held in jail that Fate Chapman, the negro ringleader who was wounded in the fight, plotted with them to barricade themselves in his house, located in the negro section of Byromville, in an effort to trap policeman Cunningham, shoot him down and then shoot up the town.

All of the negroes will face the charge of killing L. C. Davis, Jr., of Summerville, N. J., a member of the deputized posse organized by Sheriff Vinson. Davis was killed when he rushed into the house of Chapman under fire in an effort to break through the barricade and drive the black out into the open. A load of buckshot almost severed his right leg and he was brought to the Cordele hospital, where he died from the wound.

The trouble began over an attempt of policeman Cunningham to collect city taxes from Fate Chapman. The negro refused to pay the taxes demanded and instead of making settlement of the tax claimed held by the officer assaulted the officer and caused the up-rising of the negroes in the Byromville settlement. Judge O. T. Gower will preside, while Solicitor General J. B. Wall will be in charge of the cases on the part of the state.

# BYROMVILLE RIOT CASE IS SET TO GO TO JURY THURSDAY

Constitution 6/16/21

Vienna, Ga., June 15.—(Special.) The case against Casey Chapman one of the remaining eighteen of the twenty negroes to be tried on charges of murder and rioting in connection with the shooting affair in Byromville May 17, will be placed in the hands of the jury in the Dooly superior court Thursday morning.

Casey Chapman is the son of Fate Chapman, alleged to be the ring leader of a plot, the state claims, to kill Marshal Cunningham and then "shoot up" the town. The shooting affair, which was occasioned by an effort by Marshal Cunningham to collect taxes from Fate Chapman, it is stated, resulted in the deaths of a white man and a negro, and the wounding of four negroes.

After the verdict in the case of Casey Chapman is returned, the seventeen remaining negroes will be tried jointly. Two of the twenty negroes, tried on a previous occasion, have been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.

# WOUNDS RECEIVED AT BYROMVILLE FATAL TO DAVIS

Constitution 5/20/21

Cordele, Ga., May 19.—L. C. Davis, former soldier, of Summerville, N. J., who was shot at Byromville last night during a shooting affray between negroes and sheriff's deputies, died here at 2:30 o'clock this afternoon.

Davis had been deputized by Sheriff Vinson to aid in rounding up negroes, who, it is alleged, had threatened to shoot up the town of Byromville. Twenty negroes are still in jail at Vienna, Ga. Byromville is quiet following the disorder. Two negros were killed in the clash.

# 5 DEAD, 7 WOUNDED, TOLL OF RACE RIOT

NEW YORK CITY AMERICAN
AUGUST 17, 1921

## Disorders Start When Georgia Negro Runs Amuck—Armed Bands Patrol Streets.

AUGUSTA, Ga., Aug 16.—Five persons are dead as a result of disorders which began when a negro ran amuck this afternoon through the center of the business section. Seven are known to have been wounded, two of them probably fatally.

Patrolman W. W. Moore, an unidentified white man and a negro were killed in a shooting affray following the initial outbreak of the apparently crazed man.

Crowds of armed citizens immediately gathered at the scene of the shooting, but were dispersed after some difficulty by the police, who were assisted in their task by a sudden rainstorm.

With the cessation of the rain, however, other crowds swiftly collected and armed bands began to patrol the streets, leading to the fear on the part of the city authorities of racial clashes

# Negro Running Amuck Brings Gathering of Mob and Shooting Affray in Heart of City.

Constitution 8/17/21.

**KILLED AND INJURED IN AUGUSTA DISORDER.**

The dead:

W. W. Moore, patrolman.

Benjamin T. Hightower, manager of a local wagon works.

Walker Smalley, negro.

The Wounded:

William E. Britt, police chauffeur, wounded in the head and body.

C. W. Hardeman, police sergeant, shot in the breast and hands.

W. U. Reid, chief of detectives, wounded in the foot.

J. H. Stanton, wheelwright, injuries unknown.

L. N. Blackstone, injuries unknown.

Alf Stewart, injuries unknown.

Grover C. Reid, injuries unknown.

A. Evans, injuries unknown.

All the identified wounded are white, although two negreos are reported wounded, and an unidentified white woman is said to have been shot as she passed in an automobile.

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Augusta, Ga., August 16.—(Special.)—Patrolman W. W. Moore, Benjamin T. Hightower, Walker Smalley, a negro, are dead, and eight persons are wounded as the result of a shooting affray in the heart of the city this afternoon which resulted when the slain negro ran amuck. Mobs were dispersed from the scene of the shooting only to gather again at night, when it was necessary to call out a riot squad to disperse them and some apprehension of the outcome of the disorders is felt by the authorities. Five negroes are held by the police for investigation.

It was at first believed that threatened rain would effectually prevent trouble during the night. Later, however, the police became less confident that the trouble would be so easily settled. Shortly after nightfall armed bodies of men began patrolling the streets. Hundreds reassembled at the scene of the earlier disorder and the apprehension felt by the authorities was heightened.

**Takes Stand on Bridge.**

Armed with a shotgun and quantities of shells, the negro took a stand on the canal bridge, near the wagon concern, and defied the officers.

The trouble began at the wagon works when the negro Smalley, who, it is said, had been struck by Mr. Hightower earlier in the day after he had called the wagon works manager a "liar," returned with a shotgun and shot Mr. Hightower to death. Mr. Hightower at the time was talking to Dr. W. W. Batteym, the negro's employer, who summoned the police after the shooting.

From the wagon works, Smalley is said by witnesses to have walked out on the sidewalk, seated himself on the curbing and started firing at every white person he saw. When the police arrived the negro fired upon them, wounding Britt and Hardeman. He then fled to Perry's Bottom, a negro settlement in the neighborhood, and took refuge in a house. Leaving the house later, he continued firing and was shot to his knees by police. Reloading his gun ,he killed Moore. A few seconds later he was himself slain, being practically riddled with bullets.

Before the negro was killed, a number of white men, heavily armed gathered in the section. Several negroes were threatened with violence and attempted to escape but were captured and cries heard of "lynch 'em" were heard. Police reserves, however, reached the scene in time to rescue them.

City police and county deputies dispersed the crowds gathered in the vicinity of the affray, but for several hours crowds continued to form and several times demonstrations were made against negroes The authorities, however, managed to prevent further trouble. The entire police force was held on duty through the night.

**Incendiarism Reported.**

Incendiarism against negroes' property has been reported in two cases. The automobile in which Smalley drove to the wagon works is said to have been set on fire, and late tonight autoists coming into the city said they had been stopped on the outskirts and asked to furnish some gasoline to make another negro's automobile burn. They said a crowd of white persons was about the car.

The call went to police headquarters at 4:45 o'clock that the negro had killed Benjamin T. Hightower, the wagon works' manager. More than half a dozen patrolmen were sent to the scene, and as the wagon approached the canal bridge, the negro opened fire, wounding W. F. Britt, who was driving the machine.

**Moore Killed.**

The body of the patrol wagon was shot into a sieve by the buckshot from the negro's gun. Patrolman Moore, on whose beat the shooting occurred, was shot as he ran up the canal bank after being drawn to the scene by the sound of the shots.

Prior to making his stand on the canal bridge, the negro is said to have come back to the shops armed with the shotgun and without warning opened fire on the foreman, killing him instantly. He then turned his gun on the several wheelwrights working in the shop, it is declared. He afterward dashed for the bridge.

It was not until 7:30 o'clock that the police, assisted by county officers, succeeded in dispersing the crowds which thronged the scene of the shooting.

At 7:30 o'clock police assisted by county officers succeeded in dispersing the crowds which gathered in the vicinity of the shooting. Threatened rain, police then hoped would prevent any race clash during the night.

**Five Negroes Held.**

Five negroes, believed to be accomplices of the slain negro, are held by the police for investigation.

At 8:30 o'clock tonight armed bodies of men began patrolling the city. Hundreds reassembled at the scene of the shooting and all policemen were called to duty.

The rain, which authorities thought would aid in easing the tension, ceased and authorities are apprehensive.

At 9.30 o'clock a cordon of police dispersed a mob of several hundred men gathered at the scene of the shooting. The action of the police followed a threatened demonstration made against negroes alighting from a street car[illegible] policeman at the scene protected the negroes until the riot squad arrived.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots - 1921.

Indiana

**1,000 IN GARY READY FOR BATTLE**

The Afro-American 9/30/21

**Gary, Indiana, Sept. 29—One thousand colored people are reported to have prepared for battle here during a race riot in which a colored man killed a white policeman.**

. Riots — 1921. Kentucky

# Serious Outbreaks of Racial Feelings; Whites Stone Cars and Windows of Colored Man's Home

## UNPRECEDENTED CONDUCT CASTS SHADOW OVER COLORED CITIZENS.

Louisville News — 7/2/21

A shadow of race trouble akin to that held in Chicago, Washington and Tulsa fell over Colored citizens of Louisville last week, caused by the unprecedented conduct of white ruffians—maybe ruffians and maybe not.

Last Friday the Masons gave their annual picnic at Douglass Park. It is reported that cars crowded with Colored passengers were attacked by young white men who threw filth and dirt and rocks in the cars.

Patrons of this picnic were of the good, orderly, respectable class of citizens, and hence no noe was armed, not expecting any such conduct from people out Fourth street.

It can easily be seen that these assaults held the germs of serious race trouble. For the average man sitting with his wife or daughter or other lady could hardly control himself on finding her besmirched by filth thrown in her face by some ruffian, white red or black. Had some man fired a pistol into this crowd of lowbrows, the rest can be imagined.

Dr. O. M. Reynolds, a Colored physician, bought a house, 2409 West Chestnut street—a thing he had every right in the world to do. There is no law in heaven above or the earth beneath or in the waters under the earth that says Dr. Reynolds, or any other Colored man or woman, shall not or must not buy or rent a house west of Twenty-fourth street, on Chestnut street, in the city of Louisville, the county of Jefferson and the State of Kentucky.

That being true Dr. Reynolds bought the home—not to be among white people, but because that house suited his fancy and his purse.

Before he could move into the house it was rocked and the front windows broken and the furnace injured. This was the protest of white people who have a wrong conception of their rights and of other people's rights.

It is the first time in local history that the protests of prejudice ever took violent form as a measure to stop Colored people from moving in "white" neighborhoods. And it is just such violence that caused the race troubles in other cities. Some white neighbors have expressed shame and regret that any white people should resort to such measures to intimidate a citizen who was exercising a sacred right. These two incidents have struck Colored citizens as significant. They are the direct results and evil fruits of such stuff as that preached by the Kentucky Irish-American and other newspapers that spread prejudice in their news stories, if not their editorials.

There is an organization in the West End called the Shawnee Improvement Club. The News published a few weeks ago the silly appeal of its president for the members to meet and figure on plans "to keep the Negro from our dear Shawneeland." Maybe violence is one of their plans. If it is it may be well to remember he who sows the wind sometimes (not always, but sometimes) reaps the whirlwind.

Dr. O'Connor, white, lived at 2409 West Chestnut street. He is a member of the Shawnee Improvement Club. He joined in the agreement made by white people not to sell his property t oany Colored person. Dr. Reynolds, Colored, came along with a certified check for $6,000. Dr. O'Connor, white, broke his agreement, it is said, with his white neighbors and sold to this Colored person.

If anybody is to be blamed, and The News thinks not, it is Dr. O'Connor. But that is begging the question. Dr. Reynolds has a right to live where he wants to and can get. No man has a right to stop him.

H enor any other Colored citizen can afford to yield to the prejudice of other people. Furthermore, all these houses down Chestnut street are mints to the owners. The whine of the Irish-American that the white people down there have spent years in buying their little homes and now have to move out on account of the "Negro" invasion is all poppycock. No white man ever sold to a Colored man at a sacrifice.

The News was told the other day by a white man of a white man who paid $3,200 for his home on Chestnut street years ago. He raised a big family to manhood; they married and left home. Left alone he sold his $3,200 home to a Colored man for $6,000, twenty years after. Sacrifice, depreciation of property—bosh.

A white woman was about to sell a house on Chestnut street to one Colored man for $6,000. She considered that a great profit. Before she could close the deal another Colored man, crazy to get on Chestnut street, ran down to see her and offered her $10,000. She took his offer. What a sacrifice this poor woman made—glad to sell at $6,000, and lo, she gets $10,000!

But that's away from the question. Is rock throwing and violence to be the method? That's all. Meanwhile Dr. Reynolds says unless he gets his price he will move in.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

# RACE BATTLE IN RICHLAND LASTS HOUR AND THREE SCORE WERE IN IT

MONROE LA STAR
JULY 18, 1921

RICHLAND SHERIFF SAYS THERE IS LIKELY TO BE NO FURTHER TROUBLE

## THREE NEGROES KILLED OUTSIDE COLLINS HOME

**One Report is to Effect that Three Blacks Were Preparing to Surrender When Shot—Best Citizens Deplore Clash and Will Stop Disturbance.**

**The Monroe News-Star late today succeeded in obtaining what appears to be additional facts in regard to the killing in Richland parish, as follows:**

**Four negroes were killed, one white man wounded.**

**One negro was killed inside of the home of George (Coon) Collins, living on the Gaines plantaiton and working for William P. Gaines, of Rayville.**

**The other negroes were killed after the first had been shot to death and were out side the house when shot.**

**Some of the people at Rayville interviewed on the subject say they were killed after they had surrendered, others that they tried to get away.**

**The most influential citizens of Rayville tried to stop the shooting and this accounts for the large number which is reported to have gone to Collins' house.**

**One negro fired first, which enraged some members of the white posse.**

**The negroes had been working on the Gaines plantation and bore a good reputation.**

**The trouble had its inception when negro girls slapped and otherwise mistreated white youths Friday.**

**The best people of Rayville have taken steps to prevent an occurrence of the race clash and authorities have the disturbance well in hand.**

**Several negroes have been jailed at Rayville in connection with the battle.**

Three negroes were arrested by Sheriff Mark Cooper yesterday in connection with the race riot on the William Gaines farm, three miles north of Rayville, Saturday afternoon and placed in jail at Rayville. Sheriff Cooper said today that there had been no further disturbances since the clash and he did not anticipate any more trouble.

More arrests in connection with the riot might take place in the course of the day, he added. The Richland sheriff said the people of Rayville are going about their business in an orderly fashion this morning and that all excitement over the battle had died down and the negroes who had been jailed would not be molested.

"The pepole of Richland parish," he said, "do not want to punish any person or persons who are not guilty. The ringleaders in the disturbance were killed and if those in jail prove they had nothing to do with the riot they will be released."

Sheriff Cooper denies reports that negroes have left Rayville and other parts of Richland parish because of their fear of the whites.

"I do not believe that any negroes have left," he said. "The negroes know they have nothing to fear if they conduct themselves properly and so far as I can learn all the negroes on the farms in the vicinity of the Gaines place have returned to their labors and there will be no exodus of the blacks."

The battle between the whites and blacks, which occurred around the log home of George Collins, a negro, living on the Gaines place, Saturday was one of the most serious racial difficulties that has ever occurred in North Louisiana.

Seventy-five or eighty white people went out in the second posse to the Collins house Saturday afternoon, according to Sheriff Cooper. They found that there were four or five negroes barricaded in the Collins house and when one of the blacks fired into the crowd, several young men fired back and the battle then began.

Cleo Collins, son of George Collins, was killed in the house. The other negroes fled and scattered and many members of the white possee continued after them. The negroes kept up a running fire as they fled and the battle raged all through the woods and pastures around the Collins home.

Sheriff Cooper said the battle lasted at least an hour.

Ada and Martha Collins, daughters of George Collins, a negro, believed to have started the trouble between the races, have been placed in jail at Rayville. There is a great deal of indignation against the negroes, but there will be no efforts to molest them, it is said.

These negresses are said to have slapped several white boys from Rayville who had gone to the Gaines plantation to swim and to have otherwise mistreated them and it was on the reports of the youngsters that citizens of Rayville armed themselve and went to the Collins house, which is a tenement on the Gaines plantation.

A meeting of leading citzens is said to have been held in Rayville Friday night, at which time conditions between the races were freely discussed.

Facts were brought out tending to show that the negroes were inclined to be "uppish" and it was brought out that Henry W. Halbert, a Delco timber man and road overseer, came near losing his life last Thursday at the hands of Clemar McDowell, a negro boy of twenty years.

This and the trouble between the white boys and negroes Friday were discussed and some of the best citizens said they believed something should be done.

A committee of five leading white citizens was therefore, named and this committee went to the negro quarters on the Gaines plantation and sought to get a peaceful settlement of the difficulty and to get the negroes to submit to arrest. The results of this step are said to have been unsatisfactory, as Saturday a big crowd went to the place.

Friday a group of white lads found a swimming hole and went to it. The negro women are said to have reproached them for their lack of clothing, the boys retorted and trouble followed. Several of the boys are said to have exhibited to their parents blue and white marks about their necks where they had been choked.

Yesterday morning deputies were sent by the Richland Parish sheriff to arrest the women. Some hours later they returned and reported that they had been met by threats of death if they prosecuted their quest. They added that the women, abetted by a number of negro men, had gone to the nearby plantation of George Collins and had "fortified" themselves there.

A posse of twenty-five was formed. As the citizens, some of whom are said to have been prominent merchants and business men of Rayville, approached the farm, a volley of rifle shots greeted them and a furious exchange of fire followed. The negroes were supplied with a large quantity of ammunition and their shots poured in with withering force until white marksmen finally picked them off.

Members of the posse ascribed precautions in taking cover as the reason none of their number was killed. A bullet pierced the thigh of Mr. Ferguson, the only white man wounded. Three shots pierced the hat of George L. Bryant, manager of the Rayville theatre and others had almost as close escapes.

Louisian..

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# FOUR NEGROES ARE KILLED IN PITCHED BATTLE IN LOUISIANA

Mont-advertiser
7/18/21

## Negro Woman Beats White Boys; Sheriff's Deputies Attempt to Make Arrests and Pitched Battle Follows. One White Man Shot

**MONROE, LA., July 17—Four negroes were killed and Monroe Ferguson, business man, was seriously wounded in a forty minute battle near Rayville, La., resulting from an attempt of deputy sheriffs to arrest two negro women women charged with beating a number of small white boys they found swimming.**

The scene of the clash was the farm of William Gaines, three miles north of Rayville. A desperate battle took place there late yesterday, hundreds of shots being fired. The dead are: Cleo Collins, Charles Kelly, Scott Bellfield and William Gibbs.

# QUIET FOLLOWS RICHLAND FIGHT IN LOUISIANA

7/19/21
Constitution

Rayville, La., July 18.—No more trouble is expected in Richland parish between whites and blacks where Saturday night four negroes were killed and one white man wounded in a battle which lasted for an hour, according to Sheriff Mark Cooper.

Three negroes living in the vicinity of the Gaines plantation, where the battle occurred, are missing. Officers express the theory that they may have been wounded and wandered off into the woods and died.

Ada and Clara Collins, negroes, daughters of George Collins, who are alleged to have caused the riot by slapping a number of small white boys they found in swimming, have been placed in jail. Three negro men were also locked up for investigation today.

## One White Man Wounded in Forty-Minute Affray Staged in State of Louisiana.

7/20/21
Constitution

Monroe, La., July 17.—Four negroes were killed and Monroe Ferguson, business man, was seriously wounded in a forty-minute battle near Rayville, La., resulting from an attempt of deputy sheriffs to arrest two negro women charged with beating a number of small white boys they found in swimming.

The scene of the clash was the the farm of William Gaines, three miles north of Rayville. A desperate battle took place there late yesterday, hundreds of shots being fired. The dead are Cleo Collins,

# TRUE STORY OF SO-CALLED RACE RIOT

7/21/21

Monroe, La., July 19.—Six young white men invaded the plantation of William Gaines, prosperous Negro farmer of this section, and notwithstanding the fact that a party composed of a score or more of young colored men and women were in the grove nearby enjoying a picnic, including the wife and young daughters of Gaines, the men stripped themselves of all clothing and proceeded to dive into the small pond nearby under the pretext that they were swimming. Mrs. Gaines and Mrs. Cleo Collins remonstrated with the colored men who wanted to resent the insult which the young white men offered, telling them that they were acquainted with the white youths and would approach them asking that they refrain from the vulgar conduct in the presence of the colored ladies in the picnic party. When the two colored ladies approached the pond they were assaulted with vile epithets and mud was thrown on their clothes. Only when it appeared that they would be attacked did the colored men run to their rescue and the white youths grabbed their clothes and fled.

The picnic party was abandoned and as the couples started for their homes they were met by a mob composed of white business men of Monroe, who opened fire without warning resulting in the killing of Mrs. Collins as she ran toward them begging that they not fire on the defenseless young people; and the fatal wounding of Charles Kelly,

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
REEL 14

Scott Bellfield and William Gibbs.

Report of a mob of Negroes forming to do as themselves is absolutely unfounded. The whtie man reported to be wounded was accidentally shot when a party of the mob in which he took part fired his pistol.

# RACE CLASH IN RICHLAND, NEAR RAYVILLE, RESULTS IN DEATH OF FOUR NEGROES AND WOUNDING OF MONROE FERGUSON, OF RAYVILLE

MONROE LA STAR
JULY 18, 1921

## Attempts of Posse to Arrest Negro Women Resisted by Young Bucks Who Barricade Themselves in Farm House and Open Fire on White Party—Battle Fought Around Negro's House.

Four negroes of Richland parish are dead and Monroe Ferguson, Rayville pool room proprietor, is wounded as a result of a battle between ten or fifteen whites and blacks on the William P. Gaines farm on Boeuff river, two miles north of Rayville, yesterday afternoon about 5 o'clock.

Ferguson was the only member of the faction of whites who was wounded, receiving a painful, but not serious, wound in the thigh.

George L. Bryant, manager of the Rayville motion picture theater, who was with the white posse, had a narrow escape from death, however, his hat being riddled with shots.

The negroes who were killed are: Cleo Collins, Charles Kelley, Scott Bellfield and Willie Gibbs, young men who lived at or in the vicinity of the Gaines place.

The clash of races occurred at the home of George (Coon) Collins, a negro, father of Cleo Collins. Officers in the party of whites were trying to make an arrest among the negroes who were barricaded in the Collins home and who opened fire on the whites when they approached.

As far as can be ascertained the negroes were the aggressors. They opened fire on the crowd of young white men and older citizens who had gone to the Collins place from Rayville.

All of the whites were congregated around the Collins house, in which the majority of the negroes were barricaded.

A white and negro youth had some sort of altercation and the white boy struck the negro Then one of the negroes in the Collins house opened fire on the white crowd through a crack in the house. Monroe Ferguson was shot.

The shot was the signal for the battle to start. For sometime it raged furiously all around the negro house.

The clash had its inception Friday when a number of boys from Rayville went to the Collins place to go in bathing in Boeuff river. It is claimed they were attacked by negroes, mostly young bucks, bat considerably older than they, who choked and beat them and drove them away.

The youngsters returned to Rayville and told the story of their mistreatment. This aroused the people, especially young men, some of whom had brothers who went to the Collins place to swim.

A crowd of white youths and one or two men, among the number, it is said, being a constable, was formed Saturday morning. This crowd went to the place and efforts were made to arrest a girl and woman who were said to have been involved in the trouble. The negroes resisted and at the same time two negro men came up and sided with the blacks. A crowd began to form, no arrests were made early Saturday, but the crowd returned to Rayville.

A large posse of citizens as well as youths then formed. They went both to the Collins' home determined to arrest the negroes. Citizens state, however, there were a large number of influential white citizens in the posse who went along for the purpose of preventing bloodshed

Some of the younger men were greatly incensed because of the acts of the negroes. Realizing there would be a battle, efforts were made by Rayville business men to prevent any violence, but it is claimed this was unsuccessful because the negroes opend fire, shooting Ferguson. Then the racial feeling burst all bonds and could not be checked until the negroes believed to have been responsible for the battle were killed.

Racial trouble has been brewing in Richland parish for a week or more, however, on account of an attempt on the life of Henry W. Halbert, prominent timber man of Delco and overseer on the road in the Fourth ward, by Clemar McDowell, a negro, 20 years old.

The trouble occurred last Thursday. Halbert and Robert Montgomery, stepfather of the boy had an altercation and the boy interferred and tried to shoo' him. Halbert would have been killed i it had not have been for McDowell's mother, who seized him and held the gun.

Citizens were infuriated at the assault on Halbert and formed and would have lynched the negro if he had not fled.

### WILL PROBE BURNING OF NEGRO LODGEROOM

New Orleans, September 6.—Extra patrolmen and deputy sheriffs continued on duty tonight at Gretna, the New Orleans suburb where yesterday's race clash led to the killing of one negro and the burning of a negro lodge hall, Sheriff Daunhauer said, however, that he anticipated no further trouble.

The state fire marshal's office announced tonight that rigid investigation would be made into the burning of the Wolves' Forest hall Various negro secret organizations which held their meetings in the hall lost all their paraphernalia The authorities are continuing their search for Buster Johnson and Perry Johnson, negroes accused of starting the fight that led to today's trouble. Numerous Gretna citizens have joined in the quest.

# Race Riot Threatened in New Orleans During Disturbance

Montgomery Advertiser 9/6/21

(Associated Press)

**NEW ORLEANS, Sept. 6—Early this morning large crowds of citizens continued about the streets of Gretna, a New Orleans suburb, where last night a negro lodge hall was burned following a series of clashes starting at a negro ball game. A strong guard is being maintained about the Jefferson parish jail in Gretna and all available police and deputies of the parish have been mobilized. Threats this morning against a negro church caused the dispatch of a police guard there.**

(Associated Press)

**NEW ORLEANS, LA., Sept. 5.—A series of disturbances in Gretna, a New Orleans suburb, late tonight threatened to develop into a race riot of grave proportions. Trouble starting at a ball game for negroes, at which a number of whites were spectators, culminated in the burning of a negro lodge hall and reported shooting of one negro, with threats against others.**

Gretna, although just across the river from the city and adjoining one of the city wards, is in Jefferson parish. Police here were held in readiness but no request came for aid from the Jefferson authorities. Sheriff J. B. Dauenhauer of Jefferson, has armed every available deputy and is said to have issued orders to shoot to kill in the event mob violence is threatened.

One negro is reported to have been killed.

A remark alleged to have been made by "Buddy" Briscoe, a negro with a criminal record, who is said by the police to have been charged last year with killing his wife, started the trouble. Special Policeman William Donahue attempted to arrest Briscoe, but several other negroes battled the officer until he was forced to turn his prisoner loose. White bystanders are said to have then taken a hand, using baseball bats with telling effect upon the negroes.

Briscoe escaped but four other negroes, among them Robert Smith, who was badly beaten about the head, were arrested.

Crowds of white men, many of whom were armed, quickly gathered and officers hurried the four negroes to jail. Negroes gathered in Wolves Forest Hall, a negro resort, but left there upon the appearance of white persons and when officers searched the place it was empty.

That was at 11 o'clock. At 11:15 o'clock the building, which was of frame, two stories, was a mass of flames. It quickly was destroyed.

Efforts of officers to disperse the crowds which gathered about the burning building proved unavailing, although with the exception of an occasional outcry the crowd was not disorderly, although it seemed to lack a leader when threats were made that the negro quarter in Gretna be invaded.

Eight or ten shots were fired during the excitement but the police doubted if any of them found a mark, although it had been reported that one negro was shot and killed near the levee.

### MOB BURNS HALL AS NEGROES HOLD PROTEST MEETING

Atlanta Constitution 9/6/21

New Orleans, September 5.—Armed with shotguns and rifles, more than fifty white citizens of Gretna, a New Orleans suburb just across the river, are reported marching on a negro hall wherein was held an indignation meeting in protest against the beating of several negroes with baseball bats this afternoon. One negro is understood to have been shot and killed by the crowd. The trouble started at a negro ball game, at which a number of whites were spectators.

The Social and Pleasure club, in which negroes held the meeting, started burning about 11 o'clock, the hour at which it was reported the crowd of angry whites had threatened to rush the hall. The flames from the two-story wooden structure were visible all over the city proper.

### UGLY REMARK CAUSES NEAR RIOT AT BASEBALL GAME

Cincinnati Enquirer 9/6/21

Greta, La., Sept. 9.—A series of disturbances here which started Sunday night threatened to develop into a race riot, but quiet was restored. The trouble started at a baseball game which was attended by a crowd of white ruffians. A number of slurring remarks were made at the players of color, which were resented by Buddy Briscoe. A white policeman attempted to place Briscoe under arrest without attempting to interfere with the whites, and several friends of Briscoe surrounded the policeman and a battle royal ensued. Briscoe escaped, but the police arrested a Robert Smith, who lay on the ground badly battered up from blows dealt with a baseball bat. Four others were arrested, but no whites.

Sunday night the white people formed a mob and descended upon a lodge hall, which was fired. The Race men formed at Wolves Forest Hall, but dispersed before the arrival of the sheriff's forces. Eight or ten shots were fired during the burning of the lodge hall.

The crowd failed to disperse when ordered to by the police, who seemed afraid to use their guns. Threats were made that the section of the town occupied by members of the Race would be invaded, but these quickly subsided when it was learned that a hot reception awaited any who attempted such an invasion.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots—1921.

Louisiana

# PROTEST AGAINST NAKED BATHERS; MOB KILLS FOUR

## White Youths Bathing Unclad Before Race Women Resent Advice

Chicago Defender
7/23/21

Monroe, La., July 22.—Four men are dead as the result of an altercation growing out of the practice of white boys swimming without clothes on in a swimming hole near Rayville.

The hole is located where there is considerable passing of members of the Race. In the morning girls and boys go to school that way and in the afternoon they return. The whites have persisted despite protests for a long time to use the hole and to insult Race boys and girls when they were passing. Some of the girls had complained about the indecency of the bathers.

Not long ago one of the girls coming from school is alleged to have gone home and told her mother of an attempted attack upon her by one of the bathers and of a chase which a group of them gave her when she started to run. The mothers of the girls complained to the authorities and told their husbands also. No move was made to put a stop to the practice.

Finally a group of the women went down to the hole and besought the boys to either put on bathing clothes or desist from using that place. They laughed at the women and one particularly bad and red-headed youngster went so far as to run up to one of the women, strike at her and spit upon her. He ran, but the woman caught him and thrashed him.

In the evening news was spread that warrants had been sworn to arrest the woman who had whipped the boy. A crowd gathered and a number of the women who had been to the pool, with their husbands, gathered to be ready to talk the matter over with the officers when they should arrive. Instead of officers, though, a mob came. No papers of any sort were presented. When the mob saw the men and women together, certain members of it began firing indiscriminately. One of the women was killed and three of the men.

No steps have been taken to apprehend the criminals. Nor has anything been done to force the youthful bathers to stay out of the water when naked.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Massachusetts

Riots — 1921.

# MOB IN SOUTH END RACE RIOT

Herald Boston Mass. 9/26/21

**POLICE RESERVES RUSHED TO ARLINGTON SQUARE, DISPERSE CROWDS**

Several hundred white men and negroes clashed in Arlington Square early this morning.

Lieutenant Munroe of the East Dedham Street Police Station rushed a detail of special officers and reserves to the scene. When the police arrived, the crowds scattered.

Bystanders told various stories of the affair. Some said the trouble started in an argument over the affairs of the Tremont Trust Company. Others thought a quarrel over moonshine whiskey and "jakey" precipitated the row.

The whole neighborhood was aroused, and the fights were carried into adjoining streets. So far as is known, no one was severely injured.

Eye witnesses told of fist fights between individuals, of pairs of men rolling in gutters and pummelling each other, and of other men who were backed up against a wall and pounded and choked.

Men of all ages appeared to be involved. The district to which the disturbance extended included parts of Tremont, Albion, Appleton and Mott streets. Many of the fighters were believed to have hidden themselves in nearby houses when the police approached.

Several similar clashes have occurred in this section in previous months.

Missouri

Riots — 1921.

# SIX HELD AFTER WHITE MEN AND NEGROES FIGHT

ST LOUIS MO STAR
JUNE 6, 1921

**Two Are Removed to Hospital—Clubs and Bricks Used in Street Battle.**

Three negroes and three white men were arrested, one negro and one white man being taken to the hospital by police from the Wyoming and Soulard stations, who rushed to the neighborhood of Broadway and Lami Streets at 9 a. m. today in response to telephone calls from residents of the district, who told the police that white men and negroes were fighting with clubs and bricks.

Scores of whites and negroes were gathering when Capt. Singleton of the Wyoming station arrived with his squad of special policemen. Capt. Singleton reported he saw Edward Laughney, 28, white, 2418 Menard street, who gave his name later as Mike Lutz, knock from the sidewalk Sylvester Howell, 45, negro, 5055 South Twenty-third street, and saw Howell retaliate by knocking Laughney down. Laughney was taken to the City Hospital suffering from bruises and alcoholism, according to the police report.

Howell, the negro, is held at the Wyoming station on charge of disturbing the peace, as are also one other negro and two white men—Peter Orzel, 18, 2107 South Fourth street; Theodore Schwartz, 16, 1712 South Broadway (later to be taken to the House of Detention); Tony Miller, 18, negro, 1908 Wash street.

William Kennedy, negro, 45, 1014 Brooklyn street, was found in an alley near the scene, suffering cuts and bruises on the head and face. He was taken to City Hospital No. 2. He told the police he had been attacked by white men without provocation.

The negroes—Miller and Howell—told the police they had defended themselves against white men.

The trouble started, according to the police report, at the gates of the American Car & Foundry Co., 2800 De Kalb street, where negroes have been applying each Monday for employment. White employes are said to have resented the hiring of negroes, and the trouble today is reported to have started in a quarrel there, after which several negroes were followed by white men from the plant to the street corner where the arrests occurred.

North Carolina.

Riots — 1921.

# ONE MAN ROUTS CROWD OF WOULD-BE MOBBERS

New York Age 4/2/21

(Special to THE NEW YORK AGE)

Wilson, N. C.—A race riot was narrowly averted here on Saturday evening, March 19th because of a gross insult by two white clerks in a stor. to two young colored school teachers. The young ladies resented the insult and when the white perverts threatened to slap their faces, a young colored man who happened to enter the store just at that time, came to their defense.

This manly action naturally incensed the white bravos and they quickly called a number of their ilk to assist in punishing the "impudent' Negro. The colored man, Mr. Bowser, who is in business here, proved to be very much of a man. Singlehanded, he defended himself against the impromptu mob, and after flooring four of them, made his escape without other injury than a coat considerably cut up in the back.

The young ladies, Miss Burns and Miss Izell, had, in the meantime gotten safely out of the store. Further trouble was prevented by prompt action among the cooler headed citizens, which kept the races to their own territory.

As a result of this incident, however, Gay Bros., proprietors of the store, one of the largest in this community, are apt to lose the major portion of their Negro trade, as a general boycott is proposed against the two clerks. Wilson has thus far escaped race trouble and it is hoped that this episode will be the last of its kind.

Riots - 1921.

New Jersey

HOBOKEN N J OBSERVER
MARCH 28, 1921

# Race Riot Averted By Weapon Display

An incipient race riot was averted by prompt action of Hoboken police officers yesterday afternoon. One arrest was made and one man (white) was taken to St. Mary's Hospital, where he is in a critical condition as a result of an attack made upon him by a negro.

John Smith, 54, a horseshoer, of 1108 Clinton street, became involved in an argument near his place of business with Calvin Sergen, 21, of 411 Fourteenth street, a gigantic negro, far more than six feet tall and built in proportion. The dispute arose over a dog. According to the police, Sergen felled Smith with one blow and then proceeded to kick him around the lung. He sustained numerous cuts and bruises and internal injuries which will keep him in the hospital for a long time, if he recovers.

Detective-Sergeant McCloughrey and Patrolmen Brennan and Fitzpatrick found Sergen menaced by a crowd of white men and women who had poured out of nearby buildings. In the background, muttering ominously about "poah white trash" was a gang of negroes.

Fearing an attempt at lynching by the whites, McCloughrey and the other officers drew their weapons and ordered the crowd back. The auto patrol was driven up and scattered the crowd right and left. Sergen was arraigned this morning before Recorder Carsten and was held in $3,000 bail for a further hearing Wednesday.

N. Y. C. TELEGRAM
JUNE 24, 1921

# BOYS' FIGHT STARTS JERSEY CITY RIOT

## Negroes and Whites Wield Sticks, Stones and Bottles Until Police Arrive.

Within a few blocks of the spot where a small riot occurred a few nights ago in Jersey City police reserves from three stations were called to quell a disturbance last night at Bramhall avenue and Halladay street, a vicinity populated by many negro families. Before the police arrived there were more than one hundred whites and negroes fighting with sticks, stones and bottles. The police charged the crowd.

Three of the alleged ringleaders in the fighting were taken to the Communipaw avenue police station, but were released. The trouble started when General Washington Caldwell, twelve-year-old son of General Caldwell, a negro, of No. 361 Bramhall avenue, started to fight with a white boy, whose name the police have not learned. The negro's father was spectator, and when he saw his boy was getting the worst of it jumped into the ring that had been formed by the blacks and the whites. Peter Brennan, a brakeman, of No. 138 Van Horn street, tackled the elder Caldwell.

Other contestants joined in the fray, and soon there were about a hundred men battling in the streets. Policeman John O'Neill sent in a call for the reserves.

# BOYS' FIGHT CAUSE OF A NEAR RACE RIOT IN LAFAYETTE

JERSEY CITY N J JOURNAL
JUNE 24, 1921

## Prompt Arrival of Police Reserves From Three Precincts Soon Squelched it.

It looked for a time last night as if serious race trouble would break out in Lafayette when bottles, rocks and other missles began to fly in a fight at Bramhall and Halladay Street. Quick work by the police, however, prevented serious trouble and the incipient riot was nipped in the bud before any one was injured.

The fight started shortly before 7 o'clock when a young white boy and a colored lad named General Washington Caldwell, began to settle their difficulties with their fists. It appeared that the colored lad's uncle, General Caldwell of 361 Bramhall Avenue, thought his nephew was getting the worse of the argument so he pitched in and then the fun began.

Several older whites and a few more negroes joined in the fight and when missles began to fly things looked serious.

Just about that time however, a resident in the neighborhood sent in a telephone message to Lieutenant Barry at the Communipaw Avenue station and the reserves of three precincts were on the spot in a jiffy. That ended the riot.

Lieutenant Barry had notified Captain Timothy J Murphy and the Captain, with Lieutenant Collins, Sergeants Winters and Fox, headed the reserves from the Fourth Precinct and other men were sent from the First and Fifth precincts. The appearance of the officers was the cue for the end of the fight.

Patrolman McNeill rounded up the Generals Caldwell, younger and elder, and brought them along with Peter Brennan, of 138 Van Horne Street, one of the whites, to the station. After the incident had been gone over by Captain Murphy and the trivial nature of the start of the fight considered along with the fact that no one was hurt, the trio were permitted to go.

# POLICE RESPOND TO FAKE ALARM OF A RACE RIOT

HOBOKEN N J OBSERVER
JULY 12, 1921

## Joker Phones Headquarters and Greenville Section Is Unduly Alarmed.

Considerable excitement prevailed in the Greenville section, in the district of the negro settlement on Jackson, between Ege and Kearny avenues, Jersey City, at about half past nine o'clock last night, when two auto police patrols, filled with reserves, rushed through the streets and word of another race riot passed around the neighborhood.

A race riot occurred at this location about six weeks ago and the appearance of the auto patrols and the gathering throng of people that were attracted to the scene, threw a scare into many Greenville residents. However, there was not even a semblance of any race riot or any disorder whatsoever.

The excitement was caused by some person who telephoned Police Headquarters that there was a race riot going on at Jackson and Ege avenues. The police are searching for this culprit who either maliciously or in the spirit of what foolishly was thought of by him as a joke, telephoned that there was a race riot going on.

Word was immediately sent to the Ocean avenue and Communipaw avenue stations. Inspector Philip Leonard was in the Communipaw avenue station at the time word was received from headquarters and he went in the auto patrol along with Detectives Collins and Smith and Patrolman Fowler and Boland called from the reserve room by Lieutenant Barry.

Simultaneously Lieutenant James Kelly at the Ocean avenue station also rushed the reserves in his precinct to the scene of the reported riot. The auto patrols from both precincts arrived at the same time with the police ready for action. To their surprise there was not even the slightest sign of a riot and the only work the police had was to keep away the large crowds that were attracted to the scene.

Captain Thomas P. Nugent of the Ocean avenue station has ordered the policemen doing duty on the posts in the colored district of Greenville to use special vigilance and since the last outbreak there has not been a single indication of any disorder. The police have no reason to expect any further trouble between the colored and white people in this district.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH REEL 14

Riots — 1921.

# 1,000 POLICE GUARD GERMANS AT MEETING

N. Y. C. MAIL
MARCH 1. 1921

## Wounded Veterans and Legion Members Arrested.

Groups of war veterans were still roaming the city early today singing the "Star-Spangled Banner," and holding impromptu meetings of protest against the German "Horrors of the Rhine" demonstration in Madison Square Garden, which came to a bloodless but turbulent conclusion under the guardianship of an army of 1,000 policemen.

The demonstration was staged to protest against the presence of French colonial troops in the Rhineland, which are alleged to be negroes.

The greatest force of police that has been mobilized in the city for any meeting in many months kept the ex-service men from making any organized attempt to force their way into the building and break up the meeting.

Inside, however, all was turmoil. Shouts of "Remember the Lusitania; remember Belgium; remember Edith Cavell" minglel with hisses for President Wilson. It was not until more than a doben men had been ejected that Dr. Edmund von Mach, Justice Cohalen and others were permitted to speak in comparative quiet.

### WOUNDED ARRESTED

Overflow meetings furnished their share of the disturbance. At one, held at Madison avenue and Twenty-fifth street, four men were arrested on a charge of disorderly conduct. They said they were Jacques Rueff, art dealer, 2183 Broadway; Russell P. Edwards, clerk, 457 Seventy-third street, Brooklyn; George Farley, engraver, 247 East Twenty-first street, and Armando Rodriguez, of 271 Madison avenue, a school and home for crippled soldiers.

Rodriguez carried a revolver, for which he had a permit. Farley was allowed to go after showing his wounds. The others were held for arrignment today.

Ex-service men held an independent meeting at Madison avenue and Twenty-third street, where they demanded that Mayor Hylan be impeached for permitting the Garden meeting. As the crowd was dispersing an alleged German sympathizer shouted to an army lieutenant:

"Take off your spurs and shove them down your throat!"

A crowd pursued the man, but was dispersed by police.

The 12000 to 15,000 who got into the Garden had to pass the scrutiny of a cordon of police and show cards issued by the "New York Campaign Committee Against the Rhine Horror."

On of the firt interrupters to be ejected was George McMullin, a member of the American Legion. As he was being shoved up the aisle a man shouted "Lynch him!" He, too, was ejected.

### PRESIDENT JEERED

A third disturbance from a group of ten young men, who said they were all employes of Chubb & Co., marine insurance, came during the speech of Lieut.-Col. A. E. Anderson, of the 69th Infantry, an ardent Sinn Fein advocate. He had just asserted that "the only purpose they (the French negroes) are there for is to practice all the foul measures of war."

From the gallery came a chorus of "Boos." When the men were ejected one said he was John J. Schieffelin, winner of the Naval Cross and son of Chairman William J. Schieffelin, of the Citizens' Union.

With the exceptions of Col. Anderson and Mrs. Sara Bard Field, all the speakers found occasion to ridicule President Wilson. Many in the audience met the mention of his name with jeers.

## WOMEN ORGANIZE IN EAST TO PROTECT SEX OF RACE

Bulletin 6/10/21

New York, June 10.—For over a year an organization comprised largely of women has been formed here which is intended to cover every state in the Union for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of our womanhood and preventing a repetition of the Tulsa, Chicago, Camden and other race riots.

A strenuous campaign is now on to secure 10,000 new members. Meetings are being held all over the city at yhich prominent speakers appear. A big mass meeting will be held at Palace Casino Sunday afternoon, June 26, at 3 o'clock. Mrs. Irene Moorman Blackstone is president of the organization.

## RACE RIOT STAGED IN NEW YORK PRISON

Syracuse, N. Y., August 8.—Six inmates of the state prison at Auburn are in a hospital and thirty others in isolation cells as a result of a battle between negroes and whites in the exercise yard yesterday. Ill-feeling over a ball game Saturday culminated in an attack on the negroes.

There were one thousand prisoners in the exercise yard when the trouble started. Members of the mutual welfare league ball team and a number of sympathizers picked up ball bats and sticks and started at a group of negroes standing at one side. The negroes on Saturday rooted against the mutual welfare team playing an outside aggregation, it was said.

The negroes backed to one side of the yard and tried to repel the attack with bricks, heaped there on account of some construction work. Prison guards finally were able to separate the combatants by the use of heavy clubs and the display of revolvers.

New York

# 12 COLORED MEN PROTECT WHITE CAPTAIN

New York Dispatch

## 30 White Crew Members of the Freight, Chester Kiwanis, Who Beat Captain, Quelled by 12 Colored Members of Crew.

It was a real fight for loyalty last Tuesday when policemen with riot guns entered the Chester Kiwanis, freighter, anchored off Staten Island. The policemen had been summoned by radio message telling of mutiny. The fight was between colored and white members of the crew. The colored members were twelve in number and were fighting in the interest of Captain Charles Boothby, who is alleged to have been bruised and beaten by white members of the crew.

When the police boat John Hylan ap[illegible] the officers [illegible] shots and saw colored and white [illegible] members in battle on deck. Twelve colored men were opposing thirty whites, who were in mad frenzie to get to the captain's cabin. The trouble was quelled within an hour without the police firing a shot. After driving the whites below decks and waiting till they had gone asleep the police departed. The colored members were left on deck to guard the cap[illegible] The Kiwanis is one of the shi[illegible] board's largest freighters.

DIVISION OF BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE RESEARCH

Riots – 1921.

Pennsylvania

# NEAR RACE RIOT AT HARRISBURG, PENNA.

Baltimore Afro

8/31/21

Harrisburg, Pa., Aug. 26.—The entire force of the Harrisburg police department was called out last night to quell a riot between Negroes and whites that arose over alleged insulting remarks concerning a woman. Bricks, stones and other missels were used during the riot and one woman is in the hospital in a serious condition from being struck on the head with a baseball bat. The police made a number of arrests. Scores suffered minor injuries.

REEL 14

Riots 1921.

# Big Sum To Gen. Sweener For Services During Riot

Tennessee. Nashville 2-3-21

**STATE POLICE HEAD AWARDED LARGE SUM AS COMPENSATION RENDERED DURING LOCAL RIOT.**

Nashville, Tenn., Feb. 1.—A resolution introduced in the lower house of the state legislature would give Adjutant General Sweeney $2000 for services during the Knoxville riot at which time trouble arose following the arrest of Maurice Mayes, young colored man on the charge of killing Mrs. Bertie Lindsay. The resolution was adopted by vica Voce vote.

It will be remembered that the only depredations committed toward the Knoxville Negro citizenship, was that practiced by the soldiers of the state police force, under command of General Sweeney and the only deaths were the result of their activities. General Sweeney, in addressing the mob at the county jail, remarked, "We wouldn't kill a white man for all the Niggers."

## TRIED FOR MURDER OF A WHITE WOMAN

Montgomery Advertiser 4/21/21

(Associated Press)

KNOXVILLE, Tenn., April 20—Before a court room even more crowded if possible than on the preceding day, Maurice F. Mayes, negro, charged with the murder of Mrs. Bertie Lindsey on the morning of August 30, 1919, at or about 2:30 o'clock took the stand today on his own behalf and testified concerning his knowledge of the crime, which caused a riot and the storming of the Knox county jail by a mob.

Mayes was given a death sentence but the state supreme court allowed him a new trial.

## NEGRO POPULATION DRIVEN FROM VILLAGE

Chattanooga, September 14—Serious race trouble broke out at Montlake, a mining village on Walden's ridge, 20 miles from this city this afternoon, and continued until all the negro population had been driven from the community by infuriated miners. The disorders came as an aftermath of the probably fatal shooting of Edna Barnett, 12-year-old daughter of a miner, and the wounding of three of her younger sisters by Jewel Clipper, a young negro girl.

The Clipper girl and her father, mother and brother were arrested and placed in jail here tonight, while Edna Barnett was brought to a local hospital.

Between fifty and seventy-five negroes fled from Montlake at dusk when more than a hundred infuriated miners, armed with shotguns, rifles, pistols and axes drove them from their homes.

## NEGRESS ARRESTED FOR PART IN RIOT

The Montgomery Advertiser

**Girl Charged With Shooting Four White Girls, Landed in Jail After Riot**

9/16/21

(Associated Press)

CHATTANOOGA, TENN., Sept. 15—Jewel Clipper, eight year old negro girl who was desponsible for a race riot at Montlake, a mining village on Walden's Ridge, last night, after she had wounded Edna Barnett, a white girl, and her three sisters by turning a shot gun on them, declared in jail here tonight that she did not know the gun was loaded.

"No, sir, I didn't know that there gun was loaded; them white girls was fussin' with men and I just aimed to scare 'em" the girl said.

She stated that they went to the public spring on the mountain and the four Barnett girls teased her and would not allowe her to get water. When they were ready to leave they muddied the spring. At this time Bonnie Howard, cousin of Jewel Clipper brought her the gun, she said, and she fired one time, striking all four of the white girls.

Some of the nego families who were driven from the village by enraged miners are still camped along the road at the foot of the mountain and others are said to be hiding in the cliffs. Many of them left all their possessions in their cabins when they began their flight.

Edna Barnett, the victim of Jewel Clipper's shotgun, is in a critical condition at a local hospital, while the negro girl's family are still held in jail.

# Tennessee's Highest Court Sustains Lower Court In Death Sentence And Fixes December 15th As Date For Electrocution.--Appeal To Governor As Last Resort

11/3/21

**In a decision handed down at the session of the Tennessee supreme court, in their rooms at the Knox county courthouse on last Saturday morning, that body affirmed the decision of the lower court, which sentenced Maurice F. Mayes, young colored man, to death by electrocution, and the higher court fixed Thursday, December 15th, as the date for the electrocution of Mayes to take place.**

Post Tribune Chattanooga 11/3/21

**The only other chance that Mayes has to live longer than the date fixed by the supreme court is for Governor Taylor to take a hand in the matter. The governor has the power to either commute the sentence to life imprisonment or to grant a stay of execution. Friends of the doomed man have announced their intention to bring all pressure to bear on the state's chief executive in hopes of having the sentence commuted.**

**Supreme Court's Opinion.**

**The facts of the murder of Mrs. Lindsay as found by the supreme court and which were prepared and read by Justice Frank Hall, are as follows:**

**Mayes Taken to Nashville Prison.**

**On Tuesday morning, in the custody today of Sheriff W. T. Cate and an officer from the supreme court, Mayes was taken to the state prison at Nashville, where he will remain until a day before the date set for his execution; whereupon he will be placed in the death house and confined until the hour selected by the warden to lead him to the death chair.**

**Mayes was suffering from rheumatism and had to be lifted up the short flight of iron stair leading from the floor on which he was confined to the main floor of the jail. He was placed in an automobile and taken to the Southern Railway station. His father who was at the jail to bid him farewell, possibly for the last time, was allowed to ride to the station with the officers.**

**When Mayes was told of the decision of the higher court, he again protested his innocence an dstated that he is yet hopeful that some power may prevent his execution for a crime "that I did not commit."**

## DEATH SENTENCE FOR NEGRO AFFIRMED

Atlanta Constitution 10/29/21

Knoxville, Tenn., October 29.—The death sentence of Maurice Mays, negro, was affirmed today by the state supreme court and his electrocution was set for December 15. Mays was convicted of the murder of Mrs. Bertie Lindsay on the night of August 29, 1919, as a sequeal to which an attack was made upon the Knox county jail two nights later, in a mob's effort to get Mays who had been taken to nother county for safekeeping.

## Tennessee Town Depopulated Following Wounding of Two White Girls

The Chicago Defender 9/24/21

Chattanooga, Tenn., Sept. 23.—A single blast of torrid flame from the hot furnace of racial hatred at Montlake, a mining town about twenty miles from the city, drove from the limits of Montlake all but the white residents of the town. Three score miners and their families, who have made up the exiled population, were set upon by the whites after an altercation between Jewel Clipper, 8, and four white girls in which the white girls were severely wounded by gun shots.

The men and women who have fled from their homes have taken refuge in Hill City and surrounding towns in Tennessee, Catoosa, Ga., and Bridgeport, Ala. Many of them lived in cabins at Montlake and when they left their homes they left all their possessions in these cabins. Sympathetic families in the surrounding countryside have lent them aid, but the law has done nothing save patrol the streets of the deserted town and arrest the girl, and her family, who is alleged to have done the shooting.

### Trouble Over Spring

According to the story told by one of the refugees, the trouble or outburst of the other day was the culmination of a series of affronts which had been visited by the whites upon the other inhabitants. There is a spring in the town, centrally located, which is the only one available for general use. The prejudice of the whites has made them try to keep any one but themselves from using the spring. No amount of reasoning has been suficient to persuade them that others had a right and a necesity to use the water as well as themselves.

On several occasions indiyiduals have had fights over the water and, in a number of instances, the whites have been worsted. It is felt that this condition led to the circulation of reports that if anything should happen again the whites were going to band together to force the other residents from their homes.

### Whites Had Planned

What had been a vague rumor turned out to be the truth when on the morning of the altercation between the girls, older people sought to join the fray on both sides. The parents of the Flipper girl came to see what the matter was. Whites had already gathered and it is now known that their purpose was to teach the Flippers and others a lesson. When the Flippers were ordered to cease in their advance they refused to do so. An argument ensued and the crowd grew larger. Many friends of the Flippers came up, curious to see what was going on. The argument grew warm and a fight started. Then the whites fired. The girls had not taken the percaution to get out of the way. It is known that Jewel Flipper did not have any shotgun, as alleged, and it is further doubted that she would have been able to

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handle one so effectively if she had had it. The inference, however, is that the white girls were wounded by the bullets shot by their own people, as were several of the men and women who wrere driven from the town.

The battle did not become general until the girls were heard screaming. It was then that the ready mob of whites made short work of their unsuspecting and unarmed enemies. The refugees were not even allowed to go to their homes.

After driving them out the whites guarded the streets, went into the cabins and took all of value and kept any one from entering the town by way of the roads. The authorities do not plan to take any action. The girls were wounded seriously, especially Edna Barnett, 12 years old.

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Riots – 1921.

Texas

# How a False Rumor Injures

Houston Observer 4/7/21

The false rumor circulated by unscrupulous persons relative to an expected uprising by the colored people of this city in reprisal for the inhuman treatment accorded a member of their group last Sunday was low and degraded enough when it caused thousands of good white citizens undue alarm and fear but it was doubly humiliating when to the masses of our people who happened to live in outlying districts far from fire alarms as it placed them in jeopardy of both life and property.

Scarsely had the rumor gained headway, than the telephone service was abruptly cut off and such was the case in nearly every community where our people are known to congregate on Sundays.

If a fire had broken out in some of these thickly settled additions a conflagration beyond the power of the residents would have been the result. Had a gang of ruffians invaded the same districts to plunder and murder the same could have been done without the Police or sheriff's department being any the wiser until long after all had been done. Such is all ways possible when false rumors are circulated. Let us have at least a chance to communicate with the authority. In conclusion the Observer would like to ask. Was it that those who defied the law, in their mad haste to appease a gulity conscience spread such wicked rumors, or was it a desire born of ignorance and hatred to punish the whole for the actions of an individual?

# A Call To The Law

Houston Observer 4/7/21

Whether there shall be law and order or anarchy and mob rule in Houston has suddenly become the BIG issue.

The supremacy of the law has been challenged. The gauge of battle has been thrown down to constituted authority. An invisible government, set up by unidentified persons, is attempting to laugh at the laws of the people, to hold in contempt the judgments of the people's courts, to intimidate the sworn executioners of the people's law.

The issue is really as to whether this is a fully civilized community or one dominated by armed bands, bent on carrying out laws of their own. It is a serious issue that confronts this community.

THE FOURTH TIME

Today for the fourth tme recently there flashed over this nation a sensational story of gang rule in Houston—of gangsters who had committed crimes the details of which are not fit for the world to read.

What does the nation think of Houston? Does it form th opinion it is a community of thugs and gangsters? Does it forn the opinion our morals here are so depraved that "vigilantes have to visit upon men punishments forbidden by the constitutio and the laws of every civilized community in the world, to up hold decency?

But what do we think of ourselves? That is of more vital interest.

Here stands a police force intimidated or incompetent to discharge its duties. Here stands a constabulary laughed at, mocked. Here the law and courts have become secondary, while a superior, hidden, cowardly force holds sway over the minds of the people.

THE REAL MENACE.

It is not of consequence now what the four victims of these mobs did. Their offenses, so common over the land, have become as nothing in the more vital issue—law versus anarchy—that confront this community.

Last night Houston sat on a powder keg. Armed men, with no legal right to carry guns, marched up and down Main St.—Crowds swarmed into gun stores that had no right to be open, arming themselves—for what? Wild rumors, the very food for riot and bloodshed, flew thick and fast. Nervous men and women waited in awe for something impending.

And it was all because the LAW—the great dam that holds in restraint the passions and evil designs of the few—had been cracked. It had sprung a leak. When the law breaks in one spot, all men doubt, all men fly to arms. We had an ide of what might happen in this community as it has happened in Omaha, in Chicago, in a score of cities.

The law is a sacred thing. Break down the law of order and justice, product of a thousand years of Anglo-Saxon civilization, and again it is the old law of the tooth and fang. No home is safe. No life is secure. Property is the prey of the mob.

The people of Houston do not want the law broken down — not even in spots. They will not tolerate it when they stand face to face with the direful consequences.

It is time for action. Mayor Holcombe has taken a commendable stand on the side of the law.

The efficiency of the agencies of law is now put to the test If mob rule is permitted to continue, we will all sooner or later bow our heads in shame, and the eyes of many bowed heads may be tear-dimmed.

IT'S UP TO THE MAYOR.

It is up to the mayor now to put it squarely up to the police department to GET ACTION or GET OUT. It is crises like this that test the power of a police department. The majesty of the law is not dead. If those into whose keeping that majesty has been given can not uphold it, let's get those who can. So, Mayor Holcombe, go to the very limit—dig to the bottom of the city treasury to uphold the law! Without upholding it we don't need a dollar in that treasury.

Sheriff Binford, can men, day after day and night after night go out in the county where you are charged with upholding law, and trample on the law? The community looks to you and will uphold your hands. It's squarely up to you to get action or tell the people why.

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It is up to the district attorney. It is up to the new grand jury that convenes today.

WILL CITIZENS CRINGE?

More than all that—it is up to every man and woman in all his county who believes in law and order to rally to the forces of law and order, to be unafraid when the law that protects their home and babies is challenged.

This self-constituted, clandestine government that has set itself up in the midst of a free people must perish. Either it must perish or we must admit the law has failed—that it is too weak to cope with small bands organized for the express purpose of defying the law.

And may God have pity on the people when the day comes to admit that.

Give us LAW—too swift and strong for evil men to break and escape—too just to be despised by any right-thinking man—too firm and majestic to let violators escape.

Let that LAW now assert itself.

—From The Houston Press, Monday, May 2nd, 1921.

# *Does Texas Sheriff Act In Negro-Italian Mix-Up*

## Sergeant Cooney, Single-Handed, Disperses Mob Of 75 And Arrests Four Men — Trouble Said To Have Started By Two Negroes Beating And Biting Children.

Sergt. Michael Cooney, of the Western police district, had an experience this morning similar to the Texas Sheriff who recently was called on to send a force of men to stop a riot.

The Sheriff went to the scene of the riot and met local officers.

"Where's your force of men?" the Sheriff was asked.

"You only got one riot, ain't you?" the Sheriff countered.

"Yes," the officers said.

"Well, here's one Sheriff," the officer said, and proceeded to quell the disturbance.

### Does "One-Man Sheriff" Act On Pearl Street.

Sergeant Cooney did the "one man sheriff" act on Pearl street near Lexington, about 7 o'clock this morning, when 75 negroes and Italians were at grips.

The trouble started, it was alleged, after Philip Burton, colored, 51 years old, 8 North Amity street, horsewhipped Frank Liberto, 15 years old, and several other children who were with him, and William West, colored, 18 years old, 200 Pearl street, bit the boy several times on his arms and neck.

### Negroes Had Gun And Ax.

The fight between the two factions was becoming serious.

Sergeant Cooney arrived on the scene and, unaided, dispersed the crowd and arrested Burton and West as well as James Britt, colored, 40 years old, proprietor of a lunchroom at 216 Pearl street, who had armed himself with a shotgun, and William Harris, colored, 35 years old, who had an ax in his hands.

Justice Ranft, at the Western Police Station, sent West to the House of Correction for three months and fined each of the other three men $26.45.

Testimony was that Liberto and the other children angered Burton and West, who were passing on a wagon, by calling them names.

The negroes, it was said, jumped from the wagon and Burton plied his whip to the backs of the children, while West grabbed Liberto and bit him.

### Italians Join In.

The cries of the children brought most of the Italian residents of that section to the scene and they were handling Burton and West rather roughly when their colored friends came to their rescue.

It was at this point that Cooney got into the mix-up. It ended suddenly and the neighborhood resumed its quiet.

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Riots – 1921.

Virginia.

3/12/21 Richmond Planet –

If colored men were not lynched in Chesterfield county during the last few days, it was not because the local newspapers did not do all in their power to bring about such a result. The publication of exciting accounts of a happening that did not happen could not be susceptible to any other conclusion.

**CALL OUT 50 POLICE TO STOP SOUTHSIDE RIOT.** 3/13/21, Richmond Planet

(Richmond Va. Times Dispatch

Fifty policemen, armed with riot guns and commanded by three lieutenants and two sergeants, quelled a riot in South Richmond about 11:30 o'clock last night, but not until the mob of 600 angry colored people, some of whom were armed, had been forced to disperse at the point of guns. The basis of the trouble, according to the police, was that two colored girls had complained that they had been attacked by two white men at the corner of Forth-third and Lawson streets. The girls told their story to some of their neighbors and immediately a mob formed, which began a search of the territory around Forty-third and Lawson streets. Two men, identified by the girls as their assailants, were found and the mob threatened them with bodily harm.

CROWD HELD AT BAY

Before any serious harm had been done, however, Patrolmen Waymack, Tolbinger and Sanderson on duty in that section, arrived at the scene of trouble and held the mob at bay until assistance arrived. A riot call was sent to police headquarters and Sergeant Gentry dispatched all the men available, drawing on every other police station in the city to furnish its quota. Fifty policemen, commanded by Lieutenants Bryant, Ryan and Campodonica and Sergeants Wiley and Dubuque, were soon on the ground and although three shots were fired after their arrival, all of them by colored people, no harm was done.

The police drew clubs and brandished guns when the crowd refused to disperse, but it was not necessary to use the weapons as the colored men gave way as soon as it was impressed upon them that the officers meant business.

Henry Conway, 4102 Hull street and C. H. Brown, of 4011 Lawson street, were arrested and held without bail in the Third Station. Sam Neal, colored was arrested and held charged with inciting a riot and firing in a public street.

The birls gave their names as Emma Byrd, 28, and Abbie Neal, 22. The Byrd girl had to be attended by a physician the police say.

OTHER ARREST EXPECTED.

The names of the colored people, who tried to precipitate trouble by fring shots are known to the police the latter say and they will be taken into custody.

News of the near-riot reached Forest Hill Park, where many whites people had congregated and crowds poured down to Forty-second street. Until a late hour, this morning extra policemen were kept on duty near the scene of the alleged attack, the police fearing another outbreak, as bands of colored men were still prowling around in that vicinity.

The police call it the most serious outbreak the colored district of South Richmond has known in three years.

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Riots — 1921.

West Virginia

# West Virginia Mob Routs All But Two Negroes.

Dallas Express 4/30/21

Wheeling, W. Va., April 21.—Driven from their homes in many instances without being given an opportunity to collect their belongings, Colored residents of Beech Bottom, Brooke county, have sought temporary refuge in surrounding towns, nearly a score being housed in hotels and among friends in Wheeling.

The incipient race riot Saturday night was the aftermath of an attack Friday night on Mrs. John Horne, a white woman, 22 years old, who was waylaid, it is believed, by two prisoners who escaped from the Wellsburg jail. One of the prisoners was a Negro.

The mob spirit developed soon after news was received in Beech Bottom the outrage and many Colored citizens were warned by friends that they had better leave the community. No violence was shown, however, till after dark when a crowd collected and made a tour of the Colored section. Families were roused from their beds and informed that they had till noon Sunday to get out, these warnings bringing punctuated with a fusilade of shot. From one refugee, a woman who with two small children, is now staying at the Veise Hotel on Market street, it was learned that the mob numbered at time 75 men and boys, some of the latter appearing not more than 14 years old, and all armed with rifles, revolvers and shot-guns.

From the Brook county sheriff's office assurance was given yesterday that the community was quiet and that extra deputies were patrolling the section to prevent further outbreaks. One Colored man, J. C. Cason, manager of a boarding house for Colored workmen, defied the mob when it called on him, declaring that he would not yield his rights until he was killed. He and one other man, are the only Colored persons who stayed in Beech Bottom over night, it is reported.

# EXODUS OF COLORED POPULATION FROM BEACH BOTTOM CONTINUES

WHEELING W VA REGISTER
APRIL 19 1921

## Many Refugees Arriving In Wheeling Make Charges Of Conspiracy.

Terrified by open and covered threats of white workmen, a further exodus of Negroes took place from Beech Bottom yesterday. About half the colored population of the community now has departed and it is considered likely that others will go in a day or two. While there was no outbreak against them, Monday single men and even men of families are said to have decided not to offer any resistance to what they affirm is unjust treatment, and will leave rather than face the possibilities of gun play and the resultant property destruction which it is feared might result if there are further mob demonstrations.

In outward respects the place was quiet enough yesterday, though every departing car carried away one or more former employes of the Power plant, the glass works or the mines. A man by the name of Willis gathered his household effects and his family to gether yesterday and moved away, without announcing his destination. He was one who was warned Saturday night to make himself scare in that neighborhood if he wished to avoid trouble. It is said he had been working there for nearly two years. However, the exodus is made up largely of single men, or workers who have no families with them. J. C. Cason's boarding house lost six men yesterday, all of whom have been employed at the power plant for terms ranging from several months to two and three years.

### Conspiracy Charged.

Most of the colored men are reticent, but some of the bolder spirits charge conspiracy against those who are driving them away. They believe they are being intimidated into leaving in order that places may be made for white men out of work, basing this attitude on the indiscriminate orders issued by the "vigilance committee." There appears to be a general conviction among white residents of the place that the attack on Mrs. John Horne last Friday night was committed by idle Negroes who have been quartered in a building across the street from the power plant for four or five weeks. This together with natural feeling of horror inspired by the crime among relatives and friends of the Hornes has served to inflame others not so closely concerned with the outrage, until the sentiment has found expression in a mob movement which business men as well as the negroes threatened, fear will result in something serious if the situation is not gotten in hand immediately. This is one reason no efforts are made to detain colored men who have shown themselves good and loyal workers.

About six weeks ago strange Negroes began to drift into Beech Bottom, and before long all the newcomers were sheltered in two rooms of one building. There soon were two score or more of them including some women and children. None of these men were working, and thus herded together, it was expected that trouble would follow their arrival. Sheriff Duval of Brooke county was notified and he delegated a constable to guard the streets. The efforts of this one man were insufficient, and there was more or less lawlessness, attempted burglaries, holdups and disorder. The authorities were urged to raid this lodging house, but to no avail til after Friday night's terrible affair. Then the place was visited and the inmates arrested or ordered out of the community. However, the county officers hold firm in their belief that Mrs. Horne's assailants were the two prisoners who escaped from the Wellsville jail that night, which is an opinion quite contrary to that of her neighbors.

### Demand a Cleanup

In 24 hours a cleanup was demanded, first in whispers then in a manner which forced obedience on pain of injury or death to many of the colored population. Only two exceptions to the order to get out were made by the vigilance committee, one of these men being in the case of J. C. Cason, manager of the power plant's boarding house on the company's property. Even he was called on late at night and informed that he must get rid of all unemployed men boarding with him. He told the committee of 25 or 30 men that his lodgers were all working and had been for months or years. having been boarding boss of the colored workmen for three years he felt that his rights were being invaded when he was made one of the victims of the mob spirit. He claims he knew nothing about the attack Friday night, nor did any of his men At that time there were 18 men staying with him. There are less than dozen left, the others having decided that discretion was the better part valor.

"I have worked along the Ohio river for eight years," Cason said yesterday, "and I never had trouble with either white or colored men. I never had occasion to summon an officer to remove a man from my house in all the time I have handled boarding places, and I don't feel like submitting to the orders of others who now appear to include me in their program." Mrs. Cason assists him with the Work of feeding and caring for the company's Negro employes, and he also hires another colored man and wife. "We never allow boisterousness, gambling or profanity in our house," he expalned.

E. H. McFarland, general manager of the Beech Bottom Power Plant, and Superintendent Plummer, claim the situation is well in hand and that no further trouble is anticipated. They say it is well nigh impossible to ascertain the leaders of the mob, but denied that it originated in their plant. "We have no private police force," said Mr. McFarland, "but since Friday night's affair, the sheriff has deputized a number of men, and we have enough guards now to insure safety for everyone."

### Due to Strangers

Both incline to the belief that there would have been no trouble had not so many strange and idle Negroes taken up their quarters across from the plant. It was close to this noisome lodging house that Mrs. Horne was seized, and this lends color to the belief that one of the floaters sheltered there was guilty. The building is not on the power company's property and there was no way to get the transients away unless the county authorities acted, which they did not till after the assault. The withdrawal of the negroes will not hamper the operation of the power plant, but may embarrass the mines and the contractor who is opening a new mine in the locality. Both depend to considerable extent on colored help. Notice having been given foremen and superintendents of these enterprises to discharge their undesirable colored workers. A large number of such jobs will be left vacant, and those who have been dispossessed of their jobs assert that their places will ultimately be taken by white men, which, they insist, is the real reason they have been threatened and driven forth.

In some respects the situation at Beech Bottom resembles that in Mingo county when miners were evicted indiscriminately because of the lawlessness of a few of their number, who engaged in a contest with the coal companies owning the houses..

In Beech Bottom, on the other hand the citizens and workmen themselves have taken the matter in hand to purge their ranks of what they consider an undesirable element. The companies have no active part in the movement, and the whites, who are making the outrage of Friday night the excuse to free the community of as many negroes as can be frightened into departing, are making no exceptions among the colored people save in isolated cases where the men concerned are known to have the complete confidence of their employers.

It is the desire of the executives of the different industries centered at the Bottom to make it as near an ideal working community as possible. Up to the present, it has been well conducted, they claim, and all of them express regret over the events of the last three days which they see no way to counteract without bringing about perhaps a worse situation than now prevails.

WHEELING W VA NEWS
APRIL 19, 1921

### LESS THAN A DOZEN REMAIN IN UP-RIVER DISTRICT, RESULT OF "MOVE EDICT."

### THOSE THAT ARE STAYING THERE ARE HEAVILY ARMED AND READY FOR ACTION.

### SHERIFF DUVAL SAYS SITUATION NOT QUITE SO INTENSE; MRS. HORNE TALKS.

With less than a dozen negroes in Beech Bottom, the situation at the Brooke county town today is quiet with the feeling not quite so tense as Sheriff Duval and his deputies continue to control the situation with an "iron" hand. Although it was whispered about Beech Bottom yesterday afternoon that the "citizens committee" composed of 75 men, would enforce their edict last night, there was not a move made on their part although the pulses of the deputies quickened when a report reached the officers shortly after 3 o'clock this morning that a squad of men was headed for the vicinity of Beech Bottom. The alarm proved false however much to the satisfaction of the officers as well as the few remaining negroes who have braved the orders of the committee and decided to stay in their homes.

It was learned today that every negro home at Beech Bottom, is heavily armed. The colored folks have taken the stand that they will not be ejected and have decided to put up a fight if the committee attempts to enforce its edict.

Sheriff Duval informed The News today that none of the negroes who left the town have made an effort to return. The officials are not encouraging such a step at this time in the belief that conditions will finally adjust themselves.

The town last night resembled an armed camp with special officers patrolling the streets. The negro district was especially well guarded by the officers and the colored folks were not allowed out of their homes.

### Mrs. Horne Talks.

Mrs John Horne, who was criminally assaulted last Friday night, the cause of the threatened race riot, was removed from the hospital to her home Monday afternoon. Her description of the assault in many ways causes officials to believe that the negro and white man who escaped from the Brooke county jail are not the guilty parties.

Through her husband, Mrs. Horne made denial that the accounts she had seen published were accurate in every detail. Judging by their voices, both men who accosted her were negroes. She did not see them until they were leaving after having accomplished the assault.

Mrs. Horne stated that on Friday

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night she had gone to the Beech Bottom general store to buy a loaf of bread and on leaving the store, she heard two negroes talking and as she looked over her right shoulder, the men seized her from the left and gagged her. She said one of the men was a tall slim negro and that the other was of average size.

She pleaded with the men to let her free and offered them her pocket book but they refused saying they did not want her pocket book, they wanted her. They acted more like wild animals than like men, the woman said.

Mrs. Merrell, who lives near the loafing place of the negroes at Beech Bottom, reported to Sheriff Duval last evening that she saw two negroes leaving the place early Saturday morning and that each was carrying a bundle. They went over the hill and have not been seen since.

PHILADELPHIA PA RECORD
APRIL 19, 1921

# All Negro[illegible] Are Driven Out by Mob at Beech Bottom, W. Va.

Special to "The Record."

Wellsburg, W. Va., April 18.—Whe[n] dawn broke this morning in Beech Bo[t]tom, Brooke county, only two negro res[i]dents remained out of a total populatio[n] of more than 200. Driven from the[ir] homes, in many instances without bein[g] given an opportunity to collect their b[e]longings, the negroes have sought tem[p]orary refuge in the surrounding town[s] of Wheeling, Steubenville and Wells[-]burg.

J. C. Cason, manager of a boarding house for negro workmen, and one other man, are reported to have been the only negroes who defied the order and remained in Beech Bottom overnight.

The race trouble, which started early Sunday, was the aftermath of an attack last Friday night on Mrs. John Horne, white, aged 23, who was waylaid, it is believed, by two men who had escaped from the Wellsburg jail. One of the jail-breakers was a negro.

Mob spirit developed soon after news of the outrage spread through Beech Bottom. No violence was shown, however, until early Sunday morning, when a crowd collected and made a tour of the negro quarter. Families were roused from their beds and informed that they had until Monday noon to get out. These warnings, according to reports, were punctuated with scattered shots, fired into the air. The mob numbered, at times, 100 men and boys, armed with rifles, revolvers and shotguns. The exodus began almost immediately.

From the Brooke county sheriff's office, assurance was given this afternoon that the community was quiet, and that extra deputies were patroling the region to prevent further trouble. There is said to be an undercurrent of ugly feeling, however, that is keeping the officials on the alert.

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